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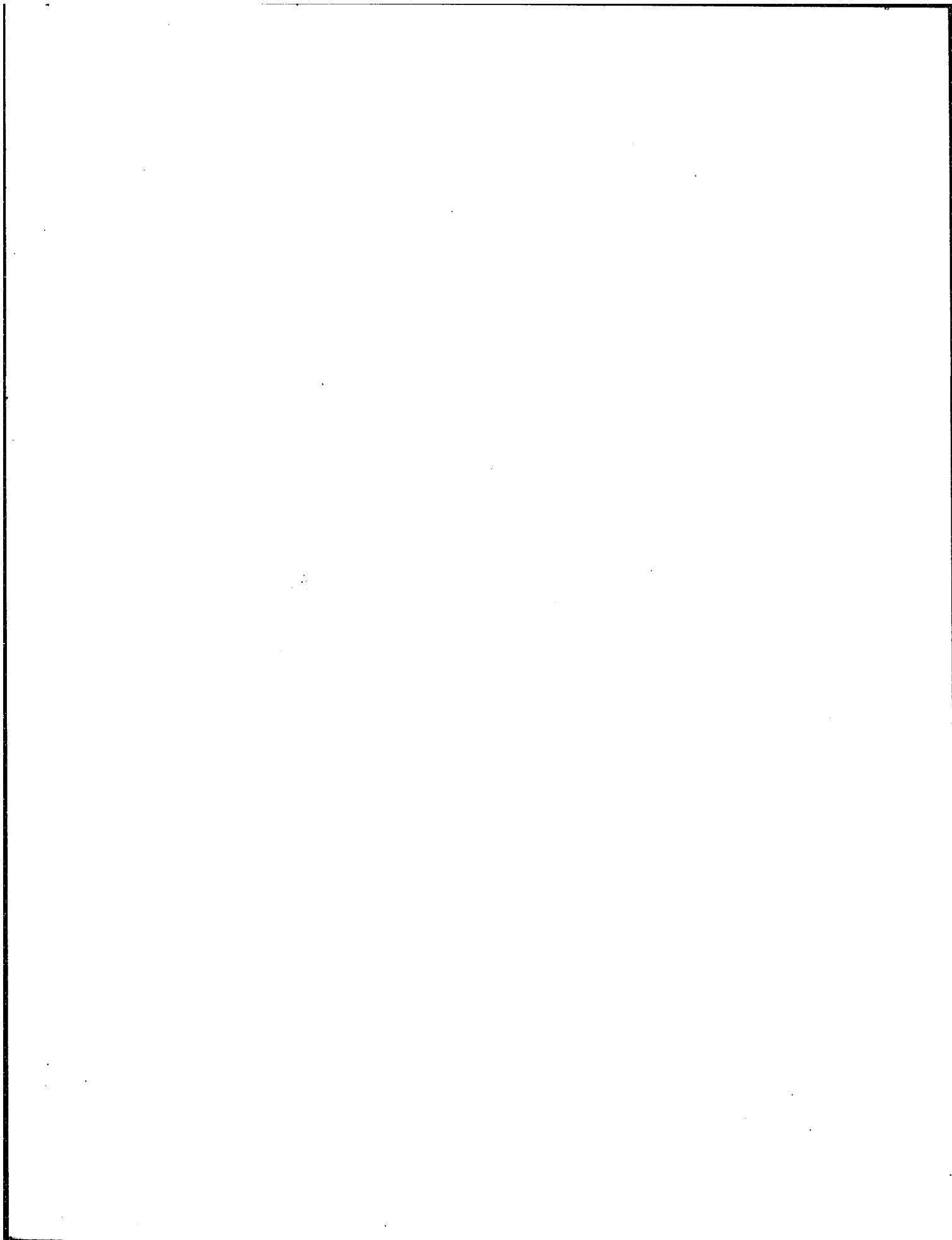
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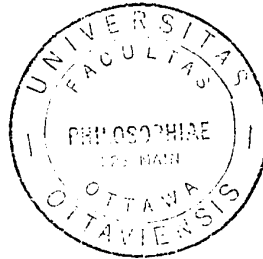


THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION OF JOHN HENRY

CARDINAL NEWMAN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Ottawa, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Philosophy by

Brother ANSELM MEADE, F.S.C.



"As the years pass Newman's greatness will grow in the minds of men. For his greatness rests on his having seen some of the most vital truths that can affect human destiny, and expressed them in a language that is perfect and absolute. When a man who has this gift of vision is also a soul that is united with his God, and a character so winning that men are drawn to love him, his name is secure, and it will pass into the company of the world's greatest".

Bishop HEDLEY.

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BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION.

"I WRITE FOR THE FUTURE".

Much has been written about Cardinal Newman since his death at the Oratory, Birmingham, on August 11, 1890. The past few years, especially since 1945, the centenary of his conversion to the Catholic Church, has witnessed a renewed interest and a fresh appraisal of the Cardinal's many-sided genius. One has but to note the new edition of Newman's writings, which Longmans, Green and Co. has entrusted to the American scholar, Dr. Charles Frederick Harrold, Professor of English at the Ohio State University. (1). So far *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, *A Grammar of Assent*, *The Idea of a University*, and three volumes of the *Essays and Sketches* have appeared. (2). Further three books of essays, *Centenary Essays*, published in London, *A Tribute to Newman*, published in Dublin, and *American Essays for the Newman Centennial* have added valuable information and critical interpretation of Newman's thought. The words of Dr. Harrold are particularly apposite:

"Of the making of books on Newman there seems to be no end, It is said that, in 1933 during the centenary of the beginning of the Oxford Movement, no fewer than 10,000 books and articles appeared to celebrate the occasion. We have now arrived at another centennial date, the one-hundredth anniversary of Cardinal Newman's conversion to the Roman Catholic Church, and although we are in the throes of war, more books and articles on the great

(1) The works of Cardinal Newman were published during his lifetime, and since that time have never been out of print. The 1940-41 bombings of London and the resultant fire in Paternoster Row destroyed the plates and the existing stock of his writings.

(2) Dr. Harrold died on July 10, 1948.

Cardinal are pouring from the presses". (3).

"Much of Newman's story has been told again and again; much has never been told at all". (4). I think it true to say that of all the critical works about Newman, that have been written in English during the last twenty-five years, too few have dealt with Newman as an educator, and what was meant, as he understood it, by that "high word" education. It should be mentioned that the writings of Professor Michael Tierney, Roger J. McHugh and W. F. P. Stockley are extremely valuable discussions and criticisms of Newman's educational philosophy. Of doubtful value are the writings of Father T. Coreoran, S.J. In *Liberal Education and Moral Aims, a critical Survey of Newman's Position*, a rather disturbing picture of the great Oratorian's educational views are given, probably due to the fact that the author almost wholly deals with Newman's University lectures in developing his thesis. (5). But as a whole no work has appeared in English which is comparable with that of the French scholar, Fernande Tardivel who has written "what is likely to remain the best

(3) Charles Frederick Barrold, *John Henry Newman*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1945, p. VII.

(4) Haisie Ward, *Young Mr. Newman*, London, Sheed and Ward, 1948, p. VII.

(5) *Thought*, Vol. 1. No. 1 June 1928, pp. 54-71.

book (6) on this aspect of Newman's life and work". (7).

(6) J. H. Newman, *Educateur*, Paris: Beauchesnes, 1957.

(7) A Tribute to Newman, Professor Michael Tierney, Catholic University, Dublin, Browne and Nolan Limited, 1945, p. 177. Speaking of Fernand Tardivel's book Professor Tierney shows how the author refutes the interpretation of Father Coscoran regarding Newman's educational aims (*Newman's Theory of Education* by Rev. T. Coscoran, S.J., D. Litt. Printed for academic use in the Department of Education, University College, Dublin, 1929). Professor Tierney says in part: "The Irish reader of this cool, objective and well-informed French critic must be saddened to meet on her second page the judgment that 'Newman' *éducateur* a été étudié à rebours en Irlande," and to find that one of her reasons for writing in French was to avoid appearing to provoke controversy with exponents of wrong-headed Irish views. It is regrettably the case that the sole considerable work on Newman done in Ireland for many years was of a nature to justify such strictures, and still more regrettable that this work was reinforced by lectures of considerable authority and power, delivered to several generations of students of educational theory in the College where Newman's name should be most especially honoured. The attention there devoted to his university writings has thus had its disconcerting and painful, as well as its pleasant aspects. Too many of those Irish students, of whose coming achievements for religion and learning he spoke with such hope and eloquence, have been taught, while allowing him as if perforce a flourish of conventional faint praise, to decry and dismiss as valueless his teaching as a whole. They have been indoctrinated with the belief that apart from . . . his incidental teaching on the psychology and logic of the educative processes in themselves, his philosophy of Liberal Education is to be summarily rejected". Incidentally Professor Tierney adds this illuminating foot-note: "The boldness of this devaluation deserves particular emphasis".

(Catholic University. p. 177).

CHAPTER I.

Theology in Education.

I

"Here we have an explanation of the multitude of off-hand sayings, flippant judgments, and shallow generalizations, with which the world abounds".(1).

Theories regarding education follow closely the pattern cut out by philosophies of life, and such philosophies are constructed from answers to fundamental questions. One should see then what these fundamental questions were, and in particular those which had a bearing upon education in England and in Ireland in the nineteenth century.

To give a history of all the influences that have affected English educational theory and practice during the period of Newman's life, or at least up to the period of the first publication of his lectures, *Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education*, addressed to the Catholics of Dublin (1852) (2) would be a long and difficult task. To comprehend fully and to evaluate accurately all the influences great and small would go far beyond the scope of this essay, but it is necessary in order to understand Newman's thought and reaction to these theories to state in brief and as carefully as possible the basic philosophies or moulds of thought of the time. But at the risk of over-simplification, one

(1) *The Idea of a University*, Discourse IV, p. 37 all quotations from the *Idea of a University*, unless otherwise stated, are from the new edition, edited by Dr. Harrold, 1947.

(2) Newman's *Discourses* were composed and published between November, 1851 and November 1852. They were ten in number and were published in pamphlet form.

can, I think, with reasonable security select a trend or two sufficiently general and comprehensive enough which will give a clear and true background to English educational thought of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Matthew Arnold (3), a contemporary of Cardinal Newman, in his writings on English culture and education is a reliable critic of his times. He it is who gave us the "barbarians" and the "philistines", words rich in meaning in delineating the characteristics of the two upper social classes who dominated England's cultural, scientific, commercial, and ~~and~~ its religious life and thought, for at least a century and a half after the Industrial Revolution.

"the current of thought in Victorian times can only be understood by taking as a starting point the inherited tradition of the three great classes into which Matthew Arnold divided the nation. The working class was still prone to take its ideas from the other two classes, whom Matthew Arnold named the "barbarians" and the "philistines"

 It is not easy therefore to treat the Mid-Victorian ideals in a dispassionate historical spirit, but the true background of educational difficulties in the middle of the nineteenth century cannot be understood except by realizing the good and bad features in the ideals of the 'barbarians' and the 'philistines'." (4).

The same historian of English education gives an excellent summation of the principal characteristics of the different English classes. This will be of value in estimating the driving forces which acted upon and gave a cast to English pedagogical ideas of the period. So continuing with the same author he says:

(3) Matthew Arnold 1822-1888.

(4) R. L. Archer, Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge University Press, 1923. p. 178.

"The barbarian set of ideals had a long pedigree. Feudalism, chivalry, the 'courtly ideal' of Queen Elizabeth's age, the feelings of the cavaliers, the toryism and high churchmanship of Queen Anne's time, had all left their mark upon it. This mode of thought had extended far beyond the landed aristocracy. It pervaded the Church, the professional classes, and the universities. The 'philistine' ideals were of later growth. They owed something to earlier Puritanism; but in their Victorian form they became recognizable only after the Industrial Revolution had created a powerful manufacturing class. Speaking generally, they were the ideals alike of the wealthy manufacturer, the shopkeeper, and the clerk. All non-conformists were 'philistine', and not 'barbarian', though all 'philistines' were not non-conformists. Most 'philistines' were liberal in politics, and their liberalism was more usually of the "Manchester" brand than radical; most 'barbarians' were conservatives, but, if they were liberals, it was almost always of the Whig brand". (5).

It is clear to everybody that only a very small section of any group or class are articulate in their views, so one should keep in mind that in speaking of the educational ideals of a class we are thinking only of a small minority of that class. The educational ideals of the 'barbarians' can be quite easily and quite handily summed up in two words - the public school, with all that it meant and still means, to the school-tie class of Englishman. (6).

Now, what then were the ideals of the 'philistine' class? The barbarian summed up his educational philosophy in the public school. For the 'philistine' it is not as simple as that. On the whole he had more definitely formulated ideas than the 'barbarian'. He was a comparative new-comer in English life, and as a result, since he lacked a past, he had

(5) *ibid.*

(6) "On May 1st, 1808 he (Newman) was sent to a private school at Ealing, taught by Dr Nicholas of Radham College, Oxford. His own entreaties aided those of his mother and schoolmaster in preventing his going to Manchester, and he remained at Ealing until he went up to Trinity College, Oxford. Thus he never was at a public school". *Milfrid Ward, Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd. London, 1929. p. 29.

to make a present. His ideas were largely borrowed and ill-digested. Being largely Puritan in background and practice he looked rather askance at art and literature. Political ideas were borrowed freely from continental liberals; and his other intellectual ideas were tainted with infidelity. At home John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill and others of the same kind provided a source of intellectual and cultural venseer. Most of his thought was coloured by Utilitarianism, Liberalism, both English and continental, and a religion without dogma, based largely on feeling and emotion which clearly show signs, if not the reality, of veiled Agnosticism. Robert Browning the English poet writing in 1855 said:

"All we have gained then, by our unbelief
Is a life of doubt, diversified by faith
For one of faith diversified by doubt". (7).

Newman himself expresses a similar idea when he says:

The religious world, as it is styled, holds, generally speaking, that Religion consists, not in knowledge, but in feeling or sentiment
.....
You see, Gentlemen, how a theory or philosophy, which began with the religious changes of the sixteenth century has led to conclusions, which the authors of those changes would be the first to denounce, and has been taken up by that large and influential body which goes by the name of Liberal and Latitudinarian; and how, where it prevails, it is as unreasonable of course to demand for religion a chair in a University, as to demand one for fine feeling, sense of honour, patriotism, gratitude, maternal affection, or good companionship, proposals which would be simply unmeaning". (8).

(7) Robert Browning. Bishop Blomgrams Apology - Men and Women, Vol. 1, 1855.

(8) Idea of a University. Discourse 11, pages 25 and 27.

II

"University teaching without Theology is simply unphilosophical. Theology has at least as good a right to claim a place there as Astronomy". (1).

It is necessary now to discuss somewhat in detail some of the more apparent manifestations of the Liberal, (2) Latitudinarian (3) or 'Philistine' philosophy regarding education, and to find out what was Newman's answer to the question raised. Let us consider in the first place the foundation of the new universities.

The Established Church being for the most part aristocratic and conservative sided with the traditional view of education, based on the classics, Latin and Greek, against the new science. On the other hand the

(1) Idea of a University. Discourse II, p. 38.

(2) Newman defines Liberalism as "the exercise of thought upon matters, in which, from the constitution of the human mind, thought cannot be brought to any successful issue, and therefore is out of place. Among such matters are first principles of whatever kind; and of these the most sacred and momentous are especially to be reckoned the truths of Revelation. Liberalism, then, is the mistake of subjecting to human judgment those revealed doctrines which are in their nature beyond and independent of propositions which rest for their reception simply on the external authority of the Divine Word". (Apologia. p. 238).

(3) "The Latitudinarian doctrine is this: that every man's view of Revealed Religion is acceptable to God, if he acts up to it; that no one view is in itself better than another, or at least that we cannot tell which is the better. All that we have to do then is to act consistently with what we hold, and to value others if they act consistently with what they hold; that to be consistent constitutes sincerity; that where there is this evident sincerity, it is no matter [what we profess to be]". (Ibid. p. 48).

democratic tendency in England had close relations with the scientific and secularist movements. Non-conformity therefore was drawn to democracy, innovation and science. Again the French Revolution had been at once anti-christian and anti-monarchical; hence there was an alliance between Radicalism and unorthodoxy, whether unitarian, agnostic or atheistic. Non-conformity had joined hands with the so-called freethinking, anti-christians. The church and aristocracy being in possession; the two oppositions, Non-conformity and Radicalism, tended to ~~act~~ together and to be regarded as the right and left of one party. The practical question ~~at~~ issue was the exclusion of non-churchmen from the Universities, and from opportunities of higher education. (4).

Further it should be noted that the nonconformist Academies, which met the need in the eighteenth century, had decayed. They would not, even if they had survived, had met the needs of the secularists. So it is plain that an opposition to the state of affairs, as represented by Oxford and Cambridge, could arrive at only one solution, the exclusion of theology altogether from the type of university which they desired. They were anxious to found a university a London which would exclude religion. Thus the new University College was opened in 1827. (5).

(4) It was in 1871 when Gladstone, the prime minister abolished the religious tests, subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, in Oxford, Cambridge and Durham. "Thus a century of debate, sometimes very hot debate, was brought to an end, and an educational policy which originated with the 'Philosophical Radicals' and the French Revolution scored a partial triumph". John William Adamson, English Education, 1789-1902, Cambridge University Press, London. 1930 p. 419.

(5) Matthew Arnold denounced "that goodless institution in Gower Street".

It might be well to add that the Established Church saw that the new College fulfilled other purposes besides disseminating unorthodox views. It taught subjects which could not be found in the curriculum of the Universities and public schools; it was considerably cheaper and it brought education to the student's very doors. So in self-defence, King's College was founded in the following year. In 1836 a charter was given to a federal institution which should consist of University and King's College. (6).

(6) It was in the same year as Newman's reception into the Catholic Church at Littlemore by the Italian Passionist, Father Dominic Barberi in 1845 that Sir Robert Peel proposed to found the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. The University of London set a precedent for the three Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork and Galway which were founded between 1845-1849, and were incorporated as Queen's University in 1850. The constitution of the Queen's Colleges banished theology from the curriculum.

III

"It will not satisfy me, what satisfies so many to have two independent systems, intellectual and religious, going on at once side by side, by a sort of division of labour, and accidentally brought together". (1).

The exclusion of religion from the university programme brings up a closely allied problem, that is the problem of undenominational or mixed education. This question was to the fore in Ireland since, as we have seen, Peel had set up a system of undenominational university colleges in 1845. It is necessary to say something of this before going on to discuss Newman's position in relation to the general problem of religion in education, for Newman was brought to Ireland to establish a Catholic university to counteract the baneful influence of these "infidel colleges for the propagation of infidel and revolutionary mania". (2).

In Ireland the place and function of religion in the classroom was a burning question. The government or official view was that of educational radicalism, and it was exemplified in the Irish national schools. W. F. P. Stockley in his scholarly and interesting book, *Newman, Education and Ireland* has this to say:

"and the Irish at home were being brought up in 'National Schools' where no history might be taught, schools wherein the great crime was being committed of the cutting a people off from its cultural past, and where every influence tended to take from

(1) Newman, *Sermons on Various Occasions*, No. 1, *Intellect, the Instrument of Religious Training*.

(2) Archbishop McHale of Tuam to Lord John Russell.

it right national pride. Yet this people had one unbroken bond with the past, its religion; though the chiefs thereof were bishops fundamentally mutually opposed in their ideas as to how the religious life of the Irish people should be reorganized and prepared for the new world of reforms coming from England, rather than persecutions; the new world bringing equalising political rights; putting Catholics into positions of public trust; infiltrating anglicization at all pores of the Irish body politic; attempting to give the needed higher education by the hands of a Protestant power, unsteady, of course, to satisfy the instincts, or to build upon the principles, of an old Catholic people like the Irish, who desired, perhaps they knew not what, but who were ready to follow their bishops, (3) and were conscious of distress in the new glare of what was brought by the foreign school-mastering, with its worshipping of material success, its unimaginative practical commonplace, its dreary official irreligion, and its ideals of cleanliness, order, industry, and commercialism, together with dull uniformity, and a British imperialism, the whole thing Philistine, as we say - 'on the side of beauty and taste, vulgarity; on the side of morals and feeling, coarseness; on the side of mind and spirit unintelligence, this is Philistinism' - (4) to the core, hostile to local tradition, to the realities and varieties of smaller nationalities, and to everything that would make an Irishman care to live in Ireland more than in any other imperial area"(5).

And furthermore according to the government opinion religion was merely one subject among others which formed the curriculum, and the influence of re-

(3) One section of the Irish bishops, represented by Doctor Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, and Doctor Crolly, Archbishop of Armagh approved of the Queen's Colleges "as the maximum concession that could be expected from a British government pledged to uphold Protestantism; if certain 'safeguards' were provided and if a fair proportion of Catholics were admitted to the Senate and staffs of the colleges, they were willing, while maintaining the principle of separate education, to sanction the admission of Catholic students". Roger J. McHugh. Newman on University Education, 1944. Browne and Nolan Limited. p. x.

(4) Matthew Arnold, Celtic Literature, VII.

(5) W. F. Stockley, Newman, Education and Ireland, Sands and Co., London, pp. 7, 8.

ligion upon those other studies, and their influence upon religion was immaterial. (6).

In conclusion we might add that the Holy See was against mixed education and as a result the Queen's Colleges were condemned in 1847 and 1848. Pope Pius IX further recommended to the Irish hierarchy the foundation in Ireland of a Catholic University. (7).

(6) It should be noted that the British government agreed to establish Catholic halls under Catholic deans, to assign lecture-rooms for religious instruction, and to take disciplinary measures against teachers who attacked revealed religion or students who failed to attend their religious duties.

(7) "It is doubtful whether without great pressure from Rome the Catholic University of Ireland would have taken definite shape at all; but the need of combating the Queen's Colleges was urged on Pius IX by his advisers. These included the Rector of the Irish College in Rome, Doctor Paul Cullen, an able theologian and Oriental scholar, who was destined to play one of the chief parts in the Catholic University". Roger J. McHugh, Newman on University Education. p. XIII.

IVI

"Here then, I conceive, is the object of the Holy See and the Catholic Church in setting up Universities; it is to reunite things which were in the beginning joined together by God, and have been put assunder by man". (1).

It is not necessary in this essay to go into the steps taken by the Holy See and the Irish Hierarchy to inaugurate a Catholic University in Ireland. Suffice it to say that the Irish bishops at the episcopal synod of Thurles held in 1850 presided over by Archbishop Cullen, ⁽¹⁾ passed a formal resolution to take steps to found a Catholic University. (2). In July 1851 Newman was asked to become the first rector by Archbishop Cullen.

Newman's aims in accepting the Irish bishop's request to become rector (3) have been left on record by himself.

"I contemplated making provision for both the liberal and and professional education of the various classes of the community, but I added other objects still larger as well as various in their nature, those for instance of providing philosophical defences of Catholicity and Revelation, of creating a Catholic Literature, of influencing the general education of the country, of giving a Catholic tone to society, and of meeting the growing

(1) On the death of Archbishop Crolly in 1849, Doctor Cullen was appointed to Armagh with the express intention of setting up a Catholic University.

(2) It was at this synod that the bishops by a narrow majority (Wilfrid Ward says by a majority of one) decided that any priest when engaged in administrative or academic work in the Queen's Colleges would be liable to ecclesiastical censure and suspension. Thus the Queen's Colleges became in effect closed to the majority of Irish Catholic students.

(3) It was on November 12, 1851 that the Irish Bishops passed a formal resolution inviting Newman to be Rector.

geographical importance of Ireland". (4).

In 1851 Newman at the request of Dr. Cullen went to Dublin to deliver some lectures against mixed education. They were ten in number; the first five were delivered in the Rotunda, Dublin on five successive Mondays from May 10th to June 7th, 1852. Due to the strain of the Achilli trial (5) which started on June 21st, Newman found it impossible to deliver the five remaining discourses; however the ten discourses were published in pamphlet form in Dublin. (6).

What place does religion necessarily occupy in a satisfactory system of education? To this fundamentally important question Newman devoted the first five of his discourses:

1. Introductory.
2. Theology a Branch of Knowledge.
3. Bearing of Theology on Other Branches of Knowledge.
4. Bearing of Other Branches of Knowledge on Theology. (7).
5. Universal Knowledge Viewed as One Philosophy.

(4) My Campaign in Ireland: p.9.

(5) A libel action brought by an unfrocked Italian priest, named Achilli, who was engaged in anti-Catholic propaganda in England, against Newman who had assisted in exposing him.

(6) It is of interest to note that the ten discourses with a preface and an appendix were published in one volume in Dublin before the end of 1852, under the title Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education, addressed to the Catholics of Dublin. Seven years later (1859) after revisions and alterations the lectures were published in England entitled The Scope and Nature of University Education. In 1873 a new and enlarged volume took the well-known title The Idea of a University. This last edition is considered to be the definitive one.

(7) In the revision of 1859 Discourse V. was omitted. Dr Harrold in his edition of the Idea of a University has included this lecture in the appendix.

The first four lectures were directed in the main to emphasizing the fatal defect underlying the constitution of the new universities, in so far as they banished theology from their curriculum. Newman himself says at the beginning of the second discourse:

"It is the fashion just now, as you very well know, to erect so-called universities, without making any provision for Theological chairs. Institutions of this kind exist both here and in England". (8).

His main argument is that a university is a place for teaching universal knowledge. Hence for that integrity, theology is necessary.

Now what did Newman mean by Theology? Newman who is arguing on human grounds, and, he says, on grounds common with Protestants and other Monotheists seems to be holding for Natural Theology or Theodicy,

"by Theology, I simply mean the science of God, or the truths we know about God put into system; just as we have a science of the stars, and call it astronomy or the crust of the earth, and call it geology". (9).

"Theology, as I have described it, is no accident of particular minds, as are certain systems, for instance, of prophetic interpretation. It is not the sudden birth of a crisis, as the Lutheran or Wesleyan doctrine. It is not the splendid development of some rising philosophy, as the Cartesian or Platonic. It is not the fashion of a season, as certain medical treatments may be considered. It has had a place, if not possession, in the intellectual world from time immemorial; it has been received by minds the most various, and in systems of religion the most hostile to each other. It has *prima facie* claims upon us, so imposing, that it can only be rejected on the grounds of those claims being nothing more than imposing, that is, being false, as to our own countries, it occupied our language, it meets us at every turn in our

(8) Idea of a University, Discourse II p. 18. It will be recalled that the Queen's Colleges were now functioning in Ireland.

(9) Idea of a University, Discourse III p. 55.

literature, it is the secret assumption, too axiomatic to be distinctly professed, of all our writers; nor can we help assuming it ourselves, except by the most unnatural vigilance.

..... When was the world without it? Have the systems of Atheism or Pantheism, as sciences, prevailed in the literature of nations, or received a formation or attained a completeness such as Monotheism? We find it in old Greece, and even in Rome, as well as in Judea and the East. We find it in popular literature, in philosophy, in poetry, as a positive and settled teaching, differing not at all in the appearance it presents, whether in Protestant England, or in schismatical Russia, or in the Mahometan populations, or in the Catholic Church. If ever there was a subject of thought, which had earned by prescription to be received among the studies of a University, and which could not be rejected except on the score of convicted imposture, as astrology or alchemy; if there be a science anywhere, which at least could claim not to be ignored, but to be entertained, and either distinctly accepted or distinctly reprobated, or rather, which cannot be passed over in a scheme of universal instruction, without involving a positive denial of its truth, it is this ancient, this far-spreading philosophy". (10).

Is this then what Newman means by Theology? From the above quotations it seems clear that he is talking about Natural Theology or Theodicy, the science of God as knowable by undided human reason. Wilfrid Ward in his Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman rather gives this opinion. (11). The quotations he uses from the Idea of a University (12) reinforces the impression that the Cardinal meant by Theology, Natural Theology. Does Newman go any further? Does he make a distinction between Natural Theology and Supernatural Theology? I think it is clear that he does, and, what he means by

(10) Idea of a University, Discourse III, p. 60 and 61.

(11) Wilfrid Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., London, 1927, p. 391.

(12) p. 67, from the 1912, edition, Longmans, Green and Co.

Theology, is both natural and supernatural. Newman at the end of this discourse states clearly his meaning. He says:

"But I have been insisting simply on Natural Theology, and that because I wished to carry along with me those who were not Catholics, and, again, as being confident, that no one can really set himself to master and to teach the doctrine of an intelligent Creator and its fulness, without going on a great deal farther than he at present dreams. I say, then, secondly:- if this Science, even as human reason may attain to it, has such claims on the regard, and enters so variously into the objects, of the Professor of Universal Knowledge, how can any Catholic imagine that it is possible for him to cultivate Philosophy and Science with due attention to their ultimate end, which is Truth, supposing that system of revealed facts and principles, which constitutes the Catholic Faith, which goes so far beyond nature, and which he knows to be most true, be omitted from among the subjects of his teaching? (13).

In the lecture, General Religious Knowledge, which is one of four essays grouped together under the heading "Elementary Studies", Newman is more particular on the theology to be taught in his ideal university. In part he says:

"If a Catholic youth mixes with educated Protestants of his own age, he will find them conversant with the outlines and characteristics of sacred and ecclesiastical history as well as profane: it is desirable that he should be on a par with them, and able to keep up a conversation with them. It is desirable if he has left our University with honours or prizes, that he should know as well as they about the great primitive divisions of Christianity, its polity, its luminaries, its acts, and its fortunes; its great eras and its course down to this day. He should have some idea of its propagation, and of the order in which the nations, which have submitted to it, enter its pale; and the list of its Fathers, and of its writers generally, and of the subjects of their works. He should know who St. Justin Martyr was, and when he lived; what language St. Ephraim wrote in, on

(13) Idea of a University, Discourse 3, p. 62.

what St. Chrysostom's literary fame is founded; who was Celsus, or Ammonius, or Porphyry, or Ulphilas, or Symmachus, or Theodoric. Who were the Nestorians; what was the religion of the barbarian nations who took possession of the Roman Empire; who was Eutyches, or Berengarius, who the Albigenses. He should know something about the Benedictines, Dominicans, or Franciscans, about the Crusades, and the chief movers in them. He should be able to say what the Holy See has done for learning and science; the place which these islands hold in the literary history of the dark age; what part the Church had, and how her highest interests fared, in the revival of letters; who Bossarion was or Ximenes, or William of Wykeham, or Cardinal Allen. I do not say that we can insure all this knowledge in every accomplished student, who goes from us, but at least we can admit such knowledge, we can encourage it, in our lecture rooms and examination-halls.

And so in like manner, as regards Biblical knowledge, it is desirable that, while our students are encouraged to pursue the history of classical literature, they should also be invited to acquaint themselves with some general facts about the canon of Holy Scripture, its history, the Jewish canon, St. Jerome, the Protestant Bible; again about the languages of Scripture, the contents of its separate books, their authors, and their versions. In all such knowledge I conceive no great harm can lie in being superficial.

But know as to Theology itself. To meet the apprehended danger (that a little or a superficial theological knowledge is a dangerous thing), I would exclude the teaching in extense of pure dogma from the secular schools, and content myself with enforcing such a broad knowledge of doctrinal subjects as is contained in the catechisms of the Church, or the actual writings of her lattty. I would have students apply their minds to such religious topics as laymen actually do treat, and are thought praiseworthy in treating. Certainly I admit that when a Lawyer or physician, or statesman, or merchant, or soldier sets about discussing theological points, he is likely to succeed as ill as an ecclesiastic who meddles with law, or medicine, or the exchange. But I am professing to contemplate Christian knowledge in what may be called its secular aspect, as it is practically useful in the intercourse of life and in general conversation; and I would encourage it so far as it bears upon the history, the literature, and the philosophy of Christianity.

.....

I should desire, then, to encourage in our students an intelligent apprehension of the relations, as I may call them, between the Church and Society at large; for instance, the difference between the Church and a religious sect; the respective prerogatives of the Church and the civil power; what the Church claim of necessity, what it cannot dispense with, what it can; what it can grant, what it cannot. A Catholic hears the celibacy of the clergy discussed in general society; is that usage a matter of faith, or is it not of faith? He hears the Pope accused of interfering with the prerogatives of Her Majesty, because he appoints an hierarchy. What is to be the answer? What principle is to guide him in the remarks which he cannot escape from the necessity of making? He fills a station of importance, and he is addressed by some friend who has political reasons for wishing to know what is the difference between Canon and Civil Law, whether the Council of Trent has been received in France, whether a priest cannot in certain cases absolve prospectively, what is meant by his intention, what by the opus operatum; whether, and in what sense, we consider Protestants to be heretics; whether anyone can be saved without sacramental confession; whether we deny the reality of natural virtue or what worth we assign to it?" (14).



(14) Elementary Studies in the Idea of a University (London. Longmans, Green, 1912. pp. 375-378).

It is with some hesitation that I quote from Newman at such length, but I have in mind the remark of Father Henry Tristram when he says: "It is with some misgiving that I have deliberately, though sorely against my will, ignored the caution implicit in Mr. G. M. Young's words that no one would be so rash as to abridge or paraphrase Newman! Could any one be more conscious than I am that he can hardly be abridged without loss or paraphrased without misrepresentation"?

(The Living Thoughts of Cardinal Newman, Henry Tristram, preface, p. XII.).

V.

"A philosophical comprehensiveness, an orderly expansiveness, an elastic constructiveness, men have lost them, and cannot make out why. This is why: because they have lost the idea of unity: because they cut off the head of a living thing". (1).

Newman's principal purpose, and in the main his whole purpose in the first five Discourses is not only to claim a place for Theology in the University curriculum, but to show that the systematic exclusion of Theology from university studies is unphilosophical. In Discourses III. and IV. he discusses the relation of Theology to the rest of the programme and in Discourse V, General Knowledge Viewed as One Philosophy, he completes, and in a sense, crowns what he has said in the previous lectures. He expounds the Catholic doctrine which is based upon the philosophical principle that a curriculum deserving the name is not a fortuitous group of subjects, but an organized unity whose parts mutually affect each other for a common purpose. The teaching of religion will influence the teaching, for example, of history or of science, and these in turn will influence the teaching of religion.

At the beginning of Discourse V. Newman has these significant words:

" I contended last week, (2) that a positive distinction takes place between Theology and Secular Science, whenever

(1) Idea of a University, Appendix, Discourse V, p. 393.

(2) Newman is here referring to Discourse IV.

they are not actually united. Here, not to be at peace is to be at war; and for this reason: The assemblage of Sciences which together make up Universal Knowledge is not an accidental or a varying heap of acquisitions, but a system, and may be said to be in equilibrio, as long as all its portions are secured to it. Take away one of them, and that one so important in the catalogue as Theology, and disorder and ruin at once ensue. There is no middle state between an equilibrium and chaotic confusion; one science is ever pressing upon another, unless kept in check; and the only guarantee of Truth is the cultivation of them all. And such is the office of a University". (3).

Newman argues something in this fashion. If, for instance we wish to know what man is we may go to physics, biology or chemistry. These sciences will give us certain definite facts; each science will give some information. We can enlarge our knowledge of man by still going further afield. We can examine the findings of psychology and the social sciences. By this time we shall know a great deal about man, but there will still be one thing -- and a thing of great importance -- that we do not know. We do not know that man has a supernatural destiny. Revelation alone can tell us that. Hence to have complete knowledge, a unified knowledge, Theology is necessary.

Particular sciences, therefore, can give us truth about man, but a truth which is incomplete. Each particular science has its own subject matter, its own methods. Within its own limits each science gives truth. Sciences concentrate or should concentrate on those aspects of reality, with which they are competent to deal.

(3) Idea of a University, Appendix, Discourse V. p. 389.

"Physics can measure things and it deals with that in things which can be measured. It does not tell us that man has a soul; it cannot tell us that, because you cannot measure the soul. On the other hand, it cannot tell us that a man has not a soul, and if physics, forgetting its proper function; declares dogmatically that man has not a soul, physics must be corrected. And so the sciences, from the lowest to the highest, are interconnected and 'have' as Newman says, 'multiplied bearings one on another'. (4). They complete one another, and, if necessary, correct one another". (5).

Now Newman has a further objection to the omission of Theology from the University programme. The omission of Theology means the perversion of the other sciences. There is no limit to man's efforts to find satisfactory answers to his questions, and if he is shut off from the science which is the most important one of all, he will seek an explanation elsewhere. He will try to explain all things in the terms of some subordinate science. Newman himself gives a very clear example of this type of reasoning. He says:

..... "now let us turn to the teaching of the actual Political Economist, in his present fashionable shape. I will take a very favourable instance of him: he shall be represented by a gentleman of high character, whose religious views are sufficiently guaranteed to us by his being the special choice, in this department of science, of a University removed more than any other Protestant body of the day from sordid or unchristian principles on the subject of money-making. I say, if there be a place where Political Economy would be kept in order, and would not be suffered to learn the high road and ride across the pastures and the gardens dedicated to other studies, it is the University of Oxford".

It is not necessary to give all of Newman's account of this professor's inaugural lecture in Economics, but a few quotations from this section of the

(4) Idea of a University, Discourse V. Knowledge Its Own End. p.88.

(5) Rev. J. McInckin, M.A. The Contribution of the University. The Irish Ecclesiastical Record. January, 1946. p. 14.

Discourses will show sufficient of his argument.

"My answer", the professor says, "is first that the pursuit of wealth, that is the endeavour to accumulate the means of future subsistence and enjoyment, is, to the mass of mankind, the great source of moral improvement.

. The soul, in the case of 'the mass of mankind', improves in moral excellence from this more than any thing else, viz, from heaping up the means of enjoying this world in time to come! I really should on every account be sorry, Gentlemen, to exaggerate, but indeed one is taken by surprise, one is startled, on meeting with so very categorical or contradiction of our Lord, St. Paul, St. Chrysostom, St. Leo, and all Saints But it is not enough that morals and happiness are made to depend on gain and accumulation, the practice of Religion is ascribed to these causes also". (6).

This then is Newman's first position: that the systematic exclusion of theology from the University is unphilosophical. It leaves out the most important field of study and it tends to pervert all science. Newman repeats again and again a fundamental truth in education, viz, integration or unity is absolutely essential.

To conclude this section I shall use Newman's magnificent words:

"The majestic vision of the Middle Age, which steadily grew to perfection in the course of centuries, the University of Paris, or Bologna, or Oxford, has almost gone out in night. A philosophical comprehensiveness, an orderly expansiveness, an elastic constructiveness, men have lost them, and cannot make out why. This is why: because they have lost the idea of unity: because they have cut off the head of a living thing, and think it is perfect, all but the head. They think the head an extra, an accomplishment, the corona operis, not essential

(6) Idea of a University, Discourse V. p. 393.

to the idea of the being under their hands". (7).

(7) It will be of interest and of value to note what Maritain says of Theology in the University curriculum. On page 32, Education at the Crossroads, he says: "For the reasons which I stated above apropos of the humanities, courses in theology, however important in themselves, would be a matter of free choice. Of course the question of theological teaching crops up with regard to the university as well as with regard to college education, and the considerations we previously laid down in this connection are here of special moment. Those who believe that God revealed to mankind His intimate secrets hold theology, or the rational development and penetration of the revealed data, to be in itself real knowledge in the strict sense of the term, though it is rooted in faith and grasps its object by means of concepts which are infinitely transcended and exceeded by it. In order to make philosophy autonomous, Descartes deemed it necessary to consider faith mere obedience, and to refuse any character of real knowledge in theology. Thus he threw out the baby with the bath. I am convinced that one of the main tasks of our age is to recognize both the distinction and the organic relationship between theology, rooted in faith, and philosophy, rooted in reason, and now secure of its sought-for autonomy. For it is not likely, is it, that if God spoke, it was to say nothing to human intelligence? From this point of view, Newman was right in stating that if a university professes it to be its scientific duty to exclude theology from its curriculum, 'such an Institution cannot be what it professes, if there be a God'." Education at the Crossroads, Jacques Maritain, New Haven, Yale University Press. 1943.

CHAPTER II

The Nature and Object of that Education which it is the Business of a
University to impart.

"This is that barren mockery of knowledge which comes on attending on great Lecturers, or of mere acquaintance with reviews, magazines, newspapers, and other literature of the day, which, however able and valuable in itself, is not the instrument of intellectual education." (1).

It is wise to remember that "all of Newman's works were called forth by some definite occasion". (2). Everything that he wrote or said had a definite purpose in view; he always had a reason for his written or spoken word. Just as the rise of the new Universities with their banishment of Theology from the curriculum was the occasion for his exposition of the rights of Theology to a place in education, so the rise and growth of Utilitarian principles which had invaded the field of education was the occasion of his lectures on the essence of a university. Another point, which I think worth mentioning is an observation made by Urban Voll, O.P. "Newman was not wrong in what he affirmed; if anything he was wrong only in what he did not affirm. *Abstrahentium non est mendacium*". (3). The statements of Professor Conacher and Father Voll are particularly pertinent when one is discussing what Newman's Idea of a University was. Mischief has been done to Newman's name, to his

(1) John Henry Newman, *Idea of a University*. *Discipline of Mind*. An Address delivered to the Evening Classes, November, 1858. p. 371.

(2) W. M. Conacher, *Newman and Liberal Education*, *Queen's Quarterly*, Winter 1947-1948. Vol. LIV. No. 4. p. 440.

(3) Urban Voll, O.P. in his review of Dr. Harrold's edition of the *Idea of a University*. *The Thomist*, October 1948, Vol. XI. No. 4. p. 514.

philosophy of education simply because all the facts of the case have not been studied. as was stated before, philosophies are constructed from answers to fundamental questions.

A question much to the fore in English life of the middle nineteenth century was that of Utilitarianism. In the domain of education "Useful Knowledge" was, in the main, the end and be all of educational agencies. (4). Humanity was to be regenerated by the spread of useful information. There was supposed to be a refining influence in the mere mastering of facts. It is true that there was sometimes an attempt to discriminate among the different kinds of facts. But the great body of opinion in England in the early nineteenth century inclined to value all facts as educational forces. In 1827 Lord Brougham founded the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, as a means for giving effect to utilitarian principles. By means of its publications (5) and its sys-

(4) John Locke's (1632-1704) best known educational work, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, (1693) assigns great importance to utility as a standard of value among the different branches of study. This doctrine was pushed to extreme length by Johann Bernhard Basedow (1723-1790) and his followers. It dominated most of the suggestions of the "education mad party" in England during the first half of the nineteenth century.

"Locke, so far as we know was the first writer on philosophy whose works he (Newman) studied". Wilfrid Ward, *Life of Cardinal Newman*, p. 34.

(5) The Society published a number of popular works such as *The Penny Magazine*, *The Penny Cyclopaedia*, *The Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, and *The Library of Useful Knowledge*.

ten of public lectures the Society undoubtedly diffused knowledge (6) in all parts of the country. They also affected the ideals of national education. The virtues of individualism, utilitarianism in concrete shapes and the advantage to an industrial community of a widely diffused knowledge of natural science were lessons deeply impressed upon the English mind, and these represented the chief aims of the Utilitarian "education mad party" under the leadership of Lord Brougham. (7).

There were other means for the diffusion of "useful knowledge", and of utilitarian principles. Such were the Mechanics' Institutes, the multiplication of libraries and reading rooms, lecture series and societies without end for the promotion of some kind of knowledge. With Newman one is forced to admit "Nor am I an enemy to the cheap publication of scientific and literary works, which is now in vogue," but some of the information offered, some of the conclusions reached were, to say the least highly fantastic and most extraordinary.

(6) "The school-books of the time became slightly encyclopaedic in their efforts to impart useful knowledge. Such questions as "How does a candle burn?" were treated as of the gravest importance; and there was the underlying assumption that people who knew how candles burned, why balloons ascended, and what chalk was made of, would be more refined and of better character than those who remained in dull ignorance of these facts". John Adams, *The Evolution of Educational Theory*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, London, 1922. p. 199.

(7) Newman refers to Lord Brougham in Discourse II. *Theology a Branch of Knowledge*. p. 27. The reference is to "the scene Cover Street, the speaker Mr. Brougham or Dr. Lushington, and the occasion, the laying the first stone, or the inauguration of the then-called London University." Newman, *Discussions and Arguments*, IV. *The Tanworth Reading Room*. p. 255.

A few illustrations of this highly confused type of thought and speech are ably brought out by Newman in his letters to the editor of the Times regarding the opening of the Tamworth Reading Room and the address on that occasion by Sir Robert Peel. (8).

"On the occasion in question, Sir Robert gave expression to a theory of morals and religion, which of course, in a popular speech, was not put in a very dogmatic form, but which, when analyzed and fitted together, reads somewhat as follows:-

Human nature, he seems to say, if left to itself, becomes sensual and degraded. Uneducated men live in the indulgence of their passions, or, if they are merely taught to read, they dissipate and debase their minds by trifling or vicious publications. Education is the cultivation of the intellect and heart, and Useful Knowledge is the great instrument of education. It is the parent of virtue, the nurse of religion; it exalts man to his highest perfection, and is the sufficient scope of his most earnest exertions". (9).

"Mr. Brougham laid down at Glasgow the infidel principle or, as he styles it, 'the great truth', which 'has gone forth to all the ends of the earth, that man shall no more render account to man for his belief, over which he has himself no control!' And Dr. Lushington applied it in Gower Street to the College then and there rising, by asking, 'Will anyone argue for establishing a monopoly to be enjoyed by the few who are of one denomination, of the Christian Church only?' And he went on to speak of the association and union of all without exclusion or restriction, of 'friendships cementing the bond of charity, and softening the asperities which ignorance and separation have fostered.' Long may it be before Sir Robert Peel professes the great principle itself! even though, as the following passages show, he is inconsistent enough to think highly of its

(8) A series of letters appearing in the Times in February 1841. They now compose the fourth part of Discussions and Arguments on Various Subjects which were published in January 1872.

(9) Discussions and Arguments. The Tamworth Reading Room. p. 255.

application in the culture of the mind. He speaks, for instance, of this preliminary and fundamental rule, that no works of controversial divinity shall enter into the library (applause): -- of 'the institution being open to all persons of all descriptions, without reference to political opinions, or religious creed', -- and of 'an edifice in which men of all political opinions and all religious feelings may unite in the furtherance of knowledge, without the asperities of party feeling! Now, that British society should consist of persons of different religions, is this a positive standing evil, to be endured at best as unavoidable, or a topic of exaltation? Of exaltation, answers Sir Robert; the greater differences the better, the more the merrier. So we must interpret his tone". (10).

"A distinguished Conservative statesman tells us from the town-hall of Tamworth that 'in becoming wiser a man will become better;' meaning by wiser more conversant with the facts and theories of physical science; and that such a man will 'rise at once in the scale of intellectual and moral existence.' Does Sir Robert Peel mean to say, that whatever be the occult reasons for the result, so it is; you have but to drench the popular mind with physics, and moral and religious advancement follows on the whole in spite of individual failures?" (11).

"It does not require many words, then, to determine that, taking human nature as it is actually found, and assuming that there is an Art of Life, to say that it consists, or in any essential manner is placed, in the cultivation of Knowledge, that the mind is changed by a discovery, or saved by a diversion, and can thus be aroused into immortality, -- that grief, anger, cowardice, self-conceit, pride or passion, can be subdued by an examination of shells or grasses; or inhaling of gases, or chipping of rocks, or calculating the longitude, is the veriest of pretences which sophist or mountebank ever professed to a gaping auditory. If virtue be a mastery over the mind, if its end be action, if its perfection be inward order, harmony and peace, we must seek it in graver and holier places than in Libraries and Reading-rooms". (12).

(10) *ibid* p. 259.

(11) *ibid* p. 261.

(12) *ibid* p. 268.

Nothing has been said of Jeremy Bentham, (13) James Mill, (14) and John Stuart Mill, (15) or of Francis Bacon (16) to whom Newman frequently refers in Discourse V. in the Idea of a University, but what has been said is sufficient to show the influence and the ramifications of Utilitarianism in English life and education of the nineteenth century. And here we have the reason why Cardinal Newman in his University addresses was so insistent in showing what knowledge was and what was the province of the intellect. Furthermore we can see how true it is why Newman said time and time again "I write for the future", when at the present time we see the fruits of Liberal and Utilitarian principles which have become so closely bound up with the life of the modern English-speaking world that "The men of today are running the risk of passing from a civilization of Greek and Christian inspiration to a technical

(13) Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) is generally considered to be the founder of English Utilitarianism.

(14) James Mill (1773-1836) was the most important of Bentham's co-workers.

(15) John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) the son of James Mill gave the name of Utilitarianism to Bentham's philosophy. He adopts the utilitarian doctrine that in the effects of an action, that is in its powers of promoting happiness, we possess a clear and natural standard by which to judge its moral worth.

(16) Francis Bacon (1561-1626) whose writings, especially the Advancement of Learning (1605) and the Novum Organum (1620), mark a tendency to evaluate knowledge in terms of its material use to society which culminated in Utilitarianism.

civilization of utilitarian inspiration, liable to destroy itself."

(17).

(17) These words of the French historian André Siegfried were quoted by Monsignor Ferdinand Vandry, rector of Laval University, at a special convocation of the University of Western Ontario, at which he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in March, 1949.

II

"It would seem as if a University, seated and living in Colleges, would be a perfect institution, as possessing excellencies of opposite kinds". (1).

In all countries of Europe at the middle of the century, save England, instruction had been given by professors, that is to say, by experts especially responsible for lecturing on some one subject or branch of a subject to a large number of students. This is what Newman calls the "naked University". (2). In Oxford and Cambridge alone the University had been subordinate to the Colleges, where the college tutor gave catechetical teaching as well as instruction by lecture, or monologue, to a comparatively small group of pupils. Newman refers to this system as the "naked College". (3). The difference in method followed a difference in aim. The purpose of the professor with his large audience was to communicate knowledge, more particularly a knowledge of modern science and a learning of that which was useful. The primary aim of the tutor (4) was

(1) John Henry Newman, Historical Sketches, Vol. 3. London, Longmans, Green, and Co. 1891. p. 229.

(2) *ibid* p. 229.

(3) *ibid* p. 229.

(4) Newman entered Trinity College, Oxford on December 14, 1816. He was elected Fellow of Oriel in April, 1822. In the autumn of 1826 Newman was appointed one of the four tutors of Oriel; at that time he was twenty-five.

mental discipline, the communication of knowledge being subordinate to this principal object; hence the small classes, whose members might be conveniently questioned, and individual minds tested and exercised, for which purposes Greek and Latin and mathematics were thought to be unrivalled instruments. (5).

It will be recalled that when Newman was tutor at Oriel (6) he insisted that the Tutorship was a University office, and that its holder was responsible not to the College Provost but to the Vice-chancellor of the University for the intellectual and moral progress of the students under his care. The effect of this insistence would have been partly to give back to the University as such some of the authority taken from it by the Colleges, and partly to put on a more secure footing the duties and responsibilities of the tutor. "Here we have", as Professor Tierney says, "the first indication of Newman's abiding interest in a matter to which he was to devote much attention while in Dublin; that of the exact delineation

(5) Royal Commissions were appointed for both universities in 1850, and on their report, Acts of Parliament were passed to carry out parts of their recommendations (Oxford, 1854, Cambridge, 1856). Page 16 of their report regarding Oxford speaks of "measures calculated greatly to raise the importance of the professorial body so that we may hope to see its RANKS filled with able and active men in all departments". The articles by Newman on the "following illustrations of the idea of a University originally appeared in 1854 in the columns of the Dublin 'Catholic University Gazette'. In 1856 they were published in one volume under the title of "Office and Work of Universities". (Advertisement to 1856 edition). Newman devoted two articles to the question of Colleges and Universities. It will be noted that they were written at the time of the Royal Commissions investigating Oxford and Cambridge.

(6) Newman's efforts at reform ended in his being forced to resign his office as tutor in 1831.

of the functions of College and University, which at Oxford had long been confused to the great detriment of the latter". (7).

It is of paramount importance for an accurate understanding of Newman's educational philosophy to keep in view what he meant by the word university. Whether Newman had in mind Louvain or Oxford which were quite different in organization, but which nevertheless purported to the same end, is beside the point. Newman in the Historical Sketches writes at length on Oxford, and other medieval institutions of learning, but what he has in mind is to give his readers an understanding of what a university is and to lead the reader to Oxford, not indeed of his Oriel days, but to an Oxford which had been partially reformed by an Act of Parliament of 1854, which had carried into effect most of his ideas. Thus we have a University with a group of federated colleges. (8). Newman in chapter XIX, Abuses of the Colleges: Oxford, writes as follows:

"If what has been said in former chapters of this volume upon the relation of a University to its Colleges, be in the main correct, the difference between the two institutions, and the use of each is very clear. A University embodies the principle of progress, and a College that of stability; the one is the sail, and the other the ballast; each is insufficient in itself for the pursuit, extension, and inculcation of knowledge; each is useful to the other. A University is the scene of en-

(7) Michael Tierney, A Tribute to Newman, Catholic University, page 130.

(8) An interesting Canadian parallel is the University of Toronto. "Mainly because of the necessity of centralized instruction in University subjects, and especially the sciences with their costly equipment, which was a principal cause of federation, but partly to realize the ideal (formulated by Goldwin Smith) of a congregation of colleges on the Oxford pattern", the University of Toronto came into existence. (The Humanities in Canada, Watson Kirkconnell and A. S. P. Woodhouse. footnote to page 10).

thusiasm, of pleasurable exertion, of brilliant display, of winning influence, of diffusive and potent sympathy; and a College is the scene of order, of obedience, of modest and persevering diligence, of conscientious fulfilment of duty, of mutual private services, and deep and lasting attachments. The University is for the world, and the College is for the nation. The University is for the Professor, and the College for the tutor; (9) the University is for the philosophical discourse, the eloquent sermon, or the well-contested disputation; and the College for the catechetical lecture. The University is for theology, law, and medicine, for natural history, for physical science, and for the sciences generally and their promulgation; the College is for the formation of character, intellectual and moral, for the cultivation of the mind, for the improvement of the individual, for the study of literature, for the classics, and those rudimental sciences which strengthen and sharpen the intellect. The University being the element of advance will fail to make good its ground as it goes; the College from its conservative tendencies, will be sure to go back, because it does not go forward. It would seem as if a University, seated and living in Colleges, would be a perfect institution, as possessing excellencies of opposite kinds. (10).

The foregoing will indicate in general what was Newman's Idea of a University. Further on in this paper we shall show how such an organization, put into effect in Dublin, contributes vitally to the perfection of a working principle of integration which is so important in any educational work.

(9) Newman's initial work in Dublin was the purchase of a house for a University building and the foundation of the rudiments of colleges.

(10) Historical Sketches. Vol. III, pp. 223, 229.

111

"A habit of mind is formed which lasts through life, of which the attributes are, freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation, and wisdom, or what in a former Discourse I have ventured to call a philosophical habit. This then I would assign as the special fruit of the education furnished at a University, as contrasted with other place of teaching. This is the main purpose of a University in its treatment of its students". (1).

In Discourse V, (Knowledge Its Own End), and in Discourse VI, (Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Learning) Newman discusses the nature and object of that education which it is the business of the University to impart. The essence of a University education, says Newman, is to impart and acquire philosophy; (2) it is to acquire a love of learning for its own sake.

"I say, a University, taken in its bare idea, and before

(1) Idea of a University. Discourse V. p. 90.

(2) In Discourse VI, Newman says: "In default of a recognized term, I have called the perfection or virtue of the intellect by the name of philosophy, philosophical knowledge, enlargement of mind, or illumination; terms which are not commonly given to it by writers of this day: but, whatever name we bestow on it, it is, I believe, as a matter of history, the business of a University to make this intellectual culture its direct scope, or to employ itself in the education of the intellect, -- just as the work of a Hospital lies in healing the sick or wounded, of a Riding or Fencing School, or of a Gymnasium, in exercising the limbs, of an Almshouse, in aiding and solacing the old, of an Orphanage, in protecting innocence, of a Penitentiary, in restoring the guilty". (page 111).

we view it as an instrument of the Church, has this object and this mission; it contemplates neither moral impression nor mechanical production; it professes to exercise the mind neither in art nor in duty; its function is intellectual culture; here it may leave its scholars, and it has done its work when it has done as much as this. It educates the intellect to reason well in all matters, to reach out towards truth, and to grasp it". (3).

In the light of what was said in the previous section it is well to repeat the phrase "a University taken in its bare idea", because an exact rendering of Newman's meaning is impossible unless one uses Newman's words and uses the meanings, which he intended the words to have. Professor Tierney has this to say: "What is particularly missing from the Discourses (he is referring to V, and VI) is any reference to the function of Colleges in a University, a matter which, as we have seen and must again emphasize, is capital to the whole doctrine". (4).

Newman in these Discourses is but stating in clear and unmistakable language the essential function of a University. The school is essentially an intellectual agency. We can say with Father William F. Cunningham, C.S.C. that "the school has one specific function for which it has been brought into being by society, and this is the mental development of youth privileged to share its ministrations". (5).

(3) Idea of a University. Discourse VI. p. 111.

(4) A Tribute to Newman, Catholic University, by Professor Michael Tierney, p. 192.

(5) William F. Cunningham, C.S.C., Ph. D. Professor of Education at the University of Notre Dame. The Pivotal Problems of Education New York. 1940. The MacMillan Company. p. 156.

The second principle laid down by Newman is that there are two aspects of learning, one the acquisition of facts, the other the assimilation of the knowledge acquired.

"I suppose the prima-facie view which the public at large would take of a University, considering it as a place of Education, is nothing more or less than a place for acquiring a great deal of knowledge on a great many subjects: Memory is one of the first developed of the mental faculties; a boy's business when he goes to school is to learn, that is, to store up things in his memory. For some years his intellect is little more than an instrument for taking in facts, or a receptacle for storing them; he welcomes them as fast as they come to him; he lives on what is without". (6).

The second process of learning is described by Newman in the following words:

"it is plain, first, that the communication of knowledge certainly is either a condition or the means of that sense of enlargement or enlightenment, of which at this day we hear so much in certain quarters: this cannot be denied; but next, it is equally plain, that such communication is not the whole of the process. The enlargement consists, not merely in the passive reception into the mind of a number of ideas hitherto unknown to it, but in the mind's energetic and simultaneous action upon and towards and among those new ideas, which are rushing in upon it. It is the action of a formative power, reducing to order and meaning the matter of our acquirements; it is making the objects of our knowledge subjectively our own, or, to use a familiar word, it is a digestion of what we receive into the substance of our previous state of thought; and without this no enlargement is said to follow". (7).

(6) Idea of a University. Discourse VI. p. 115.

(7) Ibid. p. 116.

Thus Newman shows that the acquirement of facts, the passive reception of ideas and opinions, mere learning in bulk, with little or no interest in the power of ideas in developing and enlarging the mind, these are not the purpose of University teaching, for they are not real knowledge at all. Real knowledge is the product of the correct use of judgment and reason; it lies, as Newman points out, "in mental digestion of facts", in critical examination and personal formation of opinions. True knowledge comes from the exercise of intellectual skill, and is not a mere process of unintelligent repetition. There is a rather long passage which I think it well to quote in which Newman describes what he terms "the practical error of the last twenty years", namely sciolism or a superficial smattering of knowledge.

"I will tell you, Gentlemen, what has been the great practical error of the last twenty years, -- not to load the memory of the student with a mass of undigested knowledge, but to force upon him so much that he has rejected all. It has been the error of distracting and enfeebling the mind by an unmeaning profusion of subjects; of implying that a smattering in a dozen branches of study is not shallowness, which it really is, but enlargement, which it is not; of considering an acquaintance with the learned names of things and persons, and the possession of clever duodecimos, and attendance on eloquent lecturers, and membership with scientific institutions, and the sight of the experiments of a platform and its specimens of a museum, that all this was not dissipation of mind, but progress. All things now are to be learned at once, not first one thing, then another, not one well, but many badly. Learning is to be without exertion, without attention, without toil; without grounding, without advance, without finishing. There is to be nothing individual in it; and this, forsooth, is the wonder of the age. What the steam-engine does with matter; the printing press is to do with mind; it is to act mechanically, and the population is to be passively, almost unconsciously enlightened, by the mere multiplication and dissemination of

volumes. (8). Whether it be the school boy, or the school girl, or youth at college, or the mechanic in the town, or the politician in the Senate, all have been the victims in one way or another of this most preposterous and pernicious of delusions. Wise men have lifted up their voices in vain; and at length, lest their own institutions should be outshone and should disappear in the folly of the hour, they have been obliged, as far as they could with a good conscience, to humour a spirit which they could not withstand, and made temporizing concessions at which they could not but inwardly smile

Do not say that people must be educated, when after all, you only mean, amused, refreshed, soothed, put into good spirits and good humour, or kept from vicious excesses. I do not say that such amusements, such occupations of mind, are not a great gain; but they are not education. You may as well call drawing and fencing education, as a general knowledge of botany or conchology. Stuffing birds, or playing stringed instruments is an elegant pastime, and a resource to the idle, but it is not education. Education is a high word; it is the preparation for knowledge, and it is

(8) Almost a century later Sir Richard Livingstone in the Future of Education, p. 1, says: "Why are we an uneducated nation and how can we become an educated one? We have compulsory education, magnificent schools, an impressive array of teachers, an enormous educational budget. Yet most of the passengers in a railway carriage will be reading the Daily Mirror; and the News of the World has a circulation of between three and four millions. The advertisements, cheap newspapers and films of a country are the best index of what appeals to its masses. What view would posterity form of our civilization from these manifestations of its taste and intelligence?"

the imparting of knowledge in proportion to that preparation". (9).

All that Newman asserts regarding University education may be applied mutatis mutandis to any school from the primary grades to the

(9) Idea of a University, Discourse VI. P. 126 seq. The Ottawa Journal, November 5th, 1948, had the following in its editorial columns.

The Function of Universities.

We read in the Calgary Herald that the Alberta Real Estate Association has suggested that the University of Alberta include a course in real estate in its curriculum. The aim of this proposal, it is said, is to have vendors of real estate raised to the status of a professional society incorporated and regulated by law. To acquire membership, the prospective dealer would have to possess a degree in real estate.

Here is one further example of a great current misconception: The false notion that a university is a technical or vocational training school, its task to train men in various trades or professions.

A university is not that at all; and if we insist on making our universities that -- we have gone some distance in such direction already -- we shall destroy their true function.

A university, in essence, is, or should be, a school of liberal arts, devoted to cultural subjects only, its aim not to train men in any particular vocation or profession, but to train their minds -- not merely to educate them, but to give them as well understanding of what the ends of education should be.

It is true that most of our universities offer degrees in pure science and in applied science, that most of them have their schools of medicine and engineering. That does not alter the general proposition that universities cannot be made more and more into vocational training schools without grave danger to their future, and to ours.

There is too much misunderstanding of this; too much of a tendency to confuse vocational training with education -- too much advance in overloading the curriculums of our universities with things that have no place in the curriculum of a university. One result already is an overcrowding of universities, threatening them with the danger of becoming merely production line, educating no one at all.

No one should be against vocational training; in our world there is growing need for the specialist. But greater even than need for the specialist is the need for the educated, liberal, balanced mind, and if we as a nation are to neglect that mind then ultimately we must be lost. The fate of Germany was an example of what can come to a nation where everybody is trained and nobody educated.

University level. From what has been said in the foregoing sections of this present chapter certain obvious conclusions can be drawn. One is that the specific purpose of the school is to teach and likewise the specific reason why the boy or girl is in school is to learn.

"The school is primarily an intellectual agency. It will serve society best if it keeps always in mind this primary obligation. The school system that dissipates its energy in the endeavour to compass all manner of social activities will in time forget or neglect the primary intellectual purpose for which it exists". (10).

Father Cunningham in his able exposition of "Pivotal Problems of Education" (11) expresses similar thoughts. Speaking of the essential function of a school he says in part:

"The school is not a hospital or health centre, though it will not be indifferent to the health of its students; it is not a parish church, though it will not neglect their moral and spiritual formation; it is not the home, though it acknowledges that it stands in loco parentis and will not neglect giving its students training in the social amenities of community living; it is not a country club, though it will recognize its obligation to furnish recreational facilities for its students under sympathetic supervision; it is not a training school for gladiators, though when dealing with later adolescents it may have an extensive athletic programme of intramural and inter-collegiate athletics; and finally, it is not a community centre as that term is ordinarily understood, though school life will furnish many opportunities for the practice of the social virtues of loyalty and co-operation.

(10) Henry Smith Pritchett, Nineteenth Annual Report, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. 1924, p. 36.

(11) For a discriminating and balanced study of Newman's position in a Catholic Philosophy of Education one should read Father Cunningham's book.

The school will do all these things, but if intelligently administered it will recognize that these are instrumental functions; efforts on its part to help other agencies, the hospital, the home, the church, etc., achieve their functions. But again, if intelligently administered, it will never let the performance of any one or all of these functions interfere with the effective performance of its own essential function, intellectual education". (12).

Another point raised by Newman in his teaching on the nature and essence of a University is that there must be activity on the part of the pupil. Learning is self-development through self activity. To use a Scholastic phrase, learning is the actualization of potentialities. It is the development of the capacities and powers of the intellect. Real knowledge takes place only in activity, and the learner must participate. Thinking

(12) William F. Cunningham, *The Pivotal Problems of Education*, pp. 553-559.

The President of the University of Chicago, Robert Maynard Hutchins has a similar idea. "A modern heresy is that all education is formal education and that formal education must assume the total responsibility for the full development of the individual. The Greek notion that the city educates the man has been forgotten. Everything that educated the man in the city has to be imported into our schools, colleges and universities. We are beginning to behave as though the home, the church, the state, the newspaper, the radio, the movies, the neighborhood club, and the boy next door did not exist, all the experience that is daily and hourly acquired from these sources is overlooked, and we set out to supply imitations of it in educational institutions. The experience once provided by some of these agencies may be attenuated now; but is would be a bold man who would assert that the young person today lived a life less full of experience than the youth of yesterday. Today as yesterday we may leave experience to other institutions and influences and emphasize in education the contribution that it is supremely fitted to make, the intellectual training of the young. The life they lead when they are out of our hands will give them experience enough. We cannot try to give it to them and at the same time perform the task that is ours and ours alone". *The Higher Learning in America*. p.63, seq.

is a process of observing, comparing, deliberating, making a decision, and listing the ultimate conclusion.

"Knowledge is something more than a sort of passive reception of scraps and details; it is a something, and it does a something, which never will issue from the most strenuous efforts of a set of teachers". (13).

"We require intellectual eyes to know withal, as bodily eyes for sight. We need both objects and organs intellectual; we cannot gain them without setting about it; we cannot gain them in our sleep, or by hap-hazard. The best telescope does not dispense with eyes; the printing press or the lecture room will assist us greatly, but we must be true to ourselves, we must be parties in the work." (14).

"The bodily eye, the organ for apprehending material objects, is provided by nature; the eye of the mind, of which the object is truth, is the work of discipline and habit". (15).

Criticism has been made (16) and, I suppose, will be made of Newman's insistence on intellectual training as the essential purpose of a University, and criticism will be made when that insistence is transferred to other levels of learning. The last chapter of this paper will, I trust, be sufficient to show that Newman held that training of the intellect is not

(13) Idea of a University. Discourse VI. page 131.

(14) Ibid p. 129.

(15) Idea of a University. Discourse VII. p. 135.

(16) A Catholic Philosophy of Education by John D. Ridden and Francis A. Ryan is an instance in point.

enough since "man whole and entire" (17) is the subject of Christian education and that moral training or character formation is also a vital concern of education.

To anticipate in a small way possible objections to this view, it might be well to recall that education is not coextensive with schooling, nor is religious education in the schools anything near the totality of an individual's efforts to perfect himself in respect of religious doctrine and practice. To simplify the matter: all schooling is education, but not all education is schooling. The home, the Church, the state and the social milieu, all participate in the general work of education, that is the perfecting of man as man, as reason and Divine Revelation intend him to be. Is it not true then that the distinctive activity of the school is to perfect man according to the intellectual virtues? Nobody who holds a Catholic philosophy, and above all Newman himself, will fail to realize that training in the moral virtues does hold a vitally important place in Christian education, but at the same time he realizes with Newman that the school partakes of the totality of education according to its nature, and that schooling does not demand the complete activity of all educational agents.

(17) Encyclical Letter of Pius XI, Christian Education of Youth. Five Great Encyclicals. New York. The Paulist Press. p. 54.

IV

"If then a practical end must be assigned to a University course, I say it is that of training a good member of society. Its art is the art of social life, and its end is fitness for the world". (1).

A question arises at this point. Of what use is this liberal knowledge, this clear perception of relations, this ability to map things out and to see the connection of science with science? This question, as we have seen was almost the only question asked in Newman's time. What is the purpose of education? And likely it was asked in Dublin: what is the use of the type of education outlined in the Discourses?

"I have been insisting in my two preceding Discourses, (2) first on the cultivation of intellect, as an end which may reasonably be pursued for its own sake; and next, on the nature of that cultivation, or what that cultivation consists in". (3).

In Discourse VII (Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Professional Skill) Newman at the very beginning states again what he conceives to be the business of a University. It is to give a Liberal Education.

"This process of training, by which the intellect, instead of being formed or sacrificed to some particular or accidental purpose, some specific trade or profession, or study or science,

(1) Idea of a University. Discourse VII. p. 156.

(2) Ibid. p. 134.

(3) Ibid. p. 134.

is disciplined for its own sake, for the perception of its own proper object, and its own highest culture, is called Liberal Education". (4).

This passage indicates two things: the essential and fundamental purpose and the accidental purpose of a University. Sufficient has been indicated that Newman maintained, and rightly so, in the considered judgment of many educators (5) that a Liberal education is the best type of education, and the one that is most productive of "practical" results. We have seen what a Liberal education is, in what it consists, and what results may be expected from it.

But Cardinal Newman was well aware that a University must give some specialized or professional training. The social responsibility of a University was something that could not be ignored. The world must have trained workmen, lawyers, physicians, engineers, and so forth, and it is the business of a University to make provision for these needs. It is a known fact that Newman in his view of a University did meet these needs.

One of the Cardinal's permanent and one of the most "practical" works was the foundation of a Catholic Medical School. There was a real need for Catholic doctors. "Such a school", he wrote, "has not only not existed in Dublin or elsewhere, but it could not exist, from the natural but inordinate influence which the State religion exercises over the existing

(4) Idea of a University. Discourse VII. p. 135.

(5) See, for instance, Alexander Meiklejohn, *The Liberal College*; Robert Maynard Hutchins, *No Friendly Voice, The Higher Learning in America*; Jacques Maritain, *Education at the Crossroads*.

schools of the country. The medical establishments have been simply in the hands of Protestants . . . out of one hundred and eleven medical practitioners in situations of trust and authority in Dublin twelve are Catholic and ninety-nine Protestant". (6). One of the first things Newman did after he assumed the duties of Rector of the new University was to purchase the Medical School buildings. (7).

"Unlike most thinkers, who rarely shine as men of action, Newman had considerable practical sense and organizing ability. He had a prodigious appetite for work of all kinds, and in sheer horse-power he exceeded the common rating. His work for science during the few years he was in Dublin is remarkable". (8). Due to the instant success of the Medical School (9) Newman conceived the idea of making it the nucleus of a complete school of science. He appointed professors, among them being a man of rare talent, W. K. Sullivan; he fitted up a laboratory at considerable expense which became under the direction of Professor Sullivan

(6) Report to the Archbishops for 1855-56.

(7) "The Medical School House in Cecilia Street was a complete success, and survives to this day. It was purchased by Newman in the summer of 1856, at the instance of Dr. Ellis and it proved an immense boon in training Catholic practitioners, and securing work for them". Wilfrid Ward. Life of Cardinal Newman. p. 349.

(8) A Tribute to Newman. Newman and Science. Rev. Professor P. J. MacLaughlin. p. 334.

(9) In the very year of its foundation all the chartered medical bodies in Ireland gave official recognition to the lectures of the Medical School.

one of the best chemical laboratories in Ireland; (10) he also planned an astronomical observatory. In order to stimulate research (11) and to get team work among the members of the Faculty of Science Newman began the Atlantis with Sullivan as editor. It would be idle speculation, but probably not wholly profitless to think of what Newman might have done for Science in Ireland and for the Church if he had had the time,

(10) This laboratory antedated by twenty years the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge.

(11) In Newman's Preface to the Idea of a University (1852), he says: ". . . there are other institutions far more suited to act as instruments of stimulating philosophical inquiry, and extending the boundaries of our knowledge, than a University. Such, for instance, are the literary and scientific 'Academies', which are so celebrated in Italy and France, and which have frequently been connected with Universities, as committees, or, as it were, congregations or delegacies subordinated to them The nature of the case and the history of philosophy combine to recommend to us this division of intellectual labour between Academies and Universities. To discover and to teach are distinct functions; they are also distinct gifts, and are commonly found united in the same person. He, /not- too, who spends his day in dispensing his existing knowledge to all comers is unlikely to have either leisure or energy to acquire new. The common sense of mankind has associated the search after truth with seclusion and quiet. The greatest thinkers have been too intent on their subject to admit of interruptions; they have been men of absent minds and idiosyncratic habits, and have, more or less, shunned the lecture room". (Page XXX, seq.). It is apparent that Newman considerably changed his views between 1852 and 1856.

the money and the sympathy. (12).

(12) Newman would recommend to Christians not only the candid acceptance of modern scientific theories in all their degrees of probability, but a bold change of policy. He would urge the fearless use of the inductive method in physical science and in history. He would have free discussions in his ideal university between the representatives of all the sciences. The aim would be to work out a synthesis of all branches of organized knowledge, including theology. For this purpose theologians and philosophers should learn the language and methods of modern science, and not wait for scientists to learn their classical but archaic tongue. If first-rate men were secured, they would gradually by the rub of mind on mind work out a rational and coherent body of thought. By strenuous intellectual effort the larger minded theologians and the Christian men of science would reach a way of intellectual life that would be sound and honest, and better than a cheap brand of apologetics, which fails to carry conviction to the people of a new age, because it ignores that it is a new age, and takes no account of new outlooks and new problems. Newman's idea inspired Cardinal Mercier in founding the Institut de St. Thomas at Louvain, and it lay at the root of the Belgian prelate's dictum that in our day every theologian should be a man of science, just as in the thirteenth century every first-rate theologian had to be a philosopher". -- A Tribute to Newman. Newman and Science, p. 321 seq.

"Lo! where we stand, one day shall spread
 Cloisters like branching wood:
 On the great Founder's sculptured head
 Our Irish sunshine brood! (13).

A very important matter, particularly for Dublin workers was the inauguration by Newman of a system of evening classes (14) which was one of the first things he did after becoming Rector. It is true that these classes were suspended for a year due to insufficient numbers, but in 1858 Newman induced the University Senate to make these classes statutory and their members eligible for degrees on passing the required examinations. (15).

We can, I think draw the conclusion that Newman was intensely "practical" in his concept of education. Having proved that religious knowledge is the condition for general knowledge, he established the principle that general knowledge is the best and the most satisfactory preparation for professional knowledge -- the one teaches how to live, the other teaches how to make a living. General culture of the intellect is the best aid to professional and specialized studies. In the ideal university, and Newman insists on this, the sciences correct each other. None can be neglected with-

(15) Aubry de Vere. Ode on the Foundation of the Catholic University.

(14) In 1855 King's College, London instituted an Evening Class Department. Newman in the previous year had anticipated this step.

(15) See "Discipline of the Mind, and Address to the Evening Classes, 1858" in the Idea of a University. p. 354.

out prejudice to the others, and it is harmful to pursue any one science exclusively, though at the same time any one science pursued and mastered leads to Truth.

It should be remembered that Newman held emphatically that the purpose of a University is to teach truth, and that a student at such an institution should learn Truth and should be a witness to the Truth. Thus Newman's aim was eminently "practical".

"It is one great advantage of an age in which unbelief speaks out, that Faith can speak out too; that, if falsehood assails truth, Truth can assail falsehood". (16).

"I would say", writes Newman to Father Coleridge, "that as secular power, rank and wealth are great human means of promoting Catholicism, so, especially in this democratic age, is intellect. Without dreaming of denying the influence of the three first-named instruments of success, still I think the influence arising from repute for ability in this age is greater than any one of them".



"She sent her controversialists into the philosophical arena. It was the Dominican and the Franciscan doctors, the greatest of them being St. Thomas, who in those medieval Universities fought the battle of Revelation with the weapons of heathenism. It was no matter whose the weapon was; truth was truth the world over. With the jawbone of an ass, with the skeleton philosophy of pagan Greece, did the Samson of the schools put to flight his thousand Philistines". (1).

"I have another consideration to add, not less important than any I have hitherto adduced". (2). It will be fitting (3) to state something of the philosophy of education of St. Thomas and to show that Cardinal Newman in common with other educators consciously or unconsciously followed the principles of the saint who bears the title, the Angel of the Schools.

(1) Idea of a University. Christianity and Scientific Investigation. p. 345.

(2) Ibid. Discourse IX. p. 199.

(3) It has been suggested especially since this thesis is for the Faculty of Philosophy that I take a few pages to show that the principles regarding education laid down by St. Thomas can be applied to Cardinal Newman. The great Oratorian has the double claim of being both a scholar and a teacher. Furthermore it has been stated time and time again that Newman is no Thomist. In 1879 the year of the Encyclical, *Aeterni Patris* which inaugurated the general revival of the philosophia perennis, according to the mind of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Cardinal wrote to Father R. Whitty, S.J. that he contemplated the project of translating into Latin selected portions of his own writings, being confident that, if his views were correctly presented, they would not "be found in substance to disagree with St. Thomas".

Seven hundred years ago St. Thomas wrote the *Questiones Disputatae*, the first volume of which is the *De Veritate*. In question XI, the title of which is *De Magistro*, the Angelic Doctor discusses some fundamental educational principles in four articles. It is a presentation of a philosophical disputation which St. Thomas conducted at the University of Paris in 1257. (4). Also in the *Summa Theologica*, particularly in Part I, question CXVII, Article 1, St. Thomas deals with contemporary problems of education, and gives at the same time many and varied pedagogical views which are a genuine contribution to education. We might also add for its educational value the letter of Saint Thomas to Brother John. (5).

(4) In 1256 St. Thomas together with St. Bonaventure obtained his licentiate. The chancellor of the church of Notre Dame in Paris in the name of the Pope gave the licentiate to the bachelors presented to him. The licentiate was a permission or license for the independent exercise of the power of teaching. The candidate thus promoted was admitted into the ranks of the college of professors, and began his public teaching career as a Master.

(5) This letter is counted by P. Mandonnet, O.P. among the "vix dubia" of the writings of St. Thomas. In the Foreword to *The Intellectual Life* by A. D. Sertillanges, O.P. the author says: "Among the works of St. Thomas there is a letter to a certain Brother John, in which are enumerated Sixteen Precepts for Acquiring the Treasure of Knowledge. This letter, whether it be authentic or not, much be looked at in itself; it is priceless; we should like to imprint its every word in the inmost being of the Christian thinker."

St. Thomas in the thirteenth century follows a middle road between two extreme theories of education. (6). On the one hand was the theory of the Platonists who taught that all learning was in the learner and not in the teacher. All learning was a reminiscence, a remembering of knowledge already acquired in a pre-existing state. When the soul was united to the body, it was prevented from freely considering the knowledge which it already possessed. The student in this way did not acquire knowledge from a teacher; the teacher only aroused the attention of the pupil to those things which he already knew, so that to learn was only to remember. (7). Over against this view was the extreme view of Averrhoism which holding that all men shares one possible intellect, (8) looked upon teaching as simply the transfusion of the teacher's knowledge to the soul of the pupil. (9). Thus for St. Thomas both pupil and teacher have vital

(6) De Veritate. Question XI, Article 1.

"Et ideo secundum doctrinam Aristotelis media via inter has duas tenenda est in omnibus praedictis.

(7) See Plato's Dialogues. e.g., Meno.

(8) St. Thomas follows Aristotle in stating that there are two intellects the active (intellectus agens) and the passive (intellectus possibilis). These St. Thomas claims are two faculties, not one and the same power viewed under two different aspects.

(9) Summa Theologica I. q. 117. A. 1.

"Averroes enim in Comment. III. De An. posuit unum intellectum possibilem esse omnium Alia est opinio Platoniorum, qui posuerunt quod scientia inest a principio". St. Thomas in this article describes fully both schools of thought.

and interrelated parts to play in the educational process. He does not emphasize one at the expense of the other as was done in each of the schools of thought that were in existence in the thirteenth century. He rejects the extremes of both the Platonists and the Averroists; but at the same time he makes use of what is good and useful in each of these systems.

"We must therefore decide the question differently, by saying that the teacher causes knowledge in the learner by reducing him from potentiality to act". (10). To illustrate what he means St. Thomas uses a simple example. A physician treats a patient. There are two ways in which a cure can be brought about, by nature alone or by the use of medicine. In using medicine the doctor does not create health and hand it over to the patient: his aim is to aid nature to get rid of the illness. Ultimately health is due to the natural powers of the body stimulated by the medicines. (11). In the same way the teacher does not transfer his knowledge to the pupil; his business is to set the pupil's own mind working and thereby to enrich himself by the assimilation of knowledge.

It is well to stress that the Thomistic concept of potency is not one of mere possibility or non-repugnance on the part of the human in-

(10) Summa Theologica I, q. 117, A. 1.
 "Et ideo aliter dicendum est quod docens causat scientiam in addiscenti, reducendo ipsum de potentia in actum".

(11) This illustration is used by St. Thomas in the same article as above.

telleet, but of a real capacity in a real subject: a real receptive principle. Further this receptive principle, the human intellect, is one that is essentially re-active once it has been stimulated from without. In other words it is characteristic of the human mind that while it needs to be stimulated it has its own spontaneous energy by which it reacts. Only by the activity of the pupil's mind, his intellectus agens, can the raw material or sense-experience become one with the mind itself. Only by the receptivity of the pupil's mind, his intellectus possibilis, can ideas be possessed and developed. So to use the words of St. Thomas, "the teacher only brings exterior help, as the physician who heals; but just as the interior nature is the principal cause of the healing so the interior light of the intellect is the principal cause of knowledge." (12). The teacher can thus never be a principal cause of knowledge; he is not even a secondary cause. He is only an assisting auxiliary cause of knowledge as the physician is of health.

The teacher can help the pupil in two ways. "First by proposing to him certain helps or means of instruction, which his intellect can use for the acquisition of science". (13). In the same article St.

(12) Summa Theologica, l. 2. 117, A. 1.

"Homo docens solummodo exterius ministerium adhibet, sicut medicus sanans; sed sicut natura interior est principalis causa sanationis, ita et interior lumen intellectus est principalis causa scientiae."

(13) S.T. 1, 117, 1. "Primo quidem, proponendo ei aliqua auxilia vel instrumenta, quibus intellectus eius utatur ad scientiam acquirendam".

Thomas then states the second way. "By strengthening the intellect of the learner, not, indeed, by some active power as though of a higher nature, because all human intellects are of one grade in the natural order; but inasmuch as he proposes to/disciple the order from / the principles to conclusions, for the disciple may not have sufficient power of reasoning to be able to draw the conclusions from the principles". (14). So teaching is a leading, a directing process. Or to use the words of St. Thomas: "One man is said to teach another in so far as he expounds to another, by means of signs, the process of reasoning which he has in himself made by his own natural reason, in such a way that the natural reason of the pupil, by means of these signs set forth to him, and using them as a sort of instrument, attains to knowledge of what had been unknown to him". (15). But the essential work of attaining knowledge is always the work of the pupil.

To paraphrase St. Thomas again, learning is self-activity, the teacher is merely an extrinsic proximate agent. Learning is self-development through self-activity. Learning is the actualization of potentialities.

(14) Ibid. "cum confortat intellectum addiscentis; non quidem aliqua virtute activa quasi superioris natural, quia omnes humani intellectus sunt unius gradus in ordine naturali, sed in quantum proponit discipulo ordinem principiorum ad conclusiones, qui forte per seipsum non haberet tantam virtutem collativam ut ex principiis posset conclusiones deducere".

(15) De Veritate, 2. II. A. 1. "unus alium docere dicitur, quod istum discursum rationis, quem in se facit ratione naturali, alteri exponit per signa; et sic ratio naturalis discipuli, per huiusmodi sibi proposita, sicut per quaedam instrumenta, pervenit ad cognitionem ignotorum".

All the teacher can do is to show the way, and lead the pupil on the way, and insofar as he has himself followed the same road, and knowing the way is able by signs and directions to show the pupil the steps to take and the route to follow. In other words, it is an essential mark of the human mind that while it needs to be stimulated, yet it has its own spontaneous energy by which it reacts, and since the passage from potency to act is movement, St. Thomas admits what may be called intellectual dynamism. Truth, he says, is the good of the intellect. Stimulated or acted upon from without, the human intellect actively reacts in its endeavour to enrich itself with its proper good towards which it tends, and this end is truth. (16).

From this short outline of St. Thomas' teachings on education, one can, and I take it one should see the characteristics of a good teacher as far as his work is concerned; in relation to the pupil and also, which is of greater importance, the work of the pupil in relation to the teacher. The previous sections and the last one in particular have, I trust, sufficiently established the point that Cardinal Newman is in substantial agreement with the teachings of St. Thomas on education. But before leaving this topic there are two points I would like to make. One has to do with the teacher, the other with the pupil.

It is not a generally known fact that Cardinal Newman devoted the greater part of his life to educational work, not only as a writer on educa-

(16) See "De Modo Studendi" Victor White, O.P. Blackfriars, December 1944.

tion, but as one closely connected with the actual workings of a classroom and of a school.

"John Henry Newman qui est surtout connu par ses écrits théologiques, a cependant consacré la plus grande partie de sa vie à des œuvres d'éducation. Il fut pendant vingt ans fellow d'Oriel college; au cours de cette période, pendant cinq ans, tutor de la même maison. Son prestige d'éducation est tel que, devenu catholique, Rome le destine à entreprendre en Irlande un œuvre d'enseignement supérieur; il fonde l'Université catholique de Dublin dont il devient recteur. Revenu en Angleterre, à Birmingham où il a transplanté une branche vivace de l'Oratoire italien, il ouvre bientôt une école secondaire, qui renoue parmi les catholiques la tradition des public-schools séculaires. Soucieux de rendre moins dangereux aux catholiques l'enseignement supérieur donné à l'université protestante d'Oxford, il essaie par deux projets successifs d'y fonder une maison de l'Oratoire". (17).

(17) Fernande Tardivel. J. H. Newman, Educateur, 1937. p. 8 seq.

Newman was fully convinced of the important position held by the teacher in the school, whether it be primary, secondary or by the university level.

"Here then is a real teaching, and it at least tends towards cultivation of the intellect; it at least recognizes that knowledge is something more than a sort of passive reception of scraps and details; it is something, and it does a something, which will never issue from the most strenuous efforts of a set of teachers, with no mutual sympathies and no inter-communion, of a set of examiners with no opinions which they dare profess, and with no common principles, who are teaching or questioning a set of youths who do not know them, and do not know each other, on a large number of subjects, different in kind, and connected by no wide philosophy, three times a week, or three times a year, or once in three years, in chill lecture-rooms or on a pompous anniversary". (18).

The teacher must be both academically and professionally efficient. One can see how much Newman was preoccupied during the years spent in Dublin in trying to assemble a suitable group of instructors. In a letter to Dr. Cullen written in August 1852 he said:

"Professors of name, not merely able men, are absolutely necessary. What is our bait for students to come to us? We have no direct temporal motives; we have the weight of government against us; we must have names. It will be a great thing for the success of the Institution, to get Professors whose names are known to the Continent, to the world." (19).

(18) Idea of a University. Discourse VI. Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Learning. p. 130 seq.

(19) John Henry Newman, My Campaign in Ireland. p. 270.

The list of appointments to the staff of the University indicates how far Newman was successful. (20).

The establishment of the Oratory School in Birmingham furnishes a further illustration of Newman's extreme case in selecting a staff of teachers who would carry out his educational principles. (21). Newman realized, probably more than most people of his time, the necessity for a thorough education.

"The Catholic body in England is despised by Protestants from their (unjust) idea of our deficiency in education, and in that power which education gives of bringing out and bringing to bear natural talent which Catholics have as others. They have an idea that few Catholics can think justly or explain themselves suitably". (22).

Newman clearly saw as a result of his knowledge of the position of Catholics in England, and for that matter in Ireland, during the nineteenth century, and what appeared to him as defects and inadequacies in the Catholic educational efforts, the necessity and the practical wisdom of having teachers of sound scholarship and outstanding pedagogical ability. Possibly Newman would have gone as far as Robert Lynd who says: "I sometimes wonder, indeed, whether anything is of very much importance in education,

(20) See Ward's Life of Newman for the first published list of Professors. p. 359.

(21) See Letter to Sergeant Bellasis quoted by Ward. p. 453 seq.

(22) Letter to Father Coleridge, S.J.

except the character of the teacher". (23).

Newman, I take it, had in mind all through his work in education the application of the Thomistic principles outlined at the beginning of this section. The teacher should realize the truth of the saying that all education is self-education. He must realize that he should be a living exemplar of the principle that a student learns through his own activities.

"Self-education in any shape, in the most restricted sense, is preferable to a system of teaching which, professing so much, really does so little for the mind". (24).

Now for something regarding the pupil in the light of Thomistic principles. Knowledge, wisdom, truth cannot be imposed upon the mind from without, or by a teacher; they can only grow up from within. Only by the activity of the student's "intellectus agens", as St. Thomas maintains, can the pupil be said to learn. Only by his "intellectus possibilis" can ideas be possessed, assimilated and developed. Newman says the same thing in addressing one of his Evening Classes.

"You have come, not merely to be taught but to learn. You have come to exert your minds. You have come to make what you hear your own, by putting out your hand, as it were, to grasp it and appropriate it. You do not come merely to hear a lecture, or to read a book, but you come for that catechetical instruction, which consists in a sort of conversation

(23) Cf. Fernande Tardivel, J.H. Newman, Educateur, Chapter VI and page 196 seq.

(24) Idea of a University. Discourse VI. Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Learning. p. 131.

between your lecturer and you. He tells you a thing, and he asks you to repeat it after him. He questions you, he examines you, he will not let you go till he has proof, not only that you have heard, but that you know". (25).

"The result is a formation of mind, -- that is, a habit of order and system; a habit of referring every accession of knowledge to what we already know, and of adjusting the one with the other; and moreover, as such a habit implies, the actual acceptance and use of certain principles as centres of thought, around which our knowledge grows and is located. Where this critical faculty exists, history is no longer a mere story-book, or biography a romance; orators and publications of the day are no longer infallible authorities; eloquent diction is no longer a substitute for matter, nor bold statements, or lively descriptions, a substitute for proof. This is that faculty of perception in intellectual matters, which, I have said so often is analogous to the capacity we all have of mastering the multitude of lines and colours which pour in upon our eyes, and of deciding what every one of them is worth". (26).

Enough has been said in the previous pages to bring out in clear perspective what Newman understood to be the essence of a school. And in showing the main features of his system we can conclude that he is in substantial agreement with St. Thomas. It is useless to prove the obvious. It is true that as yet we have not arrived at a complete philosophy of his educational principles. That Newman had in mind an integral education, the formation of a complete man, will be the purpose of the next chapter.

(25) Idea of a University. Discipline of Mind. p. 362.

(26) Idea of a University. Discipline of Mind. p. 373.

CHAPTER III

The Principle of Integration.

I

"Here then, I conceive, is the object of the Holy See and the Catholic Church in setting up universities; it is to reunite things which were in the beginning joined together by God, and have been put asunder by man". (1).

The emphasis so far placed on the school as an intellectual agency may easily lead to a misunderstanding of Cardinal Newman's position. In spite of the clarity with which he presented his thesis in the great educational classic, *The Idea of a University*, the distinction which he makes between the instrumental function of the university and its one essential function has not been grasped by many of his readers". (2). A reader of Newman has to go further afield in order to get a comprehensive and a complete view of his educational philosophy. An incomplete study of Newman has led one writer, who already has been mentioned to label Newman's philosophy as a "philosophy of severance". (3).

It might be said in passing that Newman's contribution, his re-

(1) John Henry Newman. *Intellect, the Instrument of Religious Training. Sermons on Various Occasions. No. 1.*

(2) William F. Cunningham. *The Pivotal Problems of Education.* p. 583.

(3) See T. Corcoran, S.J., *Liberal Studies and Moral Aims. A Critical Study of Newman's Position. Thought. Vol. 1. No. 1. June 1926.* pp. 54-71.

emphasis of intellectual training and cultural formation is worth more than mere passing notice. Educators and teachers can re-establish, and, if necessary, re-orientate their fundamental ideas on education.

"The function of a school, as a school is to foster the life of learning; just as the purpose of the State, as a State, is to foster social life under law, and the purpose of the Church is to minister to the life of faith and hope and charity. In themselves domestic love and political order and divine grace are more important than learning; and therefore, homes and States and the Church are more important than schools. Nevertheless, the first purpose of a school, as a school, is not to be a home, or a State or a Church, is not to foster the life of love or of law or of faith, but to foster the life of learning. A Catholic college will produce Christian humanists only on condition that it is first, a college -- a community of teachers and learners, a *universitas docentium et discipulorum*, as the Catholic Middle Ages put it -- and not simply a collection of persons, however pious, pursuing the life of faith". (4).

The purpose of this present chapter is to show as clearly as possible a complete view of Newman's thought and action, one that will show that Newman always had in the forefront of his mind, the goal of his efforts, that education is concerned with the full and complete man. In other words, there must be in any satisfactory idea of education a principle of synthesis or a principle of integration.

"The true Christian does not renounce the activities of his life, he does not stunt his natural facilities; but he develops and perfects them, by co-ordinating them with the

(4) Gerald J. Walsh, S.J., *Catholic Educators and Christian Humanism*, an essay in the Philosophy of Catholic Higher Education. pp. 40-41.

supernatural. He thus ennobles what is merely natural in life and secures for it new strength in the material and temporal order, no less than in the spiritual and eternal".
(5).

(5) Pius XI. Encyclical on Christian Education.

II

"I want to destroy that diversity of centres, which puts everything into confusion by creating a contrariety of influence. I wish the same spots and the same individuals to be at once oracles of philosophy and shrines of devotion. It will not satisfy me, what satisfies so many, to have two independent systems, intellectual and religious going at once side by side, by a sort of division of labour, and only accidentally brought together I want the intellectual layman to be religious and the devout ecclesiastic to be intellectual". (1).

The object of the human mind is to know what is -- that is, to know being, (2). The intellect of man should see the universe of being, everything as a totality and as a unity, with all its different parts in right relation one to another and to the whole. Individual things must be studied, the

(1) Intellect the Instrument of Religious Training. Sermons on Various Occasions. No. 1.

(2) "Ex hoc autem substantia aliqua est intellectualis, comprehensiva est totius entis". Contra Gentiles. Liber II. Cap. 93. For St. Thomas the intellect is knowledge in the broadest sense. Because the intellect is immaterial it is in a sense unlimited and is as extensive as the universe of being itself. St. Thomas sees the greatest perfection of the intellect in its comprehension of the whole order of the universe. Man, therefore, comprehends a world of things. Man's intellect with its natural equipment knows primarily all that is being and all that is connected with being.

different sciences must be learnt; but only as they fit into the total view; only then is it true knowledge. This totality of view is the important element in education; it is that which differentiates the Catholic view of education from other systems. Cardinal Newman believed most emphatically that every sphere of human life is essentially related to the other. For him, as with the Church, the world is ordered on the principles of theocentric realism. Pope Pius XI says:

"Christian education takes in the whole aggregate of human life, physical and spiritual, intellectual and moral, individual, domestic and social, not with a view of reducing it in any way, but in order to elevate, regulate and perfect it in accordance with the example and teaching of Christ". (3).

It is, as we have seen, a cardinal principle of Newman's philosophy of education that Theology is at the summit of all learning. Man is related to things, to man, and to God; but the last relation is the most important of the three. Theology, then, as taught by the Church is the most architectonic of the sciences; and others will be good or bad in proportion as they have God as the background.

This architectonic view of reality determined for Newman that all must be taught in a Catholic atmosphere.

"It will not satisfy me, if religion is here, and science there, and young men converse with science (4) all day,

(3) Pius XI. Encyclical on Catholic Education.

(4) It is perhaps necessary to point out that Newman uses the word science in its wide sense to denote the organized body of knowledge relating to a subject.

and lodge with religion in the evening. It is not touching the evil, to which these remarks have been directed, if the young man eat and drink and sleep in one place, and think in other: I want the same roof to contain both the intellectual and the moral discipline". (5).

To leave out God, Religion from the sum total of reality, was, as we have seen in Chapter I, utterly unphilosophical and basically unsound. To use Newman's words:

"Religious truth is not only a portion but a condition of general knowledge. To blot it out is nothing short, if I may so speak, of unravelling the web of University Teaching. It is, according to the Greek proverb, to take the Spring out of the year; it is to imitate the preposterous proceeding of those tragedians who represented a drama with the omission of its principal part". (6).

One is almost startlingly surprised to note how often the idea of unity or integrity appears in reading Newman, and in particular his educational classic, *The Idea of a University*. It seems to the writer of this paper that Oxford in Newman's time (7) had retained the medieval concept of Theology

(5) John Henry Newman, *Sermons on Various Occasions*. Sermon I. Intellect, the Instrument of Religious Training.

(6) *Idea of a University*. Discourse III. Bearing of Theology on Other Knowledge, p. 62.

(7) It will be recalled that Newman entered Trinity College, Oxford in December 1816 and did not leave Oxford until his reception into the Catholic Church in 1845.

as the unifying principle in university education. (8).

The rational ordering of the intellectual process regarding its method and its subject matter, or to use the terms of Scholastic philosophy its formal and material object is of fundamental importance in that it gives a specifically Catholic character to the educational institution. It places the Supreme Being in its proper ontological place, that is God is at the crown of the architectonic edifice of the correctly and completely educated man. Newman never for a moment admitted that Theology was just an equal amongst other sciences. It was for him, as for the Medieval thinker, the queen of sciences and the other sciences were her handmaids.

"Theology is one branch of knowledge, and Secular Sciences are other branches. Theology is the highest indeed, and widest, but it does not interfere with the real freedom of

(8) Robert Maynard Hutchins in *The Higher Learning in America* has this to say. "The medieval university had a principle of unity. It was theology. The medieval theologians had worked out an elaborate statement in due proportion and emphasis of the truths relating to man and God, man and man, and man and nature. It was an orderly progression from truth to truth. As man's relations to God were the highest of which he could conceive; as all his knowledge came from God and all his truths, the truths concerning God and man were those which gave meaning and sequence to his knowledge. Theology ordered the truths concerning man and man; humanism was theocentric; man loved his brothers in God. Theology ordered the truths of man and nature, for God created the world; he created man to live in it, and placed him in definite relation to other creatures. The insight that governed the system of the medieval theologian was that as first principles order all truths in the speculative order, so last ends order all means and actions in the practical order. God is the first truth and the last end. The medieval university was rationally ordered, and, for its time, it was practically ordered, too". (page 96).

any secular science in its own particular department (except in such sense as they also interfere with it)". (9).

Cardinal Newman had a correct idea of Reality. He did not, as is frequently and unfortunately done to-day, separate Metaphysics and Theodicy. Theodicy is not a separate science; Theodicy is but the conclusion of Metaphysics. "Aristotle held so strongly to the unity of metaphysics and theodicy that he calls metaphysics, theology". (10).

We have shown that Newman posits an underlying unity and integrity in his speculative treatment of Reality, which has the most fundamental implications. (11). In Newman's phrase

"While the world lasts, will Aristotle's doctrine on these matters last, for he is the oracle of nature and of truth. While we are men, we cannot help to a great extent, being Aristotelians, for the great Master does but analyze the thoughts, feelings, views and opinions of human kind. He has told us the meaning of our own words and ideas, before we were born. In many subject-matters, to think correctly, is to think like Aristotle; and we are his disciples whether we will or no". (12).

(9) Idea of a University. Discourse V. Universal Knowledge Viewed as One Philosophy. p. 399.

(10) Lucien Dufault, O.S.I., L.S.T.H. The Aristotelian - Thomistic Concept of Education. The New Scholasticism. July 1946. Vol. XX. No. 3, p. 248.

(11) "The first apostolate at the present crossroads is in the realm of thought". Cardinal Suhard. Essor ou déclin de l'Eglise. p. 46.

(12) Idea of a University. Discourse V. Knowledge Its Own End. p. 97.

We can also show that in the practical order Newman's educational philosophy is also a unified and integrated whole, which is of no less importance than that of the speculative order, and one that has implications of even greater value.

III

"There are those who think in mean to spend our devotion upon a human cause, and that we toil for an object of human ambition; that if we looked to objects above the world or beyond the grave, we did so with very secondary aims and faint perceptions. A great University is a great power and can do great things; but unless it be something more than human, it is but foolishness and vanity in the sight and comparison of the little one of Christ". (1).

It seems so unnecessary to raise the point and to defend it, as it were, that Newman in his philosophy of education had in mind more than mere temporal interests. As much as anyone else Cardinal Newman realized to the full that for the University the thing of ultimate importance is not here, but hereafter, and that the success of any person in this life has genuine value only in so far as it leads to the next. The "separation of the intellectual and religious elements in education was furthest from Newman's mind". (2).

We have discussed at some length the distinction Newman makes between the instrumental function of a University and its one essential

(1) John Henry Newman. Sermons on Various Occasions. The Secret Power of Divine Grace. University Church, Dublin, 1856.

(2) Cunningham. The Pivotal Problems of Education. p. 359.

function, or as Newman says, the "naked" idea. In this chapter we want to show that Newman in his educational philosophy is concerned with the whole man. "Man whole and entire" (3) is the subject of a Christian education. Thus it is evident that religious training, moral formation is of vital concern to the educational agency. That Newman had practical and definite ways and means to form this complete man, complete "in wisdom, age and grace with God and man", we will endeavour to show. (4).

An important point in arriving at a conclusion as to what was Newman's mind in the matter of religious and moral education is to study his celebrated controversy with Doctor Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel, (5) which among other things involved this very point. This we shall do in the next section.

(3) Pius XI. The Christian Education of Youth.

(4) St. Luke II. 52. "And Jesus advanced in wisdom, and age, and grace with God, and man".

(5) Dr. Hawkins became Provost of Oriel in 1823. Newman it will be recalled became Tutor in 1826, receiving his appointment at the same time as Richard Hurrell Troude and Robert Wilberforce were named Fellows of Oriel. Hawkins had been Vicar of St. Mary's, which included in its parish the village of Littlemore, about three miles from Oxford. In 1823 Newman succeeded Hawkins as Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford. It was also in 1823 that Wilberforce and Hurrell Troude became Tutors of Oriel. Newman was practically forced to resign his tutorship by Dr. Hawkins which he did in the summer of 1832.

IV

"I have a great undertaking before me in the tutorship here. I trust God may give me grace to undertake it in a proper spirit, and to keep steadily in view that I have set myself apart for His service for ever. There is always the danger of the love of literary pursuits assuming too prominent a place in the thoughts of a college tutor, or his viewing his situation merely as a secular office". (1).

It was only after a great deal of anxious thought that Newman accepted the office of Tutor at Oriel, as there was a difference of opinion amongst the clergy of his time as to whether a tutorship was in keeping with his duties of the ministry. (2). Newman himself had a deep sense of the obligations imposed upon him by his ordination vows.

"It is over. I am thine, O Lord; I seem quite dizzy and cannot altogether believe and understand it. At first, after the hands were laid on me, my heart shuddered within me; the words "for ever" are so terrible. It was hardly a godly feeling which made me feel melancholy at the idea of giving up all for God. At times indeed my heart burnt within me, particularly during the singing of the Veni

(1) Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman, edited by Anne Mozley. Longmans, Green, and Co. London, 1903, Vol. 1. p. 114. Letter to His Mother.

(2) On May 16, 1824, Newman took Anglican Orders, and was raised to the Diaconate on June 13 of the same year by Dr. Legge, Bishop of Oxford.

Creator. Yet, Lord, I ask not for comfort in comparison of sanctification". (3).

Newman took the stand that the tutorship was a sacred calling and was a way of fulfilling his promises made at ordination. To Newman it was clear that the duties of a tutor involved more than teaching and supervision; it was principally, the care of the souls of his pupils that was Newman's concern. To have taken merely a secular view of this office and to have engaged in it was something utterly foreign to Newman's idea. He wrote in his journal, when he was about to take office.

"May I engage in them, remembering that I am a Minister of Christ, and have a commission to preach the Gospel, remembering the worth of souls, and that I shall have to answer for the opportunities given me of benefitting those who are under my care". (4).

It was at Easter, 1826 that Newman entered upon his duties as tutor, which he regarded as sacred and which he considered to be a manifestation of the office of Christ's Minister. It is interesting and informative to note that Newman in the discharge of his office took a firm stand against the gentlemen commoners, young men of birth and wealth, whom he considered, with few exceptions, to be the scandal of Oriel. The favour shown to them in high places, annoyed him greatly, and he did not hesitate

(3) Missie Ward. Young Mr. Newman who quotes this extract from his diary written after ordination.

(4) J. M. Flood, Cardinal Newman and Oxford. Ivor Nicholson and Watson. London. 1957. p. 45. The author quotes from Newman's Journal.

to express his opinion of those who did wrong and of those who by their silence tacitly approved of such misdemeanours. Newman, on the other hand, gave his help, sympathy and encouragement to undergraduates of lesser social rank. He helped them in their college work, and as time went on he won their attachment and affection. (5). Newman had hardly finished one month as a tutor when he wrote in his private Journal.

"There is much in the system which I think wrong; I think the tutors see too little of the men, and there is not enough of direct religious instruction. It is my wish to consider myself as the minister of Christ. Unless I find that opportunities occur of doing spiritual good to those over whom I am placed, it will become a grave question whether I ought to continue in the tuition". (6).

When Newman became vicar of St. Mary's in 1823 a large number of his students attended his sermons, which was one direct means Newman had of giving religious instruction; "but from the first, independently of St. Mary's, he had set before himself in his tutorial work the aim of gaining

(5) Newman wrote in Discourse VI. Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Learning. "A University is, according to the usual designation, an Alma Mater, knowing her children one by one, not a foundry, or a mint, or a treadmill". p. 123.

(6) Anne Mozley. Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman. p. 133.

souls to God". (7).

The official view of Criel as expressed by Dr. Hawkins was that the work of a tutor was not pastoral. Newman, Froude and Wilberforce (8) viewed their duties otherwise. They stated, as was true,

(7) *ibid* p. 134.

Anne Mozley on page 133 cites the following. "He was especially opposed to young men being compelled, or even suffered as a matter of course, to go terminally to communion, and shocked at the reception he met with from those to whom he complained of so gross a profanation of the sacred rite. When he asked one high authority whether there was any obligation upon the undergraduates to communicate he was cut short with the answer; That question never, I believe, enters into their heads, and I beg you will not put it into them: When he told another that a certain number of them, after communion, intoxicated themselves at a champagne breakfast, he was answered, 'I don't believe it, and, if it is true, I don't want to know it.' Even Hawkins was against him here; and when one of the well-conducted minority of the gentlemen commoners -- for, as has been said, it must not be supposed that there were none such -- keenly feeling the evil of the existing rule from what he saw around him, published a pamphlet of remonstrance against it, Hawkins published an answer to him in defence of it."

It might be added that at this time (Newman is writing in the *Apologia* concerning John Keble) "He fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence". (*Apologia Pro Vita Sua*. p. 48).

(8) Robert Wilberforce, the brother of Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, and of Newman's intimate friend Henry Wilberforce. Both Robert and Henry entered the Catholic Church.

that according to the Statutes of Archbishop Laud (9) that a tutor had a moral and religious relation to the youths entrusted to him. A long discussion and correspondence followed between the Provost and his Tutors, each side holding to its own views, with the result that the three tutors resigned. (10).

There were other aspects to the quarrel between the tutors and the provost of Oriel. They all revolved around the question of the rights and duties of tutors, but the principal point is that of the pastoral work of the tutor. There was no period in Newman's life when he changed his views. In 1841 he wrote.

"Those who have to do with our colleges give us their experience, that in the case of the young committed to their care, external discipline may change the fashionable excess, but cannot allay the principles of sinning. Stop cigars, they will take to drinking parties; stop drinking, they gamble; stop gambling and a worse license follows. You do not get rid of vice by human expedients; you can but use them according to circumstance, and in their place, as making

(9) Archbishop Laud was appointed chancellor of Oxford in 1629. In 1636 he drew up the statutes. Regarding the tutors the statute reads: "qui scholares tutelae suae commissos probis moribus instruat, et in probatis auctoribus instituat, et maxime in rudimentis religionis et doctrinae articulis".

(I am indebted for this quotation from the Laudian Statutes to Professor Jeremiah J. Hogan in his "Tractarian Oxford", p. 59, an essay in A Tribute to Newman).

(10) After his resignation in 1832 Newman wrote in the third person. "In the year after his relinquishing the Tutorship, on his return from abroad, the Tract Movement began. Humanly speaking, that movement would never have been, had he not been deprived of his Tutorship; or had Keble, not Hawkins been Provost". It was during this trip abroad that Newman visited Rome and on his homeward voyage he wrote on June 18th 'Lead, Kindly Light'.

the best of a bad matter. You must go to a higher source for renovation of the heart and of the will. You do but play a sort of 'hunt the slipper' with the fault of our nature, till you go to Christianity". (11).

Even in Dublin in his University Discourses Newman momentarily, at least, returns to this theme. He says in Discourse V.

"Knowledge is one thing, virtue is another; good sense is not conscience, refinement is not humility, nor is largeness and justness of view faith. Philosophy, however enlightened, however profound, gives no command over the passions, no influential motives, no vivifying principles. Quarry the granite rock with razors, or moor the vessel with a thread of silk; then may you hope with such keen and delicate instruments as human knowledge and human reason to contend against those giants, the passion and the pride of man". (12).

"We perfect our nature, not by undoing it, but by adding to it what is more than nature and directing it towards aims higher than its own". (13).

Sufficient has been said to show the mind of Newman regarding a true, complete and balanced concept of Christian education. We will deal now with a few specific instances where Newman put into practice his philosophy of education.

(11) John Henry Newman, Discussions and Arguments, Chapter 3. The Tenworth Reading Room. pp. 272-274.

(12) Idea of a University, Discourse V. Knowledge Its Own End. p. 107.

(13) Ibid p. 109.

V

"The remedy, then, of the perils which a University presents to the student, is to create within it homes, 'altera Trojal Pergama', such as those, or better than those, which he has left behind". (1).

In the discussion of what Newman meant by the "naked" University, we also included a discussion of the role of the College. The College, for Newman, was a complement to the University. Here was the pupil's home; here he received individual help and instruction; here his moral and religious life was looked after; here, to use Newman's phrase, was 'altera Pergama'.

"Small communities must be set up in its precincts, where his better thoughts will find countenance, and his good resolutions support; where his waywardness will be restrained, his heedlessness forwarned, and his prospective deviations anticipated". (2).

Colleges were essential to Newman's idea of a University.

"The Professorial system fulfills the strict idea of a University, and is sufficient for its being, but is not sufficient for its well-being. Colleges constitute the integrity of a University
Colleges are the direct and special instruments which the Church uses in a University, for the attainment of her sa-

(1) John Henry Newman. Historical Sketches. Vol. III p. 139.

(2) Ibid pp. 139-190.

ered objects". (3).

Newman had in mind the ultimate fulfilment of his ideal, but as with the University he had to be content with humble beginnings. Since all students of the University were required to go into residence at least for the first two years he founded three Houses or Halls which were to be the nuclei of future Colleges. During Newman's active period as Rector, he himself was in charge of St. Mary's House at 6 Harcourt Street. (4). He drew up rules and regulations for the Houses of Residence; he selected the Deans, Tutors and other officials. The students had breakfast together after Mass, went to lectures from nine to one, dined in common in the afternoon, and then were free until the evening. (5).

Newman's attitude to the students was one of deep sympathy and careful understanding. In his first report as Rector of the University he wrote "they are no longer boys, but not yet men, and claim to be entrusted with the rights of men, yet punished with the leniency which is

(3) Newman. Historical Sketches. Vol. III. pp. 182-183.

(4) Newman had eight students in residence. 2 English; 2 Irish; 2 French and 2 Scotch.

(5) "The modern University College, Dublin, which has inherited so much from Newman's work, has so far made but little effort to follow his lead in this matter of residence." Professor Michael Tierney, Catholic University. A Tribute to Newman. p. 206.

It should be noted that Colleges were at first simply residences, and only later became places of teaching as well.

the privilege of boys". (6). He made it a cardinal principle in dealing with young people that they were to know that those in charge had full confidence in each individual student. Their life in school was to be as closely as possible, and as wisely as possible a facsimile of their life in the world. In *The Idea of a University* he writes:

"If then a University is a direct preparation for this world, let it be what it professes. It is not a Convent, it is not a Seminary; it is a place to fit men of the world for the world. We cannot possibly keep them from plunging into the world with all its ways and principles and maxims, when their time comes; but we can prepare them against what is inevitable; and it is not the way to learn to swim in troubled waters, never to have gone into them". (7).

Newman's University was to be an "Alma Mater, knowing her children one by one, not a foundry, or a mint, or a treadmill". (8). The College or the House was the place where the University carried out the office of the kindly Mother. Newman's reports show how he carried out this principle. It is interesting to note that he installed a billiard-room and licensed a theatre in order to provide recreational facilities for the students.

It is now clear that Newman considered the College to be an integral part of University life. He considered the College to be the "direct and special instrument which the Church uses in a University for the attain-

(6) I am indebted for this quotation to Roger McHugh, in his essay *The Years in Ireland, A Tribute to Newman*. p. 161.

(7) *Idea of a University*. Discourse III, Duties of the Church towards Knowledge. pp. 205-206.

(8) *Ibid.* Discourse VI. Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Learning. p. 123.

ment of her sacred objects". (9). Newman in a beautiful passage in Discourse VIII tells what the objects of the Church are.

"She is engaged with what is essential She is curing men and keeping them clear of mortal sin; she is 'treating of justice and chastity, and the judgment to come': she is insisting on faith and hope, and devotion, and honesty, and the elements of charity; and has so much to do with precept, that she almost leaves it to inspirations from Heaven to suggest what is of counsel and perfection She is putting souls, in the way of salvation".

(9) Idea of a University. Discourse VIII. Knowledge and Religious Duty. p. 180.

VI.

"There are little children there, and old men, and simple labourers, and students in seminaries, priests preparing for Mass, priests making their thanksgiving; there are innocent maidens, and there are penitent sinners; but out of these many minds rises one eucharistic hymn, and the great action is the measure and the scope of it". (1).

When Newman settled down to the routine work as Rector of the University early in 1854 he set down on paper the principal objects which he would attempt to realize during his term of office. The first in the list was the foundation of a University Church as a centre of influence on the cultivated classes of Dublin, as well on the students of the University. He gave the reasons why the foundation of a University Church was uppermost in his mind.

"I thought -- (1) Nothing was a more simple and complete advertisement of the University than a large Church open for worship; the cheapest advertisement, since, if self-supporting, it cost the University nothing, yet was perpetual and in the face of the day. (2) It symbolized the great principle of the University, the indissoluble union of philosophy with religion. (3) It provided for University formal acts, for Degree-giving, for solemn lectures and addresses, such as those usual at the opening and closing of the Academic

(1) John Henry Newman, Loss and Gain, London, Longmans, Green and Co. Ninth Edition. 1891. p. 523.

year, for the weekly display of the University authorities, etc., a large hall at once, and one which was ennobled by the religious symbols which were its furniture. (4) It interested the clergy in the University, the preachers being taken from all parts of the country." (2).

It was not immediately that Newman was able to carry out his first project, but on May 1st, almost within two years of his arrival in Dublin the Church was opened. (3). It thus symbolized the unity of the religious and the intellectual life of the University; it would integrate and supernaturalize the work of the School. Furthermore, as Newman stated, the Church would furnish preachers and confessors for the student body, establish sodalities, confraternities and other student societies, and it would "counteract the dangers incident to a high school of learning and science, and a large collection of young men entering into life". (4).

Newman devoted the greatest care to the services, the music, the ceremonies, and the vestments. I think it true to say, considering what Newman has written in other places (5), that he wanted his Church to be a

(2) Ward, Life of Newman. Vol. 1. p. 346.

(3) The Church on Stephen's Green, built by the excess money contributed to Newman for the Achilli trial was opened on May 1, 1856.

(4) See Ward's Newman. Vol. 1. p. 347.

(5) Allusion has already been made to Loss and Gain. Here in a conversation between Willis and Bateman, Newman gives a most moving and penetrating pen picture of the Mass (see pages 326-329). another fine instance of the attraction of the Mass for Newman is found in his letters from Italy to Henry Wilberforce, William Penny and others, which are quoted by Ward in his Life of Newman. pp. 133-149. Most of these letters were written in 1846, the year following Newman's reception into the Church.

great Mass-centre. It is rather striking to note how often Newman speaks of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and in what moving words he describes this august ceremony. Assisting at daily Mass was, as has been noted, one of the cardinal rules for the students in residence. His University Church was to be more than a symbol; it was to be the "Real Presence" on the University Campus.

VII

"I shall then merely sum up what I have said, and come to a conclusion". (1).

A writer at the end of his work is for the most part alive to the inadequacies of his effort. Much that should have been said, or what he would like to have said has been left out. Matters of importance have not received the attention and the space they have deserved; matters of lesser importance are possibly unduly emphasized and are out of real proportion to those of real moment. But "let me hope that I have said enough upon the subject to suggest thoughts which those who take an interest in it may pursue for themselves". (2).

We have tried to show that a man of ideas formulates a philosophy of life, and in this special case for Cardinal Newman, a philosophy of education, in response to the circumstances and conditions of life in which he is placed. By a study of Liberalism and the ultimate secularization of life and thought Newman claimed a place for Theology and Religion in the educational programme.

"Christianity and nothing short of it must be made the element and principle of all education". (3).

(1) John Henry Newman. Idea of a University. Part II. Literature. edition of 1912. p. 291.

(2) Ibid. p. 87.

(3) Newman, Arguments and Discussions. The Tenworth Reading Room. p. 274.

Next we described the Utilitarian philosophy with the consequent affirmation by Newman of the essence of a University. Here we saw the emphasis is on the intellectual virtues; the essential office of a University is to train and develop the intellect. Finally we illustrated and explained Newman's principle of unity and integrity. The College is the complement of the University.

Thus we have an education of the complete man. We can fittingly close this paper with the words of Newman himself which he gave to the students of his Irish University in his beloved University Church:

"Here then, I conceive, is the object of the Holy See and the Catholic Church in setting up universities; it is to reunite things which were in the beginning joined together by God, and have been put asunder by man. Some persons will say that I am thinking of confining, distorting, and stunting the growth of intellect by ecclesiastical supervision. I have no such thought. Nor have I any thought of a compromise, as if religion must give up something, and science something. I wish the intellect to range with the utmost freedom, and religion to enjoy an equal freedom; but what I am stipulating for is that they should be found in one and the same place and exemplified in the same persons. I want to destroy that diversity of centres, which puts everything into confusion by creating contrariety of influences. I wish the same spots and the same individuals to be at once oracles of philosophy and shrines of devotion. It will not satisfy me, what has satisfied so many, to have two independent systems, intellectual and religious, going at once side by side, by a sort of division of labor, and only accidentally brought together. It will not satisfy me, if religion is here, and science there, and young men converse with science all day, and lodge with religion in the evening. It is not touching the evil, to which these remarks have been directed, if the young man eat and drink and sleep in one place, and think in another. I want the same roof to contain both the intellectual and moral discipline.

Devotion is not a sort of finish given to the sciences; nor is science a sort of feather in the cap, if I may so express myself, an ornament and set-off to devotion. I want the intellectual layman to be religious and the devout ecclesiastic to be intellectual.

This is not matter of terms, nor of subtle distinction. Sanctity has its influence; intellect has its influence; the influence of sanctity is the greater in the long run; the influence of intellect is the greater at the moment. Therefore, in the case of the young, whose education lasts a few years, where the intellect is, there is the influence. Their literary, their scientific teachers really have the forming of them. Let both influences act freely. As a general rule, no system of mere religious guardianship which neglects the reason, will in matter of fact succeed against the school. Youths need a masculine religion, if it is to captivate their restless imaginations, and their wild intellects, as well as to touch their susceptible hearts". (4).

(4) Newman. Sermons on Various Occasions. quoted by Father Tristram. The Living Thoughts of Cardinal Newman. p. 112.

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