
More Poet than Policeman: Newman and Education ‘in a large sense of the word’

*Más poeta que policía. Newman y la educación
«en un sentido amplio del término»*

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Abstract: Thinkers such as MacIntyre affirm the importance of Newman’s educational classic *The idea of a university* in reminding the university about its nature and purpose. But Newman has a wider view of education: in his educational writings and practice he draws attention to those aspects of the university which contribute to its well-being. He focuses especially on its pastoral dimension, the nurturing of virtuous and fully-formed individuals by means of living arrangements, tutoring systems which provide individual guidance on the art of living well, and the *genius loci* of the institution.

Keywords: Newman, Education, University.

Resumen: Algunos pensadores, como MacIntyre, afirman la importancia de la obra clásica de Newman sobre la educación, *The idea of a university*, para recordar a la universidad cuál es su naturaleza y finalidad. Pero Newman tenía una visión más amplia de la educación. En sus escritos y en su práctica educativa subraya aquellos aspectos de la universidad que contribuyen a su buen estado. Pone el acento especialmente en su dimensión pastoral, en el fomento de individuos virtuosos e integralmente formados por medio de una adecuada organización de la vida, de los sistemas de tutoría que proporcionan una orientación individual sobre el arte de vivir bien, y del *genius loci* de la institución.

Palabras clave: Newman, Educación, Universidad.

The fame of John Henry Newman in education is almost entirely due to the discourses and lectures that go to form *The idea of a university* (1873). Described by a leading historian of university education as «unquestionably the single most important treatise in the English language on the nature and meaning of higher education»¹, it is endlessly cited, especially by those who take a «high» view of a university education and see Newman as the most inspiring advocate of a liberal education.

It is hardly contentious to say that Newman supplies a much-needed educational vision for today, for many see in the *Idea* an attractive alternative to the shapeless, relativistic and uninspiring outlook of so many contemporary universities. The concept of the university as an institution of unique purpose has all but dissolved; modern universities increasingly function as performance-oriented, heavily bureaucratic organisations committed to a narrowly economic conception of «human excellence». Just as Newman battled against destructive trends within education in his own day, so others fight in our own times against the lack of direction and loss of vision of the modern university. In attempting to recover a sense of purpose, several of these modern critiques use the *Idea* as a key point of reference², and some use Newman as the pivotal figure in their analysis³.

Thus Alasdair MacIntyre, in a public lecture delivered in 2009, asserted that «there are three major issues that put Newman at odds with the contemporary research university's understanding of its mission: its pursuit of highly specialised knowledge, the secular university's understanding of what it is to be secular, and the university's self-justification by appeal to considerations of social utility»⁴. Each of these issues relates to a central affirmation which is contained in the *Idea*, but rejected by the modern university as not just false, but irrelevant. MacIntyre argues that these rejections betray a fundamental defect of the modern research university, one which prevents it from engaging

¹ ROTHBLATT, S., «An Oxonian "idea" of a university: J. H. Newman and "well-being"», *The history of the University of Oxford*, VI, ed. BROCK, M. G. & CURTHOYS, M. C., Oxford: OUP, 1997, 287.

² Examples include: MASKELL, D. & ROBINSON, I., *The new idea of a university*, 2001; GRAHAM, G., *Universities: the recovery of an idea*, 2002; COLLINI, S., *What are universities for?*, 2012; HIGTON, M., *A theology of higher education*, 2012, as well as MACINTYRE, A., *God, philosophy, universities*, 2009.

³ Newman is the pivotal figure in PELIKAN, J., *The idea of the university: a re-examination*, 1992 and in ROTHBLATT, S., *The modern university and its discontents: the fate of Newman's legacies in Britain and America*, 1997.

⁴ MACINTYRE, A., «The very idea of a university: Aristotle, Newman and us», *British Journal of Educational Studies* 57 (2009) 350.

in a radical self-criticism and evaluation of its ends. It is precisely because the «successful» university has lost the ability to think about its purpose and goal that it no longer recognises Newman's arguments.

THE PURPOSE OF A UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

One thing we need to learn from Newman, says MacIntyre, is «that undergraduate education has its own distinctive ends, that it should never be regarded simply as a prologue to or a preparation for graduate or professional education, and that its ends must not be subordinated to the ends of the necessarily specialised activities of the researcher»⁵. In other words, an undergraduate education should be regarded as an end in itself: it is about the «making of men»⁶ – the formation of mature, balanced adults.

What, then, is the main purpose of a university according to Newman? To put it at its simplest, it is «to teach people to think». In his discourses, Newman argues that knowledge can be pursued either with a view to the cultivation of the intellect, or for more immediate practical purposes. The cultivation of the intellect, he argues, is a good in itself, and constitutes the primary aim of a university; thus while all subjects tend to the cultivation of the intellect, some are particularly suited to fostering this aim, and a university should concentrate on those subjects above all. While it is the case that universities prepare directly for the professions through disciplines such as medicine and law, they also do so indirectly; indeed, the cultivation of the intellect can provide the best preparation for such an aim.

It is important to grasp Newman's concept of knowledge, as it paves the way for understanding one of the grand aims of a university in his eyes. «All that exists, as contemplated by the human mind, forms one large system or complex fact, and this of course resolves itself into an indefinite number of

⁵ MACINTYRE, A., «The very idea of a university: Aristotle, Newman and us», 362. Earlier in his lecture (350), MacIntyre remarks that while contemporary universities justify their existence to students, donors and governments by being a cost-effective means of providing skilled labour and research that leads to economic growth, Newman argues instead that «the activities that contribute to the teaching and learning of a university have goods internal to them that make those activities worthwhile in themselves».

⁶ This phrase was used by Newman in his «Report on the Organization of the Catholic University of Ireland», October 1851, NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign in Ireland, Part 1: Catholic University reports and other papers*, ed. NEVILLE, W., Aberdeen (Ireland): A. King & Co., 1896, 85. Note that, since universities were not open to women in the mid-nineteenth century, all Newman's references to students are to young men.

particular facts, which, as being portions of a whole, have countless relations of every kind, one towards another». The effect of a proper university education is an enlargement of the mind:

the action of a formative power, reducing to order and meaning the matter of our acquirements; it is a 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 thought⁷.

This organic, living knowledge – not just of things themselves, but of their mutual relations – enables the intellect to gain

a connected view of old and new, past and present, far and near, and which has an insight into the influence of all these one on another; without which there is no whole, and no centre. It possesses the knowledge, not only of things, but also of their mutual and true relations; knowledge, not merely considered as acquirement, but as philosophy⁸.

Acquiring this overview or «philosophical habit of mind»⁹ is one of the chief goals of a university education. In this way, a lawyer, physician, geologist, or economist studying at university,

will just know where he and his science stand, he has come to it, as it were, from a height, he has taken a survey of all knowledge, he is kept from extravagance by the very rivalry of other studies, he has gained from them a special illumination and largeness of mind and freedom and self-possession, and he treats his own in consequence with a philosophy and a resource, which belongs not to the study itself, but to his liberal education¹⁰.

We could illustrate Newman's point by considering, for example, a student of economics, who attends lectures in the subject, works through the reading list he is given, writes essays, and sits exams. If his only reading outside his set books is *The Economist*, and he only mixes with other economics students, then effectively he has economics for breakfast, lunch and dinner. Such a student will almost certainly lack awareness of other disciplines and therefo-

⁷ NEWMAN, J. H., *The idea of a university: defined and illustrated*, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1873; 1907, 45, 134.

⁸ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 134.

⁹ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 51. This elusive concept is explored at length in BOTTONI, A., *The philosophical habit of mind: rhetoric and person in John Henry Newman's Dublin writings*, 2010.

¹⁰ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 166-167.

re of their methods, their starting points, their use of evidence, their modes of argument and their ways of reaching truth; and so he is likely to be affected by the «extravagance» or bias that Newman speaks of, and to be handicapped in the judgements he makes. But if economics is studied in the way Newman suggests, then we would be likely to agree with MacIntyre's argument that «Liberal knowledge transforms us as human beings; it makes us into what we ought to be and need to be if we are to be good human beings»¹¹. A liberal education schools the mind in how to make judgments, and this makes the person better fitted to take on any role. This is why true liberal education is the opposite of impractical, though it is wary about excessive specialisation.

In arguing that the end of a university is intellectual culture¹², Newman is defending the university against those who would burden it with some other end, such as practical utility or even religious training and morality. Following Aristotle's argument that everything has its own perfection, whether it be intellectual, aesthetic, moral or practical, Newman holds that,

to open the mind, to correct it, to refine it, to enable it to know, and to digest, master, rule, and use its knowledge, to give it power over its own faculties, application, flexibility, method, critical exactness, sagacity, resource, address, eloquent expression, is an object as intelligible [...] as the cultivation of virtue, while, at the same time, it is absolutely distinct from it¹³.

In saying this, he is simply proposing what a liberal education is in itself: not what it is worth, nor what use the Church makes of it. It is an important distinction to draw, because Newman was faced by two dominant outlooks, each of which showed a marked tendency to use the university as a vehicle for something other than its primary end, and thus tended to distort the education that was imparted. Besides their obsession with «useful knowledge», the intellectual descendants of John Locke (such as the utilitarian Jeremy Ben-

¹¹ Quoted from notes taken by Brian Boyd at the third of five lectures in the series called «God, Philosophy, Universities» at the University of Notre Dame on 6 November 2006.

¹² Note that Newman's idea of knowledge and intellectual culture is not at all the same as Matthew Arnold's. When Newman speaks of «intellectual culture» he means «the culture of the intellect», that by which the intellect is «generally exercised in order to its perfect state» (NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 165). By contrast Arnold sees it as «a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know [...] the best which has been thought and said in the world» (ARNOLD, M., *Culture and anarchy: an essay in political and social criticism*, London: Sam, Elder & Co., 1869, xviii). For Newman, therefore, a liberal education is about learning how to think, whereas for Arnold it is something similar to a «great books» programme.

¹³ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 122-123.

tham) held that education alone was enough to make the public moral, and that religious teaching was redundant; ecclesiastics, on the other hand, had a tendency to be interested in education only insofar as it ministered to religion and matters ecclesiastical. Newman answers both tendencies by defending what he maintains is the proper business of a university:

Its direct business is not to steel the soul against temptation or to console it in affliction, any more than to set the loom in motion, or to direct the steam carriage; be it ever so much the means or the condition of both material and moral advancement, still, taken by and in itself, it as little mends our hearts as it improves our temporal circumstances¹⁴.

The *direct* end of a university, he asserts, is knowledge or «cultivation of mind», just as the *direct* end of hospitals is bodily health. Neither of them is *directly* intended to make men religious. Indeed, he argues, «A University is not *ipso facto* a Church Institution»; like a hospital, it «has no direct call to make men Catholic or religious, for that is the previous and contemporaneous office of the Church». Nevertheless the *indirect* effects of a university can be religious: «As the Church uses Hospitals religiously, so she uses Universities». In order «to secure its religious character, and for the morals of its members, she has ever adopted together with it, and within its precincts, Seminaries, Halls, Colleges and Monastic Establishments»¹⁵.

When the discourses were first published together in a single volume (in 1852), this explanation was reworked in the Preface. There Newman explains that he sees the university as «a place of *teaching* universal *knowledge*», which implies that in the first place, its principal object is intellectual, not moral; and in the second, it entails the diffusion of knowledge rather than its advancement. This means that a university is not a seminary or centre of religious training, as this would hardly make it a «seat of literature and science»; but neither is it a research institute, because otherwise it need not have students¹⁶.

¹⁴ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 120.

¹⁵ First draft of an Introduction to Discourse VI, sent to J. B. Dalgairns on 21 July 1852, NEWMAN, J. H., *Letters and diaries of John Henry Newman*, XV, London: T. Nelson, 1961-72; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973-2008, 131-132.

¹⁶ For a discussion about Newman's views on research at university see: KER, I., «Newman's *Idea of a university*. A guide for the contemporary university?», *The idea of a university*, ed. SMITH, D. & LANGSLOW, A. K., London: Jessica Kingsley, 1999, 12-16; SHRIMPTON, P., *The «making of men»: the Idea and reality of Newman's university in Oxford and Dublin*, Gracewing: Leominster, 2014, 110, 113-115, 241, 475-478.

However, after claiming that «Such is a University in its *essence*, and independently of its relation to the Church», Newman immediately points out that in practice the university «cannot fulfil its object duly [...] without the Church's assistance». This implies that «the Church is necessary for its *integrity*»¹⁷, by which he means its harmonious functioning and completeness¹⁸.

A further qualification follows: Newman explains that Church assistance or incorporation does not imply that the university's main characteristics are changed; it retains its task of intellectual education, but now it is aided in carrying out that task by the steadying hand of the Church. Newman reminds his readers that,

when the Church founds a University, she is not cherishing talent, genius, or knowledge, for their own sake, but for the sake of her children, with a view to their spiritual welfare and their religious influence and usefulness, with the object of training them to fill their respective posts in life better, and of making them more intelligent, capable, active members of society¹⁹.

But this does not mean that in acting in this way the Church «sacrifices Science, and, under pretence of fulfilling the duties of her mission, perverts a University to ends not its own»²⁰.

THE INTEGRITY AND WELL-BEING OF A UNIVERSITY

At this juncture, it may be helpful to explain the background to the discourses. In 1845 the British government established three Queen's Colleges in Ireland – in Belfast, Cork and Galway – in order to provide Catholics with access to higher education; but it excluded the teaching of theology, with the aim of creating «mixed», i.e. Protestant-Catholic, establishments. Rome strongly discouraged Catholics from participating, and instead urged the Irish bishops to set up their own university. This they decided to do, and in 1851

¹⁷ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, ix.

¹⁸ Here Newman employs the Aristotelian distinction between the *essence* of something and its *integrity*. The essence of an object refers to what is necessary for its nature, whereas its integrity (*eudemonia*) refers to what is required for its harmonious functioning or well-being; it is a gift added to its nature. Without it that nature is indeed complete, and can act and achieve its end, though not with ease.

¹⁹ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, xii.

²⁰ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, xii. Newman generally uses the word «science» to mean a systematically organised body of knowledge rather than its restricted, modern sense.

Newman was invited to become the founding rector. To pave the way for the university Newman wrote ten discourses, which were published in 1852 under the title *Discourses on the scope and nature of university education*²¹; then, in 1859, a series of occasional pieces written in the period 1854-58 were published together as *Lectures and essays on university subjects*. It was only in 1873 that the *Discourses* and the *Lectures* were brought together to form the *Idea*. Clearly, then, Newman did not write the *Idea* as a systematic treatise on the nature and purpose of university education, although it has often been treated as such.

The discourses themselves were not composed as an exhaustive exposition of the subject but as an exploration of a theme; and they were written to deal with particular problems which Newman faced in the 1850s in his attempt to win over various factions within Irish society. Because the Dublin discourses are about the *essence* of a university, not about its fully functioning existence, they contain a great deal about the intellectual formation of the student, but relatively little about such important aspects of the university, in Newman's eyes, as character formation and residential student life. One of the few exceptions occurs when Newman extols the advantages of a residential university by dwelling on the *mutual* education that takes place there:

When a multitude of young men, keen, open-hearted, sympathetic, and observant, as young men are, come together and freely mix with each other, they are sure to learn one from another, even if there be no one to teach them; the conversation of all is a series of lectures to each, and they gain for themselves new ideas and views, fresh matter of thought, and distinct principles for judging and acting, day by day²².

Part of this unofficial educative experience comes about from this mix of students, for life at university «is seeing the world on a small field with little trouble; for the pupils or students come from very different places, and with widely different notions, and there is much to generalise, much to adjust, much to eliminate»²³.

²¹ The fifth discourse was omitted in the abridged 1859 edition of the *Discourses*, which involved over 800 textual changes, and from the *Idea of a university*, which retained most of these alterations to the text. Further editions of the *Idea* appeared, concluding with the ninth edition of 1889, a year before Newman's death. For an authoritative introduction to and commentary on the *Idea*, see Ian Ker's critical edition (1976).

²² NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 146.

²³ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 147.

Since the *Idea* is about the essence of a university, not its fullness and well-being, in order to discern what Newman meant by its *integrity* we need to look at the idea of the university illustrated in history – the twenty «university sketches» that Newman wrote for the *Catholic University Gazette* in 1854²⁴ – and in practice, at the Catholic University in Dublin, which opened its doors in November 1854. From Newman's correspondence and university papers there emerges a fuller picture of the educated person, nurtured in his entirety and in his social dimension, and how this might be achieved. The relative failure of the Catholic University²⁵ and its marginalisation in the history of the university hardly seems an incentive for imitation, yet without the example of the institution Newman created, the vision he describes in the *Idea* remains incomplete.

In a memorandum intended for the Irish bishops, Newman wrote that the object «in setting up this their University, is to provide for Catholic Education (in a large sense of the word “education”）」²⁶. The expression, «in a large sense of the word “education”», reflects the fact that Newman had a very broad conception of what he meant by «education» and that he resisted the tendency to reduce its meaning and narrow its scope. It emphasises that Newman was interested in giving at one and the same time a deep human and Christian formation.

Then, as now, there was a common mistake of viewing education as the imparting of knowledge rather than the training of the mind, the acquisition of habits, and character formation. But Newman did not consider education to be something confined to its more formal moments or institutio-

²⁴ The sketches are like historical snapshots of the organic growth and development of the university. They were published together as NEWMAN, J. H., *Office and work of universities*, 1856; then as the NEWMAN, J. H., *Rise and progress of universities*, 1872; and finally came to form the first and major part of NEWMAN, J. H., *Historical sketches*, III, 1872; London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909, 1-251. Though the ‘university sketches’ are far less well known than the Dublin lectures, Newman scholars have argued that they are vital for a full understanding of Newman's educational views. For an analysis of the sketches, see the preface to NEWMAN, J. H., *The rise and progress of the universities and Benedictine essays*, ed. TILLMAN, M. K., Leominster: Gracewing, 2001.

²⁵ University College Dublin, now the largest university in Ireland, has its origins in the Catholic University founded by Newman.

²⁶ Memorandum, 29 April 1854, NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign*, 93. Newman uses this or similar expressions on a number of other occasions, e.g. ‘from first to last, education, in this large sense of the word, has been my line’ (Journal entry, 21 January 1863, NEWMAN, J. H., *John Henry Newman: autobiographical writings*, ed. TRISTRAM, H., London: Sheed & Ward, 1956, 259). See also NEWMAN, J. H., *Historical sketches*, III, 6; NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 170.

nal settings: for him, education takes place not just in the formal settings of lecture-rooms, laboratories and libraries, but in semi-formal student activities such as sport, music-making, journalism, drama and debating, and even in the informal moments of relaxation and amusement, such as meals and parties.

For Newman, the informal aspects of university education were not just extras, but an essential part of that privileged educational institution, the residential university. He made this point in a striking way when he famously declared that if he «had to choose between a so-called University, which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a University which had no professors or examinations at all, but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years», as Oxford used to do at the end of the eighteenth century, then he would have no hesitation in opting for «that University which did nothing, over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every science under the sun». He explained that he was not saying which was *morally* the better, because it was obvious that «compulsory study must be a good and idleness an intolerable mischief», but rather which «was the better discipline of the intellect»: that is, which was «the more successful in training, moulding, enlarging the mind, which sent out men the more fitted for their secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity»²⁷. This provocative and challenging opinion, especially given Newman's fame for occupying the academic high ground, is one of the few occasions when Newman digresses from his main purpose and hints about what he did *not* develop in the *Idea* – the pastoral dimension of a university education. How important it was for him is made clear if we examine what Newman actually *did* in Dublin.

The lecturers and professors at the Catholic University were witnesses to what Newman sought to achieve. They were well aware of the onerous task he had taken on, for they knew from personal experience that virtually every aspect of life at the University came into being through his hands. Besides overseeing academic affairs, the appointment of staff, the financial administration, the launching of new faculties and schools, devising statutes, writing

²⁷ NEWMAN, J. H., *The idea of a university*, 145.

rules and regulations, editing the weekly *Catholic University Gazette*, delivering lectures each term and preaching sermons, Newman also acted as the academic and moral conscience of the University; despite all the administrative pressures bearing down on him, he continued to give priority to the pastoral needs of the students and his dealings with the academic staff.

It was no simple task for Newman to translate his vision into a living institution, for he faced a series of nearly insurmountable difficulties: an absence of a university tradition among Irish Catholics, and little appreciation of the purpose of a liberal education; a complete lack of experience in dealing with students *qua* students; serious financial constraints in the years following the Great Famine (1845-49); a population which was dispirited and had little confidence in new ventures; deep divisions between the clergy and the educated laity, manifested in clerical high-handedness and lay anticlericalism; a British government which refused to recognise the new foundation, let alone provide financial aid or a charter; and a generous dose of anti-English feeling within Ireland. Though these difficulties severely hampered Newman's plans and meant that the university which emerged bore only a limited likeness to his ideal, Newman's plans and deeds are instructive because they present a clear picture of how this original thinker and Christian humanist adapted his principles to the Irish situation of the mid-1850s.

RESIDENTIAL LIFE AT UNIVERSITY

One of the key principles which runs through all Newman's university papers is his concern that young students living away from home should find a «home from home» at the crucial juncture in life between childhood and adulthood. To this end, he set up a system of collegiate houses, each of which had its own dean «charged with the moral and intellectual advancement» of his students, assisted by a chaplain and one or more tutors. Drawing on his experience at Oriel College, Oxford, where Newman had been a Fellow (1822-45) and Tutor (1826-31), he wrote at length about the «delicate and difficult matter» of managing lay youths «when they are no longer boys, but not yet men, and claim to be entrusted with the freedom which is the right of men, yet punished with the lenience which is the privilege of boys». He laid down as his guiding principle «that the young for the most part cannot be driven, but, on the other hand, are open to persuasion and to the influence of kindness and personal attachment; and that, in consequence, they are to be kept

straight by indirect contrivances rather than by authoritative enactments and naked prohibitions»²⁸.

«A University residence», Newman asserts, «is in fact a period of training interposed between boyhood and manhood, and one of its special offices is to introduce and to launch the young man into the world, who has hitherto been confined within the school and the playground». This special office of educating in freedom was a momentous task, «for nothing is more perilous to the soul than the sudden transition from restraint to liberty». Not to prepare students for the «great world» that follows would amount to «abdicating a function, and letting slip the opportunities of our peculiar position»²⁹. Looking back on his own life, Newman referred to his student days as «the dangerous season of my Undergraduate residence»³⁰. As a Fellow and tutor at Oxford he had witnessed the consequences of that intoxicating mix of freedom with virtually no responsibility, and realised that an effective education in freedom depended on the previous acquisition of good habits and on wise oversight by the authorities. Throughout his life Newman was preoccupied with the «problem» of human freedom, and in particular how it played out in a person's formative years. In all his educational ventures he grappled with how best to negotiate that delicate and gradual process of launching the young person into the world, how to pitch demands and expectations with just that right mixture of freedom and restraint.

In a passage which was later incorporated into the *Constitution and Statutes of the Catholic University of Ireland* (1869), Newman writes eloquently about university discipline:

It is our duty and our privilege to be allowed to hold back the weak and ignorant a while from an inevitable trial; – to conduct them to the arms of a kind mother, an Alma Mater, who inspires affection while she whispers truth; who enlists imagination, taste, and ambition on the side of duty; who seeks to impress hearts with noble and heavenly maxims at the age when they are most susceptible, and to win and subdue them when they are most impetuous and self-willed; who warns them while she indulges them, and sympathizes with them while she remonstrates

²⁸ «Scheme of Rules and Regulations», NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign*, 114-115.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 115.

³⁰ Newman to Greaves, 27 February 1828, NEWMAN, J. H., *Letters and diaries*, II, 58.

with them; who superintends the use of the liberty which she gives them, and teaches them to turn to account the failures which she has not at all risks prevented; and who, in a word, would cease to be a mother, if her eye were stern and her voice peremptory. If all this be so, it is plain that a certain tenderness, or even indulgence on the one hand, and an anxious, vigilant, importunate attention on the other, are the characteristics of that discipline which is peculiar to a University. And it is the necessity of the exercise of this elastic Rule, as in a good sense of the term it may be called, which is the great difficulty of its governors. It is easy enough to lay down the law and to justify it, to make your rule and keep it; but it is quite a science, I may say, to maintain a persevering, gentle oversight, to use a minute discretion, to adapt your treatment to the particular case, to go just as far as you safely may with each mind, and no further, and to do all this with no selfish ends, with no sacrifice of sincerity and frankness, and with no suspicion of partiality³¹.

It should be remembered that when Newman wrote this, the age of majority was twenty-one, which meant that the university acted *in loco parentis* for most of its students: this implied a duty of care, though it was often neglected. Newman held strongly that the Catholic University undertook a grave responsibility of oversight for those who entered its doors; it acted on behalf of parents in its attentiveness to growth in virtue; it was «an Alma Mater, knowing her children one by one, not a foundry, or a mint, or a treadmill»³². Such an elevated idea of the university's pastoral role explains why Newman had hoped ultimately to establish the University Church and the collegiate houses as a personal diocese, either with the rector as its bishop, or else with the Archbishop of Dublin as its bishop and the rector as its vicar apostolic³³. Though this remained an idea on paper, Newman's ambitious thinking conveys the conception he had of his new pastoral responsibility.

³¹ «Scheme of Rules and Regulations», NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign*, 116-117.

³² NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 144-145.

³³ Newman to Stanton, 12 March 1854, NEWMAN, J. H., *Letters and diaries*, XXXII, 84. Although it is unclear how such a structure would have fitted into the canon law then in force, the 1983 *Code of Canon Law* makes provision for just such a «personal diocese» in canon 372, taking up the idea in the Second Vatican Council decree on the ministry and life of priests (*Presbyterorum ordinis*, 10b); the idea of a «personal parish» specifically for pastoral care at universities is mentioned in canons 518 and 813.

POET AND POLICEMAN: INFLUENCE AND DISCIPLINE IN THE UNIVERSITY

To understand what Newman meant by «collegiate houses» it is necessary to revisit the mid-nineteenth century. Newman observed that most universities followed the «professorial system»: teaching was carried out chiefly by means of hour-long lectures, while tutorial instruction was usually absent and living arrangements generally neglected. In Oxford and Cambridge, on the other hand, the university was almost non-existent, and instead of the professorial system what operated was the «tutorial system» of small-group instruction within individual colleges, accompanied by guided reading. Observing these two contrasting systems, Newman remarked that all he could see were «naked Universities and naked Colleges»³⁴. What he hoped to see was the two – university and colleges – operating in harmony. What he calls the college-university principle needs to be explained further, as Newman felt it answered a definite and pressing need.

In telling the story of the historical development of the university in his «university sketches», Newman uses the device of attributing change to the shifting fortunes of two rival powers, which he calls «influence» and «discipline» (or «system»)³⁵. This tension, which acts as a *leitmotif* in the university sketches, is a key idea in Newman's educational thinking and guided him in setting up the Catholic University. Beginning with Athens, Newman examines the forces behind academic institutions in order to discern what gave rise to their periods of growth, decay and reform. Taking «influence» and «system» as the two great principles governing the conduct of human affairs, he observes that, in order of time, influence comes before system. This is the course of history: «it begins with the poet and ends in the policeman». This is also true of the history of universities: «they begin in Influence and end in System». The first teachers were like preachers, who attracted disciples by means of personal influence – which Newman describes as the absence of rule, «the action of personality, the intercourse of soul with soul, the play of mind upon mind». But individual action is fickle and unreliable, and it needs the steadying hand of system to preserve the gains made. Thus «a University has been embodied in a constitu-

³⁴ NEWMAN, J. H., *Historical sketches*, III, 229.

³⁵ Newman took the idea from Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who argues in *On the constitution of the Church and State*, 1830, 18-28, that healthy institutions needed to incorporate both the principle of progress and the principle of permanence.

tion, it has exerted authority, it has been protected by rights and privileges, it has enforced discipline»³⁶.

Newman argues that the proper sphere of action of «influence» is the university, considered as a whole, and that it exerts itself primarily through the professorial system; «discipline», on the other hand, acts through the collegiate system. Although they are natural rivals of one another and disposed to usurp each other's rights, the forces of influence and discipline can be brought to act in harmony, for in reality each needs and complements the other. Hence, for Newman, «It would seem as if a University seated and living in Colleges, would be a perfect institution, as possessing excellences of opposite kinds»³⁷. Newman knew that the Royal Commissioners investigating Oxford in 1850-52 were hoping to combine the two systems of teaching, so that the professorial system could become «the crown and completion of the Tutorial». Unlike the universities abroad, where the professorial system had been adopted not from choice but from necessity, Oxford's wealth gave it «the means of combining the two, and of carrying out the spirit of each more perfectly»³⁸.

Returning to the distinction between essence and integrity mentioned earlier, Newman asserted that the *essence* of a university consists in the communication of knowledge, in lecturers and students, in the professorial system; but that the influence of professors alone is insufficient for its well-being, for a rich and full life and all that the term *eudemonia* connotes. «For its sure and

³⁶ NEWMAN, J. H., *Historical sketches*, III, 77-78, 88. Newman considered that if there was one institution in the Church which spread more by influence than discipline, then it was the Oratory of St. Philip Neri (which Newman joined and introduced into England). He saw a certain providence at play in his being the one to prepare the foundations of a great university. While the task of framing, organising and consolidating was the gift of St. Dominic or St. Ignatius, «yet a son of St. Philip Neri may aspire without presumption to the preliminary task of breaking the ground [...] of introducing the great idea into men's minds, and making them understand it [...] and show zeal for it; of bringing many intellects to work together for it, and of teaching them to understand each other, and bear with each other, and go on together, not so much by rule, as by mutual kind feeling and a common devotion» (*ibid.*, 89).

³⁷ NEWMAN, J. H., *Historical sketches*, III, 229. Newman was not the first to make this claim. The Scottish philosopher Sir William Hamilton had argued that «the statutory combination of the Professorial and Tutorial systems [...] is implied in the constitution of a perfect university». However, this statement was nuanced by the assertion that «A tutorial system in subordination to a professorial we regard as affording *the condition of an absolutely perfect University*» (HAMILTON, W., «On the State of the English Universities, with more especial reference to Oxford», 1831, *Discussions on philosophy and literature, education and university reform*, London: Longmans, 1853, 417, 448).

³⁸ *Report of Her Majesty's commissioners appointed to inquire into the state, discipline, studies and revenues of the University and colleges of Oxford: together with the evidence, and an appendix*, British Parliamentary Papers, 1852, XXII, 95-96, 99-100.

comfortable existence we must look to law, rule, order; to religion, from which law proceeds; to the collegiate system, in which it is embodied»³⁹. In a sketch called «Professorial and Tutorial Systems», Newman argues that «Colleges are to be accounted the maintainers of order, and Universities the centres of movement»: and he insists on this principle despite the numerous instances history can throw up of professors who lacked personal weight and persuasiveness, and of colleges which become neglectful of moral and religious discipline. Furthermore, «Colleges are the direct and special instruments, which the Church *uses* in a University, for the attainment of her sacred objects». By combining the two antitheses, university-college and professor-tutor, Newman arrives at his conclusion: «The Professorial system fulfils the strict idea of a University, and is sufficient for its *being*, but it is not sufficient for its *well-being*. Colleges constitute the *integrity* of a University»⁴⁰.

But what does Newman mean by a «college»? He defines it as a body of men not merely living together in one dwelling, but belonging to a single establishment; it suggests a foundation invested with authority, public recognition and an endowment. It is a household which «involves the same virtuous and paternal discipline which is proper to a family and home». Being a domestic establishment in which teachers and taught live together as one family, the college «is all, and does all, which is implied in the name of home». Young men leaving the family home need to find another: because they do not know the world, and so are easily discouraged by the difficulties of life; because they still have to learn how to cope with the temptations of the world; because they have not yet learned *how to learn*. Ideally, the «collegiate home» assumes the characteristics of the family home, and thus becomes «the shrine of our best affections, the bosom of our fondest recollections, a spell upon our after life, a stay for world-weary mind and soul»⁴¹.

There is no contradiction between these homely images and the disciplinary role Newman assigns to the college, because by «discipline» he means not an externally imposed code of behaviour but the discipline of a regular and ordered personal and social life, a *self-discipline* that is intellectual, moral and religious. In this way college would take over where family leaves off, providing a place of refuge and companionship, and also prayer and instruction.

³⁹ NEWMAN, J. H., *Historical sketches*, III, 74.

⁴⁰ NEWMAN, J. H., *Historical sketches*, III, 182-183.

⁴¹ NEWMAN, J. H., «Colleges the corrective of universities: Oxford», *Historical sketches*, III, 213-215.

The division of labour between the university and the college means that «the office of a Catholic University is to teach *faith*, and of Colleges to protect *morals*»⁴². Newman was insistent on this. The history of universities shows that the thirst for knowledge and the opportunity of satisfying it, though they constitute the real life of a university, are not sufficient to enable it to achieve its end unless they are «surrounded by influences of a different sort, which have no pretension indeed to be the essence of a University, but are conservative of that essence». For these influences Newman turns to the Church. He proposes that the real wisdom is, as the Apostle James says (James 3:17), that which comes down from above, and is marked chiefly by purity and peacefulness. «These may be called the three vital principles of the Christian student, faith, chastity, love; because their contraries, viz., unbelief or heresy, impurity, and enmity, are just the three great sins against God, ourselves, and our neighbour, which are the death of the soul». These, Newman explains, are the chief dangers of the professorial system; but just as its deficiencies are obvious, so is its remedy (insofar as human nature admits of one):

When a boy leaves his home [...] his faith and morals are in great danger, both because he is in the world, and also because he is among strangers. The remedy, then, of the perils which a University presents to the student, is to create within it homes, ‘*altera Trojæ Pergama*’, such as those, or better than those, which he has left behind. Small communities must be set up within its precincts, where his better thoughts will find countenance, and his good resolutions support; where his waywardness will be restrained, his heedlessness forewarned, and his prospective deviations anticipated⁴³.

Newman points out that the received wisdom of lawgivers and founders has long been to «find a safe outlet for natural impulses and sentiments, which are sure to be found in their subjects, and which are hurtful only in excess; and to direct, and moderate, and variously influence what they cannot extinguish». This was traditionally achieved by dividing up the student body to make it more manageable and at the same time to provide a safe channel for national,

⁴² Second draft of an Introduction to Discourse VI, sent to J. B. Dalgairns on 23 July 1852, NEWMAN, J. H., *Letters and diaries*, XV, 134.

⁴³ NEWMAN, J. H., *Historical sketches*, III, 189-190. The expression *altera Trojæ Pergama*, a classical allusion culled from Virgil’s *Aeneid* (Book 3, lines 86-87), effectively means «another Troy» or «a home from home».

provincial, or political feelings, and allow a wholesome rivalry. Such student societies tended to promote an «honourable emulation» and stimulate academic exertion, while also changing a selfish feeling of pride into a concern for the reputation of the society⁴⁴.

THE *GENIUS LOCI*

When establishing the Catholic University, Newman realised it was important to create a healthy intellectual atmosphere, one which could then be carried on by tradition. «It is scarcely too much to say», he asserts, «that one-half of the education which young people receive is derived from the tradition of the place of education», what he calls the *genius loci* (or «spirit of the place»). The authorities could not create the *genius loci* themselves, but they were in a position to foster and influence it.

One means of doing this was by providing generous scholarships. Newman maintained (perhaps somewhat optimistically) that often,

the most studious are the best principled and most religiously minded of the young men; at least a certain share of self-command, good sense, and correctness in deportment they must have; and, by bringing them forward in the way I am proposing, the respect due to successful talent comes in aid of order and virtue, and they become the centre of influence, who are likely to use influence well.

Newman stipulated that those receiving scholarships should live in a collegiate house, exercise certain collegiate functions, and have some small privileges, such as special access to the dean and tutor;

and thus, without having a shadow of jurisdiction over the rest, they would constitute a middle party between the superiors and the students, break the force of their collisions, and act as an indirect and spontaneous channel of communicating to the students many an important lesson and truth, which they would not receive, if administered to them from the mouth of a superior⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ NEWMAN, J. H., *Historical sketches*, III, 190.

⁴⁵ Report for the Year 1854-55, NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign*, 39-40. There is more than an echo here of the prefect system introduced by Thomas Arnold at Rugby which played a key part in reforming the English public-school system. During the middle decades of the nineteenth century it gradually became accepted that character training was enhanced by a delegation of

Newman was convinced of the importance of the *genius loci*, as he felt that everything in a long-established institution was influenced by this intangible but all-pervading power, which combined «in itself the power of discipline with the power of influence, for though its ways were secret and indirect and personal, it had all the authority of law and all the consistency of a living idea»⁴⁶. A youthful community naturally gives birth to a living teaching, which in time takes the shape of a self-perpetuating tradition «which haunts the home where it has been born, and which imbues and forms, more or less, and one by one, every individual who is successively brought under its shadow». It constituted «a sort of self-education», clearly visible in the academic institutions of Protestant England:

A characteristic tone of thought, a recognized standard of judgment is found in them, which, as developed in the individual who is submitted to it, becomes a twofold source of strength to him, both from the distinct stamp it impresses on his mind, and from the bond of union which it creates between him and others⁴⁷.

Leaving aside the question of whether the standards and principles of any particular ethical atmosphere were true or false, there was no disputing that here was a real teaching. Newman knew that the *genius loci* would ultimately depend «mainly on the intercourse of students *with each other*»⁴⁸.

THE ROLE OF THE TUTOR

Essential to Newman's scheme for the collegiate houses was they should all have their own tutors. Ideally the tutors would be young men, not more than two or three years older than their pupils, who had recently finished their

authority to the boys themselves and that, besides instilling virtues, self-government had two practical advantages: it made the headmaster's job easier, and it prevented rebellion by uniting some of the most influential boys with the masters. Though theologically at odds with Arnold's liberalism, Newman clearly appreciated his use of surrogate authority and employed it himself.

⁴⁶ CULLER, A. D., *The imperial intellect: a study of Newman's educational ideal*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955, 166.

⁴⁷ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 147.

⁴⁸ From Newman's «Memorandum relating to the Catholic University», 19 February 1853, quoted in Shrimpton, P., *Making of men*, 89. Among other thing, the memorandum deals with the catering arrangements at the Catholic University: Newman thought of keeping the tables separate as in a restaurant, rather than having them form one long table as in an Oxford dining hall, so that students could invite their friends to breakfast or dinner.

own course of studies at the University and done well in their exams, or else were (or had recently been) holders of scholarships. They would be

half companions, half advisers of their pupils, that is, of the students; and while their formal office would be that of preparing them for the Professors' Lectures, and the Examinations [...], they would be thrown together with them in their amusements and recreations; and, gaining their confidence from their almost parity of age, and their having so lately been what the others are still, they may be expected to exercise a salutary influence over them, and will often know more about them than anyone else⁴⁹.

When announcing his intention to combine the professorial and tutorial systems, Newman remarked that «the principal making of men must be by the Tutorial system»⁵⁰. A year later he explained that he hoped to imitate Oxford, where the «real working men were, not the Professors, but the Tutors». Together with the lecturers, the tutors would assist the rector and form «the working and influential portion of the University» and thus would be «the practical managers of the whole»⁵¹.

In his university sketch «Professorial and Tutorial systems», Newman notes that the student gains much from the college as his second home, but still more from the tutorial supervision which complements the education imparted at lectures. While the college was the main setting for general discipline, in the wider sense of «training», the college tutorial was the ideal vehicle for the student's *intellectual* discipline:

his diligence will be steadily stimulated; he will be kept up to his aim; his progress will be ascertained, and his week's work, like a labourer's, measured. It is not easy for a young man to determine for himself whether he has mastered what he has been taught; a careful catechetical training, and a jealous scrutiny into his power of expressing himself and of turning his knowledge to account, will be necessary, if he is really to profit from the able Professors whom he is attending; and all this he will gain from the College Tutor⁵².

⁴⁹ Report for the Year 1854-55, NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign*, 41-42.

⁵⁰ «Report on the Organization of the Catholic University of Ireland», October 1851, NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign*, 85.

⁵¹ Newman to Cullen, 14 August 1852 (not sent), NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign*, 276-277.

⁵² NEWMAN, J. H., *Historical sketches*, III, 190.

Outlining the tutor's role, Newman clarifies that the tutor's duty was «certainly the moral, but more directly the intellectual care of his pupils, of which he relieves the Head»⁵³. His chief work was to prepare his pupils for the lectures and examinations. The students would be required «to read a few books well rather than many imperfectly, i.e. cultivate taste, imagination, judgement, rather than a smattering of a great many authors»⁵⁴. Newman hoped that the tutor would adjust himself to the needs of each student, catering not just for those who were able and studious but also for those who showed little love of learning, or had not developed study habits, or were backward; that he would select their course of reading and recommend the lectures they should attend and the books and subjects they were to present for examination. The tutor would oversee the more promising students by giving them advice, explaining difficult passages, testing them now and again, bringing to their attention points they might overlook, helping them with summaries and generally keeping an eye on them. Different tactics were required for the backward students, who would need support to remedy their shortcomings and make the most of their lectures, and different tactics again for the idle, who would need to be kept on their toes and helped to overcome with their lack of diligence in the run-up to exams. All this would demand of the tutor «a sustained solicitude, and a mind devoted to his charge»⁵⁵.

Newman enlarged on the scope of the tutor's role by suggesting that the way to a young man's heart – particularly in the case of the more able – lay through his studies. Feeling grateful to the person who takes an interest in the things which are at that moment nearest to his heart, the student would open up to his tutor, and from the books before them the two are

led into conversation, speculation, discussion: there is the intercourse of mind with mind, with an intimacy and sincerity which can only be when none others are present. Obscurities of thought, difficulties in philosophy, perplexities of faith, are confidentially brought out, sifted, and solved; and a pagan poet or theorist may thus become the occasion of Christian advancement⁵⁶.

⁵³ «Scheme of Rules and Regulations», 1856, NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign*, 117.

⁵⁴ Newman to Paley, 20 May 1854, NEWMAN, J. H., *Letters and diaries*, XVI, 137-138.

⁵⁵ «Scheme of Rules and Regulations», 1856, NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign*, 119.

⁵⁶ «Scheme of Rules and Regulations», 1856, NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign*, 119.

In this way the tutor forms the pupil's opinions and becomes his friend, and perhaps the guide for his life after university. Newman's lofty conception of the «serious importance» and «really interesting nature» of the tutor's office for the well-being of the university is captured in the following words:

In this idea of a College Tutor, we see that union of intellectual and moral influence, the separation of which is the evil of the age. Men are accustomed to go to the Church for religious training, but to the world for the cultivation both of their hard reason and their susceptible imagination. A Catholic University will but half remedy this evil, if it aims only at professorial, not at private teaching. Where is the private teaching, there will be the real influence⁵⁷.

Newman's idea of the role of the tutor touches on much that makes him special as an educational thinker, and much that is characteristic of him as a person: his appreciation for the personal element in the process of understanding and embracing knowledge and faith; his patience with human weakness in the fitful process of maturation; and his insistence on the practical. Above all, he held that moral and religious truths were best communicated and most likely to stir the heart by the power of personal influence, and felt that tutorials should be conducted on this basis. These views were not the outcome of research or reading, but rather the result of many years in education, during which he had tried to live out his high ideals.

ADAPTING THEORY TO PRACTICE IN DUBLIN

When the Catholic University opened in November 1854 it had three «collegiate houses». Rather than live in academic and administrative isolation, Newman decided to turn the rector's house into a collegiate house, renamed St. Mary's, and to act as its dean, as well as one of the tutors. Even though this involved him in many petty problems, such as overseeing the domestic staff, he lavished time on the house and its students. When the Archbishop of Dublin enquired from Rome how the University was progressing, Newman res-

⁵⁷ «Scheme of Rules and Regulations», 1856, NEWMAN, J. H., *My campaign*, 120. Newman spoke about this unhealthy separation in the last part of his sermon «Intellect, the instrument of religious training» (NEWMAN, J. H., *Sermons preached on various occasions*, 1870), the first that he preached at the University Church in Dublin.

ponded not with details of its governance or student numbers, but with a pastoral account of St. Mary's. Many years later, the caretaker reflected on his happy times at St. Mary's, likening it to a beehive: «Little do the outer world know how beautifully the family was managed. I can see the Father [i.e. Newman] sitting in his little room receiving first this one and then the other, directing, guiding, calling each by their names as if he were their very father»⁵⁸.

During the third academic year, Newman realised that the system of collegiate houses was not catching on. The problem was that whereas Oxford was an entirely residential university, the tone in Dublin was set by Trinity College, the Protestant university founded in 1592 and splendidly located at the heart of the capital, most of whose students lived at home, with relations, or in lodgings. Faced with a similar situation in the Catholic University, Newman ruled that all students must be attached to a collegiate house and come under the jurisdiction of the dean of the house; those not actually living in the house were designated as «accidentally lodging out» in approved lodgings. In practice this did not amount to much; nevertheless, rather than abandon the collegiate house system, he tried to adapt it to local needs.

In 1857 Newman introduced two measures aimed at extending «the idea of residence». One was to create a looser form of collegiate living, especially for the older students and those who preferred less regimented living arrangements; they would be called «licensed halls» and would be run by lecturers and professors. The other measure was to allow the externs or non-residents to become «quasi interns» by attaching themselves to a collegiate house for the «business hours of the day», which meant from Mass at 8 am until the end of the afternoon, and being tutored. Those not living at collegiate or licensed houses – or attached to them as quasi interns – were non-residents. To add an incentive for being a resident, and to prevent the administration of the University falling into the hands of those who had never resided there and were ignorant of its traditions, Newman proposed that degrees taken by non-residents, though *bona fide* to the outside world, would not qualify the person for holding office at the University, as would a degree gained after residence.

Besides the student activities organised within the colleges, such as cricket and rowing teams, singing and instrumental music lessons, and social events, there was one organised on a university basis: the Historical, Literary

⁵⁸ SHRIMPTON, P., *Making of men*, 186-187.

and Aesthetic Society. This was set up personally by Newman, though from the outset it was run by the students themselves. It operated as a debating society chiefly, but also provided an outlet for the reading of papers and student journalism. It developed its own elaborate code of rules (and fines), and was evidently the flagship society of the university. There is no doubt that Newman saw the Society as a great instrument for rounding out the education imparted at the University and for preparing students for the world of work. It was the practical working out of one idea from his Dublin discourses, where he had countered the claims of the educational utilitarians of his day and dwelt on the practical benefits of a liberal education:

the man who has learned to think and to reason and to compare and to discriminate and to analyze, who has refined his taste, and formed his judgement, and sharpened his mental vision, will not at once be a lawyer, [...] a man of business, or a soldier, or an engineer but he will be placed in that state of intellect in which he can take up any of these sciences or callings [...] with an ease, a grace, a versatility, and a success, to which another is a stranger⁵⁹.

NEWMAN'S LEGACY: A LARGER VIEW OF EDUCATION

Looking back from the twenty-first century, it seems overly ambitious to have attempted to introduce even a modified version of the tutorial system into Ireland in the 1850s. But Newman had good reasons for his scheme. He had witnessed the beginnings of an unrestrained quest for professional training and mere technical knowledge in the university world, and saw an antidote to this danger in a genuinely liberal and collegiate education; for if a university neglects the residential dimension, it neglects what it is most dangerous to neglect.

Newman inherited the idea that the moral development of the whole person was an essential part of a liberal education; it was supposed to form and shape character and inculcate a sense of high responsibility to society. If it is a place merely for the dissemination of knowledge, a university invariably has a limited effect on the student; but a college (or its equivalent), aided in its task

⁵⁹ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 165-166. The Literary and Historical Society (as it is now called) still exists and is one of the most prestigious student societies in Ireland. A good number of former members have held important position in public life, just as Newman intended.

by the Church, can transform an individual. As Newman commented in the Dublin discourses, «The world is content with setting right the surface of things; the Church aims at regenerating the very depths of the heart»⁶⁰.

The combined university-college system brought about a clearer division of labour. In this new order, the university stood for the transmission of knowledge and intellectual competence, achieved by means of lectures, laboratory work and exams; the colleges, on the other hand, represented the higher idea of unity of knowledge and the formation of rounded personalities. While there are many ways at looking at the complementary functions of college and university (and the different forms each can take), there are no indications that Newman ever had reason to alter his conviction that «a University seated and living in Colleges, would be a perfect institution, as possessing excellences of opposite kinds»⁶¹. The consequences of the current-day neglect of the collegiate dimension of university education are evident in their effects: an emphasis on technical training and a narrow, skills-based instruction to satisfy the needs of the labour market, at the expense of that more lofty formation which embraces the full measure of what it is to be human.

⁶⁰ NEWMAN, J. H., *Idea of a university*, 203.

⁶¹ NEWMAN, J. H., *Historical sketches*, III, 229.

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