JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

The Origins and Application of his Educational Ideas

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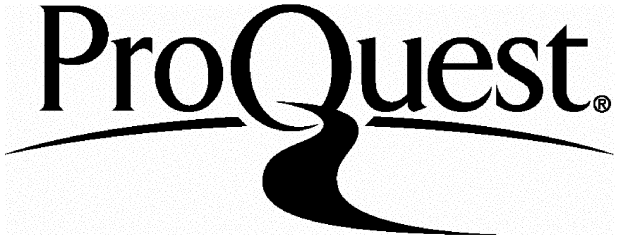
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

When he wrote his memoirs, Newman declared that

> "from first to last education in the large sense of the word has been my line." (1)

By this he meant that his educational ideas[2] were an integral part of his philosophical and spiritual thinking, that they were basic to the most fundamental and personal of his beliefs, and had been acquired gradually over the years.

Although education in his opinion was essentially an intellectual process he thought of the intellect in a way which was unusual for the age in which he lived. Newman disliked paper logic and questioned the philosophies of those who like Bentham assessed propositions in purely abstract terms. He explained his position in the Apologia. He was not converted to Catholicism he said, in any logical sense: "All the logic in the world would not have made me move faster towards Rome than I did." Instead he was moved by a shift of his total personality, by a gradual realisation of his true position.

> "It is the concrete being that reasons; pass a number of years, and I find myself in a new place; how? The whole man moves; paper logic is but the record of it."

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1. "Autobiographical Writings", p.259.
2. His educational ideas are to be found in his nine discourses delivered in Dublin in 1852, and volume three of 'Historical Sketches'; 'the rise and progress of universities'. His 'Discourses on the scope and nature of university education' will be referred to simply as his 'Discourses'.

For Newman then the intellect never functioned in a purely abstract sense since it involved the whole man, and it was this which marked him out as a traditionalist, one who swam against the tide of rationalism and harked back not only to the precepts of renaissance and medieval times but also to the pagan idealism of Aristotle and the Christian ethic of St. Paul. Whilst utilitarians and scientific rationalists questioned the validity of their institutionalised inheritance, and liberal protestants interpreted the Christian message subjectively in the light of their own experiences, Newman therefore set out to preserve those links with antiquity which had survived the test of time, and to reiterate the objective dogmatism of the early church.

It seemed to Newman that the spirit of liberalism was destroying the concept of unity upon which civilization depended, and consequently he advocated a system of education which preserved the universality of knowledge and the generalised nature of things. What did he mean by these phrases? For Newman knowledge was comprehensive and expansive. Each science was related one to another and therefore it was impossible to discriminate between them. As "knowledge forms one whole"(3) the

> "systematic omission of any one science from the catalogue (of knowledge) prejudices the accuracy and completeness of ... knowledge." (4)

Newman was especially critical of those who wished to exclude theology from the university curriculum. Religious doctrine he maintained

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3. 'Discourses', p.37.
4. 'Discourses', p.38.

> "is knowledge in as full a sense as Newton's doctrine is knowledge. University education without theology is unphilosophical. Theology has at least as good a right to claim a place there as astronomy." (5)

He was not claiming however, that theology was more important than chemistry, geology or any other subject, but rather that it was a vital segment of the circle of knowledge and that its omission prejudiced the accuracy of knowledge in proportion to its importance. As

> "sciences ... belong to one and the same circle of objects they are one and all connected together; (and) as they are but aspects of things, they are severally incomplete in relation to the things themselves." (6)

Knowledge then was all embracing, it was an objective entity, a vast and unified circle in which each science had its own place: in a word it was universal.

F. R. Leavis has referred in his writings to a "central intelligence" by which sciences are related one to another,(7) a dimension of learning in which the individual is able to identify the bearing of one science upon another, and this is what Newman meant by the generalised or "architectonic" nature of things. Thus having argued that it was important to preserve the spirit of universality, Newman claimed that once the human mind had learned to reflect this spirit it acquired a new and mysterious discipline

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5. 'Discourses', p.31.
6. 'Discourses', p.38.
7. 'Education and the university' by F. R. Leavis, p.25.

which enabled the individual to bridge the gulf between one science and another and thereby overcome the problems created by specialisation.

One year before Newman delivered his discourses in Dublin the Great Exhibition was held in London to commemorate the technological achievements of men like Arkwright and Stephenson, Wedgwood and Watt, Bolton and Brunel, inventive geniuses who had revolutionised the industrial, commercial and social life of England; but whilst Newman recognised their achievements - "let me not decry the useful or mechanical arts"(8) - he reckoned it foolhardy for educators to ape this trend by concentrating upon the study of purely vocational subjects. To do so would cause man to become usurped by his profession

> "clothed in its garb from head to foot ...
> shaped pressed and stiffened in the exact
> mould of his technical character," (9)

and he prophesied that unless utilitarianism was checked society would become fragmented; divided against itself into a series of "unconnected units, each displacing and repelling one another."(10) What was the use Newman asked, of a man who was a skilled technician and nothing else? What of his life as a father, a citizen and a friend? How could he use his leisure time? How could he know right from wrong? Educators adopted utilitarian ends at the expense of the very civilization they were so anxious to improve and would ultimately defeat their own purpose.

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8. Essay on 'Scientific investigation'.
9. 'Discourses', p.145.
10. 'Discourses', p.135.

Moreover, utility obscured the object of knowledge which was truth. In Newman's opinion one did not discover truth as one discovered scientific data, but one acquired glimpses of it as one discriminated between a variety of possibilities, and for this reason he thought of unbelief not as a question of ignorance but as one of mental confusion. Like Aristotle Newman believed that it was impossible to account for everything in this world, but whereas Brougham, Bentham and J. S. Mill concentrated solely upon the visible and intelligible, he embraced the mysterious and unfathomable as well and consequently his understanding of truth was more profound than theirs.

Unlike the utilitarians who were chiefly interested in learning for its byproducts - its usefulness and its power - Newman valued it as an end in itself and embraced the Aristotelian concept of liberal knowledge. He applauded the effortless way in which liberal knowledge was attained - the individual adopted a negligent sense of accomplished ease akin to the renaissance notion of sprezzatura - and argued that it was best to undertake an enterprise because it was enjoyable and relaxing and not because it led to personal gain or profit. Liberal knowledge he said, would

> "open the mind ... correct it, refine it ... give it power over its own faculties, application, flexibility, method, critical exactness, sagacity, resource, address (and) eloquent expression." (11)

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11. 'Discourses', p.101.

It was a

> "personal possession worth possessing for what it is and not merely for what it does." (12)

This distinction between knowledge which is instructional and vocational, and knowledge which is illuminating and edifying, between an education based upon the accumulation of facts and professional skills, and an education designed to leave its mark on the inner man, his tastes and values, led Newman to admit that liberal education was not necessarily of any practical use. In an era in which men were obsessed with practical enterprises, with making things and acquiring possessions, Newman's philosophy was therefore retrospective, and yet it possessed one great advantage. It gave the individual

> "a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgements, a truth in developing them and a force in using them," (13)

it taught him

> "to see things as they are, to go right to the point, to disentangle a skein of thought, to detect what is sophistical and to discard what is irrelevant," (13)

and for this reason Newman claimed that it was of greater benefit to civilization than utility. Here then was the crux of the matter. Whereas the utilitarians and scientific rationalists reckoned that education should serve society - why should a father waste his own money and his son's time by setting him to learn a useless language

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12. 'Discourses', p.89.
13. 'Discourses', p.152.

like latin - Newman maintained that it should enrich the life of the individual. It was Copleston who had argued that

> "in proportion as (a man's) sphere of action is narrowed, his mental powers and habits become contracted; and he resembles a subordinate part of some powerful machinery, useful in its place but insignificant and worthless out of it," (14)

but Newman went further and proclaimed that the man who was liberally educated - the man of imperial intellect - could master any subject, tackle any problem or fill any post, and was therefore of greater use to society in the long run than his one-eyed utilitarian counterpart.

And what of the learning process? What did Newman say about this? In his opinion learning was a slow and piecemeal process which was neither spontaneous nor reflexive. One learned he said, not by a direct or simple vision, not at a glance, but by the joint application and concentration of many faculties. It was a synthetic phenomena whereby one assimilated knowledge objectively and made it subjectively one's own, a continuous process of correction, adoption and systematisation in which one's total personality was involved. In the Grammar of Assent Newman argued that a "real" or objective assessment in which one's whole being was involved was superior to a "notional" or subjective assessment which was partial and drew only upon one's intellectual response. Learning for Newman was not therefore a question of self-discovery or private judgement but of objective

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14. 'Discourses', p.143.

contemplation. Moreover, the onus to learn rested with the student, and therefore as Professor Bantock has observed "for all its appreciation of a hierarchy of value" his concept of learning was essentially one of "acceptance and humility".(15)

In a passage quoted by A. Dwight Culler(16) Newman described how an infant learns. At first it is unable to comprehend; the objects presented to it are but a medley of colours and shadows and do not form a whole, but gradually it sees the connexion of part with part, it

> " ... separates what moves from what is stationary, watches the coming and going of figures, masters the idea of shape and perspective, calls in the information conveyed through the other senses to assist (it) in (its) mental process and thus gradually converts a calidoscope into a picture."

This process is continued as the child grows, but as it becomes adult so it

> "energizes ... distinguishes between rule and exception, between accident and design. It assigns ... qualities to a subject, acts to a principle and effects to a cause. In a word, it philosophizes." (16)

To philosophise however, requires training and Newman stressed this when he emphasised the importance of discipline, order and habit. He advocated a training which fell within a broad and general cultural context in the sophist tradition, one by which the individual acquired a "view" rather than an encyclopaedic knowledge of everything. Newman

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15. 'Freedom and authority in education' by G. H. Bantock, p.127.
16. 'The Imperial Intellect' by A. Dwight Culler, pp.204-5.

had no time for those experts who amassed a vast amount of factual information, and bemoaned the practice of teaching so many things

> " ... that nothing has properly been taught at 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 ... but enlargement ... All things now are to be learned at once ... not one well but many badly ...
>
> "Learning is to be without exertion, without attention, without toil ... 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 the mind." (17)

He preferred a training which produced men like Whately of Oriel, one whose factual knowledge was elementary, but one who nevertheless possessed a magnificent grasp of essentials, an infallible sense of judgement and a unified vision of reality.

Without training then Newman believed that there could be no "view"; no accuracy of mind, no consistency in argument and no universality in approach. But there was more to Newman's ideal than this. He found it difficult to describe what he meant by an educated man because there was no term in the English language which defined his concept with accuracy, and consequently he was compelled to use phrases which only approximated to the end which he had in mind. He therefore referred to the man who had been liberally educated as a man of imperial intellect and philosophic habit, one whose mind had been illuminated and enlarged, one who was dedicated, judicious and

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17. 'Discourses', pp.119-20.

dignified on the one hand, yet virtuous and compassionate on the other, a gentle-man who was

> "tender towards the bashful ... gentle towards the distant and merciful towards the absurd." (18)

Within this definition there is an inherent distinction between the intellectual aspects of education and the moral, and Newman went to some lengths in the Discourses to make this apparent. He referred to men of imperial intellect like Gibbon who had no taste for Christian morality, and declared that education should not be burdened

> " ... with virtue or religion ... Its business is not to steel the soul against temptation ... any more than to set the loom in motion, or to direct the steam carriage." (19)

Indeed, he claimed that his students should be free to "prosecute all kinds of knowledge to their utmost limits",(20) and demanded "elbow-room"(20) in order that they might fix their minds exclusively on their studies without being distracted by the agitation of scandal-conscious moralists. However, there were those within the Catholic Church who were embarrassed by these lines of thought. Assailed by the spirit of revolution, by the political egalitarianism of Mazzini and the pagan determinism of Engels, the church had adopted a narrow and reactionary form of dogmatism, and Archbishop Cullen, who invited Newman to open the University of Ireland, personified this approach. To a man of Cullen's conservative mentality it must have seemed suicidal to invite the laity to study the physical sciences, but Newman was adamant:

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18. 'Discourses', p.181.
19. 'Discourses', p.99.
20. Essay on 'Scientific investigation'.

> "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." (21)

He was certain that the church had nothing to fear from the advancement of knowledge. Theology and science were certainly different - the former dealt with the supernatural and relied on revelation whilst the latter dealt with the natural and relied on induction - but they were not in conflict;

> "the physical sciences ... are ... engaged upon divine works and cannot issue in untrue religious conclusions." (22)

Nor need the church worry about anti-Christian literature. There was no such thing he declared as

> "a Christian literature. It is a contradiction in terms to attempt a sinless literature of sinful man" (23)

and therefore it was wrong to censor the works of sceptics and unbelievers. To do so was to take man for what "he is not, for something more divine and sacred than he really is".(22) Moreover, it was unphilosophical to "prohibit knowledge"(24) because knowledge was part of a living tradition, one which was vibrant and evolutionary rather than static, one which embraced each and every manifestation of life. This was bold talk the like of which the Catholic Church had seldom heard.

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21. 'Discourses', p.202.
22. 'Discourses', pp.125-6.
23. 'Discourses', p.199.
24. 'Discourses', p.204.

What of the teacher? What was his role to be? Newman emphasised the importance of the effect which a teacher's philosophy and personality had upon his students and therefore he preferred to have Catholic teachers in Catholic schools and colleges. In addition he believed like F. R. Leavis that teachers should be scholars actively engaged in learning themselves. He wanted to fill his university with

> " ... men zealous for their own sciences and rivals of each other ... brought (together) ... for the sake of intellectual peace ... to respect, to consult, to aid each other ... (to explore) the great outlines of knowledge, the principles on which it rests, the scale of its parts, its lights and its shades ... freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation, and wisdom." (25)

He anticipated that by living with these men and sharing their experiences the student would imitate them, he would see the "bearing of one science on another"[26] and would acquire a

> "clear view of his own opinions and judgements a truth in developing them and a force in urging them." (27)

Above all else however, Newman believed that the educator had to be close to his students, warm and sympathetic, friendly and helpful. It was no use him running his school or college as though it was "a foundry, or a mint, or a treadmill".[28] He had to know each of his students individually and they had to know him:

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25. 'Discourses', p.82.
26. 'Discourses', p.37 - This was Newman's solution to the problem raised by Leavis concerning a mental centre common to contrasting studies. It is a problem which has become more and more acute since Newman's day.
27. 'Discourses', p.152.
28. 'Discourses', p.122.

> "The personal influence of the teacher is able to dispense with an academic system, but that system cannot ... dispense with personal influence. With influence there is life, without it there is none ... An academic system without the personal influence of the teacher ... is an Arctic winter. It will create an ice-bound world." (28)

Although there was less specialisation in higher education in the 1850's than there is today, the problems it created were as obvious to Newman as they are to F. R. Leavis.(29) It was logical that Newman should have discriminated in theory between teaching and research - teaching he thought should go on in a university and research in specialised institutions - but it proved to be impractical. He was right to argue that a student was incapable of specialisation until he had acquired "enlargement of mind",(30) but wrong to ban the specialist from the university - indeed, he found this impossible when he was rector in Dublin and was compelled to allow research to go on within the university faculties in much the same way as it does today.

Culler has stated that Newman's "intellectual and cultural ideal"(31) - his man of philosophic habit - was as remote from reality as Plato's perfect prince, Cicero's ideal orator, the medieval saint or the renaissance statesman; Newman's end was unattainable. And yet Newman aimed

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28. 'Discourses', p.122.
29. See 'Education and The University' by F. R. Leavis.
30. 'Discourses', p.112.
31. 'The Imperial Intellect' by A. Dwight Culler, p.189.

> "at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principle to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspirations." (32)

He was concerned he said "with questions not simply of immutable truth but of practice and expedience",(33) and argued that his principles were attainable by the "experience of life".(34) It is obvious from the way in which he applied his ideas that Newman never intended to use the Discourses as a blue print, but it is doubtful if he ever regarded them as Culler implied as little more than a utopian ideal.

For Newman then education was "a process steadily carried on through many years on fixed principles towards a definite end."(35) It was partly a "preparation for knowledge and partly an imparting of knowledge,"(36) a process which made an impact not only upon the intellect but also upon the personality. Its role was therefore precise:

> "Do not say ... people (are) ... educated when after all you mean amused, refreshed, soothed, put into good spirits and good humour or kept from vicious excesses." (36)

It implied "an action upon (one's) mental nature"(37) and demanded a total rather than a purely rational or aesthetic response. It was

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32. 'Discourses', p.152.
33. 'Discourses', p.7.
34. 'Discourses', p.5.
35. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.130.
36. 'Discourses', p.121.
37. 'Discourses', p.93.

neither a means of self-expression nor self-assessment, but an objective enterprise in which training and habit were crucial. It was theocentric rather than egocentric, a process whereby the mind could only develop if it appreciated the value of objects external to itself, and therefore echoed the pagan philosophy of Aristotle as well as the Christian teaching of St. Paul.

How did Newman arrive at these theories? In the first of his discourses he denied having "got up (his) opinions for the occasion"(38) and claimed that he had held them from an early age. He said that they were founded upon personal experience - he had been a "witness"(38) to their value - and his "sense of their truth"(39) had been increased year by year. Given this testimony it is intended to scrutinise Newman's early life in an attempt to discover how these ideas originated and to assess in particular the influence of his parents and schoolteachers and the impact of Oxford.

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38. 'Discourses', p.3.
39. 'Discourses', p.4.

CHAPTER TWO

THE IMPACT OF HIS FAMILY

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THE IMPACT OF HIS FAMILY

It would be misleading to claim that Newman's parents deliberately set out to make him into an intellectual or that they consciously fed him with educational theories which he ultimately took as his own. However, it would be equally misleading to infer as Culler does that they had nothing to do with his intellectual development and nothing to do with the origins of his educational thought.

Newman was born into an affluent Augustan home, Mr. Newman being a banker and Mrs. Newman the daughter of a paper manufacturer;[1] but whereas in most middle class homes learning at that time was merely a social aperitif, in the Newman household it was taken seriously. How else can one explain on the one hand the fact that the six children excelled academically[2] - Harriett, for example, became a successful

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1. He was born in 1801. His parents, prior to the collapse of his father's bank in 1816, owned two large houses; one in the country at Ham and one in the city in Bloomsbury.
2. Charles Newman, 1802-1884. He was the black sheep of the family. He never went to university but could have done so had he wished. He was clever enough to converse with his elder brother in latin and Greek and often argued with him about theology.
   Francis Newman, 1805-1897. He became a fellow of Balliol and later professor of classics at Manchester and professor of latin at University College, London
   Harriett Newman, 1803-1852. She married Thomas Mozley who was a pupil of Newman's at Oriel. Her best selling books were called "The Lost Brooch", "Fairy Bower", "The Pencil Case", "The Shetland Pony" and "Family Adventures".
   Jemima Newman, 1808-1879. She married John Mozley who was a publisher. She was an excellent mathematician and passed her talent on to her eldest son. She was also an accomplished musician.
   Mary Newman, 1807-1827. She died before she really had time to flower academically but there is no reason to suppose that had she lived she would not have been as clever as her sisters.

minor novelist, whilst Francis got a double-first at Oxford and became an eminent scholar, and on the other the fact that Newman acquired adult attitudes long before he reached adolescence - Harriett and Francis both recorded that he was irritated by toys and despised childish games?

When Newman was five his father wrote him a letter and told him to "learn something new every day or (he would) no longer be called a clever boy".(3) This might appear to be a rather trite and supervicial remark - the sort of thing which most fathers say at some time or other - but Newman was an extremely sensitive child and took it to heart. Furthermore, as he grew up his father continued to encourage him in his studies. He had been indifferently educated himself and was relatively uncultured, but even so he taught Newman his multiplication tables, persuaded him to learn poetry,(4) and bought him copy books. He took him to art galleries to see the most popular paintings of the day,(5) to churches to listen to organ and choral music, and prompted him to compose operas and plays, stories and poems, songs and monologues for performance on festive occasions within the family circle.(6)

By comparison with the activities which J. S. Mill indulged in as a child these were superficial, and therefore on the surface it

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3. Mr. Newman - J.H.M., February, 1806.
4. Newman recalled reciting 'The cat and the cream bowl' on his fourth birthday and Cowper's 'Faithful friend' on his sixth.
5. He went to see paintings like those depicting the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo.
6. In 1812 he wrote a satire on the Prince Regent and in 1820 a masque: 'The masque of Amyntor."

might seem that Newman had relatively little to show for his father's patronage: a copy-plate hand, a sound understanding of grammar and a liking for childish poetry are apparently trivial accomplishments by comparison with the knowledge of latin, Greek, mathematics and logic which J. S. Mill possessed at a similar age.(7) However, in the long run some of these activities proved to be amongst the most formative experiences of Newman's life.

The original church, for example, which his father took him to happened to be a Catholic church, the first he ever entered, and it was this event together with other childhood happenings which he described in his Apologia as an involuntary yet decisive landmark in the story of his spiritual development.

At the age of twenty-one he came face to face at Oriel with the Aristotelian theory that knowledge was an end in itself and embraced it enthusiastically, but had reading and writing, singing and drawing, reciting and acting not been an integral part of the exciting and pleasurable process of growing up, would he have recognised the relevance of this doctrine as naturally as he did?

Moreover, as rector of the University of Ireland and as head-master of the Oratory School he created an atmosphere which for its time was unusually relaxed and egalitarian. "The young" he said "cannot be driven". They are "open to kindness and personal attachment",(8) but had he not been brought up in a humane and kindly

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7. As soon as he could read and write J. S. Mill was forced to learn adult academic subjects.
8. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.115.

environment - he was never coerced by his father as J. S. Mill was - would he have not adopted a rather more authoritarian approach?

It is well known that Newman was sent to Ealing School, but the fact that Ealing was one of the finest schools in the land has been forgotten. Indeed, the decision to send him there had lasting repercussions, firstly, because it set him off along the path which led in time to the Oriel common room and scholastic fame, and secondly, because he was so impressed by its organisation and methods that when he established the Oratory School in 1859 he modelled it to some extent on the Ealing pattern.

Of those people who impressed Newman whilst he was at Ealing, Dr. Nicholas, the headmaster, impressed him most. He was a man of considerable scholastic ability, a seminal and cultured headmaster, one who was liberal and understanding, and he befriended Newman from the very first. He accorded him a series of privileges which few of his companions enjoyed, but had Newman's father not set out to court the doctor's friendship, the intimate rapport which existed between the headmaster and his son might never have occurred and consequently the former would not have influenced Newman's eventual adult attitudes to the same extent that he did.

Mr. Newman was equally solicitous when John went to Oxford. Against advice to the contrary from his son's tutors, he insisted that Newman should be entered for the Trinity scholarship in 1817. Newman won this scholarship - it was worth £60 and was valid for nine years - and he was therefore entitled to stay on at Oxford after his

graduation, but had his father not been so adamant he would never have taken the examination and would therefore have had to leave in 1820.(9)

By comparison with the role which his father played in his education, his mother's influence was more specific. It was she for example, who originally fired his life-long interest in literature, in reading and writing. She gave him his first book, one of many which she subsequently bought for him, when he was six. It was called 'An easy introduction to the arts and sciences'(10) and was a primitive kind of encyclopaedia, a cram book which dealt with dozens of subjects in a catechetical form. It was full of relatively useless information and yet Newman read it time and time again and kept it all his life. When he was eight she bought him 'The lay of the last minstrel' by Walter Scott and this made an even greater impact. Shortly afterwards Newman read 'Waverly' and 'Guy Mannering' and the other Scott novels. Indeed, over seventy years later he was still reading Scott and urged the Oratory School sixth form to do the same.

His mother also originated his habit of jotting down epigrams, anecdotes and quotations and presented him with his first diary, pressing him on the fly-leaf to keep it up to date - this he did to such effect that he now stands as one of the most prominent diarists of the nineteenth century.

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9. He would almost certainly have become a lawyer. His father had entered him at Lincoln's Inn.
10. It was written by R. Turner of Magdelin College. It was 340 pages long and was really too technical for a boy of six.

As Newman grew up she also echoed his academic enthusiasms and discussed all manner of literary topics with him, topics which ranged from the theology of Blanco White, Charles Lloyd and Thomas Arnold, to the poetry of Crabbe, the history of Gibbon and the political criticism of Paine. She was so keen to keep pace with his scholarship that she began to learn Greek at the age of fifty-six and even tried Hebrew in order to discuss biblical texts with him in a more expert fashion. Her comments were of relatively little academic value because Newman was infinitely more knowledgeable than she, but her compassionate support was psychologically helpful, and it was this which left its mark.

Consider Newman's definition of a gentleman. He claimed that a gentleman is one who

> "never speaks of himself except when compelled, (one who) has no ears for slander or gossip, is scrupulous in imputing motives to those who interfere with him and interprets everything for the best. He is never mean or little in his disputes, never takes unfair advantage ... or insinuates evil which he dare not say out ... He is patient, forbearing and resigned." (11)

It was his mother who originally made him aware of these qualities. She was a woman of high moral standards and there existed a lasting and mutual bond of affection and trust between them. In her letters she regularly admonished John to behave well, to be dignified and tolerant, unassuming and modest, patient and persevering and this he did. On one occasion, for example, she urged him "always (to) conduct

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11. 'Discourses', pp.181-2.

(himself) as a gentleman",[12] on another to "keep up (his) spirits",[13] and on a third to "remember (his) studies (were) but a beginning".[14] She supported his plan to reform Oriel's tutorial system in 1828: in attempting to improve his students' academic and moral standards Newman met with considerable opposition, and his mother urged him not to give way but to adopt "vigorous measures" and effect "a radical reform".[15] It would be rash to suggest that when he defined his ideal in the Discourses Newman had his mother's advice consciously in mind and equally misleading to claim that when he took a righteous line at Oriel, he did so at his mother's behest, but nevertheless, the qualities which she expected of him were in line with those which he expected of his gentleman and had she lived to read his Discourses she would doubtless have approved of what he had written.

In the Discourses Newman claimed that his "views" and principles had never varied. They had "grown" he said "into (his) whole system of thought" and were his "profession at (an) early period of ... life".[16] What did he mean? He meant that he had acquired his educational views and principles imperceptably and involuntarily. He had shared his parents' interests along with those of others - his schoolteachers,

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12. Mrs. Newman - J.H.N., November 22, 1817.
13. Mrs. Newman - J.H.N., November 17, 1817.
14. Mrs. Newman - J.H.N., December 7, 1818.
15. Mrs. Newman - J.H.N., undated, 1828 - She was obviously a very perceptive woman because she alone expected him to do badly in his finals. She wrote to him and told him to expect "a disappointment" and pressed him "to wait patiently the appointed time" before he reaped "the rewards of his labours".
16. 'Discourses', p.4.

for instance - and consequently had made their enthusiasms subjectively his own.

So far as his attitude to music was concerned this was undoubtedly the case. Newman eventually argued that music was as valuable a science as mathematics. It was "the expression of ideas greater and more profound than in any visible world"[17] and deserved to be encouraged not just in universities but in schools:

> "To my mind music is an important part of education, where boys have a turn for it. It is a great resource when they are thrown on the world, it is a social amusement perfectly innocent, and what is so great a point employs their thoughts ... It is often a great point for a boy to escape from himself, and music enables him. He cannot be playing difficult passages on the violin and thinking of anything else." (18)

This notion could not have originated at Oriel because the provost, Dr. Hawkins, despised music and declared it to be the "sign of an effeminate and frivolous mind",[19] and it must therefore have originated earlier. In 1874 when he came to write his memoirs Newman remembered little about the times his parents had taken him to Drury Lane and the concert halls of London. His recollections of the musical evenings they arranged, the Cremona which his father bought him when he was nine, and the music teacher he liked to tease[20] had

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17. 'Discourses', p.63.
18. J.H.N. Memorandum, September, 1865.
19. Quoted by E. Bellasis in 'J. H. Newman as a musician' - in "The Month", September, 1891.
20. Newman always referred to Beethoven as 'the dutchman' because of his prefix 'Von'. His teacher objected to this but he kept the pretence up.

also probably faded, and yet he still played the violin, the only instrument he ever learned, and he still regarded Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn as his favourite composers, an order of preference he shared with his mother.(21) Casual and informal though his parents' influence had been it was nevertheless, the basis of his interest in music as an educational medium. As in the Newman household where Beethoven's concertos were as important as Pythagoras' theorems, so in the Oratory School and for the same reasons.

Newman's teaching career also originated within the family circle. There was little provision for the formal education of girls in the early nineteenth century and his sisters, Harriett, Jemima and Mary, had to be educated within the home. Mr. and Mrs. Newman taught them reading,writing, and adding and subtracting, just as they taught their sons, and also involved them in their cultural activities, but they were unable to instruct them in subjects like latin and Greek, algebra and Italian, and relied on John to make good these deficiencies.

Newman was at Oxford when his sisters were most in need of instruction, and was consequently compelled to tutor them through the post. As one who condemned impersonal tutorial methods(22) he would

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21. His mother often referred in her letters to concerts which she had attended. In April, 1816, for example, she described a visit to Drury Lane. - "We were fascinated with the dutchman ... Spagnoletti led very finely but I think not as finely as Weischell, the selection was (from) Haydn, Cambini, Mozart (and) the dutchman. Mdme Fodor sang." - Spagnoletti and Weischell were famous violinists and Mdme Fodor a French prima-donna.
22. When he was Rector of the University of Ireland he insisted that his tutors live with their students and share their experiences in toto.

doubtless have admitted that a correspondence course was not especially efficacious, and yet when teaching became a full-time occupation, he echoed some of the most salient characteristics of these imperfect lessons.

When he was running the Oratory School for example, he arranged the curriculum so that classics and mathematics were the basic academic disciplines and thereby imitated the order of priorities which he had planned for his sisters - he gave them more instruction in latin and Greek, algebra and geometry than in all the other subjects put together.(23)

Besides classics and mathematics the girls' studies ranged from French, German and Italian to geology and chemistry, from the poetry of Shakespeare and the history of the reign of Charles I to the lectures of Sir Joshua Reynolds and the theology of Tremaine.(24) This

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23. Of the many lessons in classics which he set down this one is typical: "I have sent you a list of the quantities of the terminations of as many Greek (words) as I could collect without much trouble. I have not collected latin as being too simple to need it. The pensultimas nic, ni, clit are pure, dim, dor, tem, med, cad are long as hellamus etc. The pensultimas loch, chor, mach, strat, etc. are short as (in) antirculus. These rules do not by any means hold good in latin names for nic is short as (in) germanicus and n short as (in) partirculus etc. A vowel is called pure when followed by a vowel ... " Newman actually had second thoughts about this lesson; " ... on reading this I see I might have classed them better ... " and he proceeded to revise it completely.

24. Newman regularly asked for translations into English. On one occasion the girls translated Tasso's poems. He attended Professor Buckland's lectures on geology and sent the girls details of what he learned. He persuaded Harriett to carry out chemical experiments, like steaming water away from nitro sulphate. He set them to wade through the debates between Charles I and Parliament.

was a pattern of studies more universal in concept even than that which he had experienced at Ealing, whilst in spirit it was akin to the curricula he designed for universities and schools some thirty years later: just as he encouraged Harriett, Jemima and Mary to rove across the broad horizons of knowledge, so he pressed his students in Dublin to concentrate on a general education rather than a specialised one and on aesthetic subjects as well as utilitarian ones.

The content of Newman's lessons was invariably selected introspectively. On the one hand he asked the girls to follow in his own wake by concentrating for example on Euclid just as he had, and on the other he expected them to mirror his academic interests - at that time he was keen on theology and church history[25] and consequently set them a variety of topics on each of these subjects.[26] He taught in this way not because he was an egotist, but because he believed that unless a teacher involved his students in his own special interests he would never cause them to enthuse sufficiently for their subjects.

This was an unusual attitude. Benjamin Jowett for example, was an objective teacher, one who was especially careful not to impress his

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25. He was writing for the 'Theological Review' and the 'Encyclopaedia Metropolitania' at that time on the history and theology of the early church.

26. Harriett and Jemima read Warburton's 'Divine Legation' and Milman's 'History of the Jews'. Harriett discussed Jansenism with her brother and also digested Racine's 'Histoire du Port Royal'. Of the lessons which Newman set the following is an example: "Compare St. Paul's speeches in the Acts with any of his Epistles with a view of finding if they have any common features. Make a summary of the doctrine conveyed in Christ's teaching and then set down over against them what St. Paul added to them, what St. Peter, what St. James, what St. John and whether St. Paul differs from (them) in any points ... " - J.H.N. - Harriett N., May 1, 1826.

own personal prejudices upon his students, whereas Newman never was. He believed that as a teacher he had to be as totally committed as his students - "it is the concrete being that reasons" - and consequently as a tutor, a rector and a headmaster he taught in exactly the same overtly subjective fashion in which he had taught his sisters.

Teachers who refuse to disguise their opinions and tastes can often be stimulating but they are also sometimes provocative and Newman was no exception. He was wildly enthusiastic for instance, about Aeschylus: "an author of gigantic conceptions" yet critical of the "dry, stiff, formal, affected, cold (and) prolix ... " Sophocles.(27) Harriett and Jemima accepted these views for some time, but eventually they began to question them and so did their brothers, Charles and Francis.

Jemima was a sharp girl and she reminded Newman that on other occasions he had praised Sophocles whereas now he was attacking him. Where did he actually stand?(28) Francis on the other hand was openly belligerent and was especially critical of his brother's theological opinions.(29) With the fullness of time Newman undoubtedly presented

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27. J.H.N. - Jemima N., August 31, 1820.
28. Newman was forced to shift his position. "Sophocles may be stiff, yet majestic; dryness does not preclude strength; nor formality grandeur; affection admits of beauty, and coldness is generally sharp and biting."
29. He argued with him for example about Tremaine and took the kind of rational line which Newman despised: "Tremaine has the right," he said, "to ask abstract proof ... It seems to me you may prove demonstratively that spirit is totally distinct from matter, by the highest probability there is a Supreme Creator and particular Providence, and that future life is not improbable, but no more ... "

his opinions with greater subtlety - when he taught scripture to the Oratory School sixth form in the 1870's he expressed his views in relatively guarded terms - but in essence his lessons were no less introspective in content and equally as likely to incite argument as they had been a generation earlier.

In other ways Newman's subjective approach was of more doubtful benefit. Born with a splendid facility for memorising things he tended from first to last to assume that his pupils were equally as well endowed and throughout his teaching career he emphasised the importance of rote learning. He set classical and biblical texts for Harriett and Jemima and passages from Shakespeare for Mary, whilst as late as 1880 he liked nothing better than to pit his memory against Oratory schoolboys by having them recite hundreds of lines from classical authors like Virgil and Horace. Newman enjoyed these contests immensely but it is by no means certain that his opponents did.

He covered a vast amount of ground with his sisters in a variety of ways. He set them a string of grammatical questions, asked them to complete a list of quotations,(30) encouraged them to write poetry(31) and invited them to comment upon his early manuscripts and theses.(32) Inevitably, Harriett and Jemima became interested in teaching themselves

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30. The lists are long and contained quotations such as the following: "Wake Duncan with this knocking would thou ... O well is thee and happy shalt thou be ... The Duke brave as he was shuddered ... "
31. He asked them to write on subjects like "the late inundations" by which he presumably meant floods.
32. These were theological theses dealing with the history of the early church.

and opened a private school of their own for "nearly one hundred wild children".(33) Furthermore, they married into the Mozley family, a family which was just as academically inclined as theirs and although they slowly drifted away from their brother - they thought his opinions on scripture too authoritarian - there is little doubt that they gained from his instructions in the sense that for ever after knowledge for each of them was "a state (and) condition of the mind".(34)

Newman helped Francis to prepare for Oxford and taught him in a rather more technical way than he taught the girls.(35) He also tutored Charles as well,(36) not that Charles was as diligent in his studies as his brothers and sisters, but both Francis and Charles tended to resent Newman's intrusion and therefore his impact was less efficacious.

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33. Mrs. Newman considered it a "formidable task to train ... (them) into order and obedience" and eventually the school failed but for financial rather than educational reasons.
34. 'Discourses', p.93.
35. Whilst Francis was waiting for rooms at Worcester College in 1823 he set him a series of lessons. This one was typical: (it is actually written to his mother).
"Livy 1st decade. Let him have a sheet of paper by his side as he reads and whenever a Law is stated ... write it carefully down in Roman printing letters with the date annexed - the lesser events may be put in smaller letters on each side of these laws. e.g. N.C.268 a c.484 Agrarialex Cafsia ... When I say law I mean it in the large sense of the word. Thus when people get the liberty of creating in the comitta tributa or get the consulate quaestorship extended to them, I call all these laws, and of these the first decade of Livy mainly consists. Pursuing this plan, he may get the first decade into one page ... On the opposite side ... let him put down as they occur a list of odd phrases which he has not met with in another author ... " J.H.N. - Mrs. N., February 14, 1823.
36. He tutored Charles in the classics - they exchanged letters in latin - and also in theology.

Intangible though his parents' influence might often have been, none the less they helped to fashion the illative foundations upon which many of his adult academic enthusiasms and educational precepts were based. They never defined what they meant by education and yet they would doubtless have agreed with Newman when he described it in the Discourses as "a high word",(37) "a personal possession"(38) and a way of life.

It is also true that much of what he taught his brothers and sisters was elementary, but nevertheless, it was a starting point, a prelude in theory as well as fact to his life long interest in the patronage and administration of education.

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37. 'Discourses', p.121.
38. 'Discourses', p.89.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPACT OF EALING SCHOOL

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What part did Ealing School play in originating Newman's educational thought? R. H. Hutton, one of his first biographers, thought its role so unimportant that he never even mentioned that John had gone there.[2] Wilfrid Ward, his first official biographer, discussed his career there in an inaccurate half page,[3] whilst Meriol Trevor, one of his most recent biographers, although referring in some detail to his experiences at the school, made no attempt to discuss its impact upon him.[4]

On the other hand Newman thought it influenced his thinking considerably. One gets one's "opinions" he said, "religious, political and literary ... from (one's) schoolfellows, or ... masters ... "[5] He also thought it marked a turning point in his life:

> "Let a person look back upon his past life and he will find how critical were the moments and acts which at the time seemed the most indifferent, as for instance the school he was sent to (and) the occasion of his falling in with those persons who have most benefited him ... " (6)

Furthermore, when he edited his papers in the 1870's, amongst those which he kept were many of his schoolboy letters and diaries, essays

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1. It was principally a preparatory school, most of the boys leaving for public school at the age of ten or eleven, generally for Winchester or Westminster, to be prepared for university, but some, including Newman, remained until they were fifteen or sixteen and then proceeded to university. See Appendix 'A' for a brief history of the school.
2. 'Cardinal Newman' by R. H. Hutton.
3. 'The Life of John Henry Newman' by W. Ward, Vol.1, p.29.
4. 'The pillar of the cloud' by M. Trevor, pp.10-14.
5. 'Discourses', p.106.
6. Quoted by C. S. Dessain in an essay: 'Newman's first conversion'.

and poems, exercise books and jotters, together with text books, prizes, class lists, syllabuses and so on. He only kept those papers and possessions of biographical significance and therefore had he considered his career at school as barren as Hutton and Ward implied he would have destroyed these along with other trivia.

Indeed, it would be illogical to assume that for eight years[7] Newman lived in a limbo, unmoved by the people around him and the activities which he and they engaged in. In the Apologia he testified that the roots of his spiritual growth were located at school. It was there that he fell in with Mr. Mayers, one of his teachers, and underwent his first conversion, it was there that he scribbled liturgical motives on the covers of his exercise books; psychological landmarks along the road which led him inexorably to Rome, but had Charles Kingsley not questioned his spiritual integrity, these facets of his youth might never have been known. Newman had good reason therefore to describe how Ealing influenced the pattern of his spiritual development, but because he never had an opportunity to trace the other ways in which it influenced him, it does not follow that its impact was non-existant.

Between 1808 and 1816 when Newman was a pupil at Ealing, the school overshadowed most of those schools which have subsequently become famous. T. W. Bamford has shown how public schools were then

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7. Newman was sent to school at the age of seven and left when he was fifteen.

in decline.[8] In 1816 for example, Harrow had only seventy-five pupils, whilst the other seven leading schools mustered no more than four hundred and thirty between them.[9] In contrast at Ealing there were two hundred and sixty pupils, all resident, and shortly afterwards three hundred and fifty.[10] Whereas the boys at Westminster lived in houses which "were perfect pigsties"[11] and the boys at Rugby studied in "barns and sheds",[12] at Ealing there were sumptuous dining and dormitory facilities and purpose-built classrooms.[13] Moreover, whilst the boys of St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors had no recreational amenities, Ealing had a fives court, a bathing pool, a football field, a cricket square, a large playground and extensive gardens.[14]

It was not just the excellent facilities, however, which gave Ealing "its great name", but the quality of the teaching - it was said that Ealing was "unique" because its boys "got on".[15] Ealing's curriculum was more catholic in scope than Eton's and Winchester's. At Eton under Dr. Keate, a contemporary of Dr. Nicholas, and at

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8. 'The rise of the public school' by T. W. Bamford.
9. Ibid., p.2.
10. George Macfarren, who left shortly after Newman, recorded that there were over 350. See 'Annals of Ealing', p.181.
11. 'The rise of the public school' by T. W. Bamford, p.13.
12. 'Recollections of an old Rugbean'.
13. Nicholas spent over £400,000 on rebuilding and equipping the school - see 'Newman's Way' by S. O'Faelain, p.21. Rugby was rebuilt in 1809 but even so numbers continued to decline. Under Dr. Wooll, a contemporary of Dr. Nicholas, they dropped to 30.
14. Bamford claims that Rugby with 13 acres was the best situated of all the leading public schools, yet Ealing had 12 acres.
15. See 'The Imperial Intellect' by A. Dwight Culler, p.2; Henry Tristram in an unpublished essay, Meriol Trevor in her biography and Cyril Bibby in his biography of T. H. Huxley have all testified to Ealing's greatness.

Winchester, latin and Greek were the only compulsory subjects. In addition there was no geography, history, French, or literature at Winchester, and no mathematics "beyond the rule of three",(16) but at Ealing, besides latin and Greek, mathematics was also compulsory with subjects like geography, history, French and literature as popular options and drawing, drama, riding, fencing and swimming as relaxing asides.

It was unusual at that time for mathematics to be compulsory. At Harrow it was not compulsory until 1837 and only then for the fifth form, whilst at Eton it remained optional until 1861. Moreover, those schools which offered mathematics, taught only Euclid,(17) whereas Ealing taught algebra, trigonometry and arithmetic as well. It was likewise unusual for a school to employ specialist teachers. There were no specialists at Eton, Harrow or Winchester until the late 1830's, but at Ealing there was hardly a teacher who was not a specialist. George Huxley, the father of T. H. Huxley, for instance, taught Newman mathematics, whilst at one stage Louis Philippe, later 'the citizen king of France', taught geography and General Dumouriez's secretary, an emigré priest, taught French.(18)

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16. One of Newman's friends left Ealing for Winchester and told him what it was like - he learned less there than at Ealing.
17. See 'School Memories' by W. F. Bushell, pp.63-6.
18. In 1816 Newman recorded that there were six specialists in classics, six in literature, two in French and two in mathematics plus Nicholas - Dumouriez, the French revolutionary soldier, lived in Ealing and Louis Philippe, having served under him, followed him to Ealing.

In most schools classes were large and teaching was consequently impersonal. At Eton, for example, Dr. Keate boasted of teaching latin to a class of over two hundred, but at Ealing classes were small and intimate. According to Newman's class lists, numbers ranged from a minimum of nine to a maximum of twenty-two - at one stage, sixteen boys, for instance, studied 'the Rose' by Cowper, nineteen studied 'Gustavus Vasa', sixteen 'Brutus', seventeen 'Hotspur' and so on.

Many schools were also barbarous, violent and uncivilised. Sometimes the boys were to blame. In 1797, for example, at Rugby they blew up the headmaster's study with gunpowder, whilst at Winchester in 1818, they flew the red flag for two days before the militia dispersed them with rifle fire. At other times, however, it was the staff who were to blame. At Charterhouse, Southey recalled boys being scorched in front of fires and buried in trunks of sawdust to atone for their misdeeds, whilst Arnold on one occasion gave twelve of the best to a boy for thinking he might have told a lie. Crabbe complained about headmasters who abdicated their authority to the school bully:

> "At his command they break every rule
> Whoever governs, he controls the school ... " (19)

but on the other hand headmasters like Keate carried authoritarianism to excess - in 1832 when some of his boys rebelled, every morning he flogged the eighty who had remained at their desks until the insurgents gave in.

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19. From 'The Borough' written by Crabbe in 1811.

There was also an excessive emphasis upon rote learning. "Year after year" the boys of Eton apparently mouthed

> "the dry bones of grammar, memorising vast tracts of the Aenid and the Iliad". (20)

It was usual for a sixth-form boy to spend a whole week learning seventy lines of the Iliad, twenty lines of Lucian, sixty lines of Virgil, sixty lines of Horace's Satires and eighty lines from a text book called Scriptores Romani. Rote learning was also practised at Ealing but not on the same scale. Moreover, the subject matter was more varied - boys at Ealing memorised parliamentary debates, Shakespearean sonnets, metaphysical poetry and French prose as well as classical verse.

What if Newman had gone to Harrow, Eton, Winchester, Rugby or Charterhouse? At Ealing he began to understand what was meant by intellectual excellence and ran through the school from the bottom to the top quicker than anyone else. He became habitually involved in a variety of cultural pursuits which complemented those he had originally encountered within the family circle, but had he grown up in the wild yet depressing atmosphere of Eton or Winchester as some of his friends did, had he suffered at the hands of Keate or Wooll, would his academic progress have not been stunted and would his adolescent sensitivity have not been scarred in much the same way that it was at Trinity?(21)

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20. The information on Eton is taken from 'A History of Eton' by Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte, pp.319-24.
21. Newman was disgusted by Trinity's low academic standards and barbaric mode of student behaviour - see the next chapter.

Culler thought that Ealing made little impression on Newman;

> "there was nothing to distinguish (him) from any superior schoolboy with literary inclinations," (22)

but this was hardly the case. He was not just a "superior schoolboy"; he made an instant impact at Oxford as an undergraduate of rare merit, the best at Trinity in living memory. It is significant, moreover, that he was not outstanding in the sense that he knew a great deal - Henry Tristram maintained that he was no more than "good" in classics and "competent" in mathematics(23) - but outstanding in attitude and mentality. He took his studies seriously and it was this that impressed his tutors. Indeed, in his Autobiographical Writings he described himself as a "sharp boy", one who possessed "a studious and quick apprehension", one who was anxious "not to lose a moment of time before settling down to further studies" and read each and every book which happened to come his way. Thus whilst he was at Ealing, Newman was liberally educated in the sense that he learned to discriminate in an involuntary way between those aspects of knowledge which he later described as superficial; "knowledge considered in its matter", and those which were individual and permanent; "the process of enlightenment or enlargement of the mind."(24)

In the "little school" where he spent his first two years, the fundamentals which his father and mother had taught him were reinforced

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22. 'The Imperial Intellect' by A. Dwight Culler, p.3.
23. The private papers of H. Tristram. (Oratory archives.)
24. 'Discourses', p.108.

in a free and easy atmosphere. He spent long hours perfecting his copy-plate hand at his own pace and read all manner of childish books with relish,[25] but when he entered the "upper school" he was taught in a more formal fashion. In latin he began with Ovid and Virgil and later moved on to Cicero, Plautus and Terence. He enjoyed this subject immensely, keeping his diary in latin and compiling latin proses on current events such as "Wellington at the battle of Waterloo" and "Napoleon at St. Helena". His lessons in Greek, which he found equally satisfying, were based initially on "Aesop's Fables", but he soon moved on to Homer, Herodotus, Sophocles, Socrates and Demosthenes. In mathematics he commenced with Euclid and gradually got through five books. He also practised decimals, duodecimals, practical geometry, mensuration, algebra and trigonometry.[26]

This instruction was important in preparing Newman for university - at Oxford he proved himself to be a competent classicist and an able mathematician - yet he made his mark upon the intellectual life of Victorian times not in classics or mathematics, but in subjects like philosophy, theology and history. Did Ealing play any part in this? In the sense that it was there that he was originally introduced to

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25. The book he liked best was written by Lucy Peacock: "the visit for a week; or hints on the improvement of time containing original tales, anecdotes from natural and moral philosophy etc.; designed for the instruction and amusement of youth." "Instead of keeping it for the school time I put myself in the large open window ... " he wrote, " ... and read it through." He also studied a life of Christ written in Greek by Dr. Joseph White, Professor of Greek at Oxford.

26. His basic text book was Charles Hutton's 'The Compendius Measurer'.

these subjects, the philosophy of Locke, Hume and Paine, the theology of Milner and the history of Gibbon, it did, but it would be wrong to exaggerate the extent to which this factor influenced his adult proficiency in these specialist sciences. It would also be wrong to suggest that because of the excellence of the tuition he received, he was destined to become an eminent man of letters. Nevertheless, it is a fact that at school his appetite for controversy was originally whetted. He set up a club called "The Spies"[27] and published its opinions on matters pertinent to the life of the school. The club soon failed to function, but its publications continued and became so popular that at one stage Newman was editing not only his own newspaper, but an opposition paper too: "The Spy" and "The Anti-Spy", which ran to thirty and twenty-seven numbers respectively. When these publications ceased, he published "The Reformer" and "The Inspector" and when they expired - they were comparative failures - he issued "The Portfolio" and "The Beholder". The former was a political journal modelled on "The Spectator" and the latter a pastoral; the one running for twenty numbers and the other for forty. Newman considered "The Beholder" to be the best of his publications: one hundred and sixty closely written octavo pages in all. It was a prodigious achievement for one so young to write so much unaided, but this is not to suggest that his articles possessed any exceptional

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27. It consisted of three ranks, each distinguished by a differently coloured ribbon.

literary merit.[28] It was also the beginning albeit on a limited scale of his career as a writer and marked a turning point in his own intellectual development: no longer was he "the creature of foreign influences",[29] the passive and uncritical recipient of whatever his teachers chose to dole out, but a thinking young man, capable of discerning the nature of things, broadcasting his views and inviting opposition. He was part way already to becoming a man of imperial intellect and philosophic habit, and in addition the pattern of his adult interests was beginning to take shape.

Newman described life at school as "the seven years of plenty" when he gathered in knowledge " ... by handfuls, like the Egyptians without counting ... " and stored up "the matter of (his) studies as treasures for a future day".[30] But he took more from Ealing than this. He took advantage for example, of its extensive curriculum and began to develop his literary tastes. Either of his own volition or prompted informally by his teachers, he read widely - amongst those whose works he studied were Bacon, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Cowper, Crabbe and Scott - and prepared essays based on the style of illustrious figures such as Addison, Johnson and Gibbon.[31] Ealing's teachers were also keen on public speaking and consequently Newman and his classmates frequently recited odes, monologues, and

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28. Judging from the extracts which survive they reached a high adolescent standard and no more.
29. 'Discourses', p.107.
30. 'Discourses', p.106.
31. See Appendix 'D'.

speeches, and acted in plays and mock parliamentary debates.

It was unusual for a school to emphasise cultural activities of this sort. E. C. Mack has shown that in the early years of the nineteenth century school curricula were exclusively classical[32] - there was no demand for other subjects - and yet at Ealing drama was taken seriously.

In June and September of alternate years three "Grand Nights" were held when parents and guests were entertained to one of four latin plays: The Eunuchus, Adelphi, Andria or Phormio. Newman took the part of Pythias in the Eunuchus in 1814, Syrus in the Adelphi in 1815 and in 1816 spoke the prologue to the Andria. On the morning of the third grand night, speech day was held; a formidable programme consisting of recitations in latin and Greek, French and English with two or three mock debates or trials to relieve the monotony. There were twenty items in all, each boy being placed in one of these categories. Subjects such as Demosthenes' speech to the Athenians, Sophocles' Ajax, Milton's Morning Hymn, Voltaire's Coligny, Richmond's speech to his soldiers, and Pitt's speech against taxing America were evidently the most popular because they were repeated year after year. Famous parliamentary debates, presenting favourites like Fox, Pulteney, and Wyndham, were re-enacted and essays on anatomy, and modern music were occasionally read. In 1813 Newman acted in a reconstruction of a House of Commons debate of 1734, taking the part

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32. "Public Schools and British Opinion", by E. C. Mack, pp.143-5.

of Sir William Wyndham and later when his two brothers also took part, recited "The Winter Traveller". On one occasion, alas, Newman's voice broke down. Indeed, his performance was so catastrophic that Dr. Nicholas had to apologise to his guest the Duke of Kent, but the Duke brushed the incident aside, insisting that "the action was so good" and thus Newman's honour was salvaged.

It cannot be said that as a result of these activities, Ealing fashioned Newman's adult aptitude for oratory - he became a famous public speaker especially in the 1830's when hundreds flocked to St. Mary's in Oxford to hear him preach - but it can be said that his teachers at Ealing were the first to discover and foster this talent.

Amongst other disciplines designed to encourage culture at the school were history and geography, French and music and drawing and painting. Newman preferred history to geography probably because he found geography impersonal, and enjoyed learning about Walpole, Chatham, Nelson and Napoleon. He began French at the age of eleven and although most of the time he spent on this subject was devoted to grammar and vocabulary, he also acted in French plays and specialised in the writings of Racine and Voltaire.(33) He learned to play the violin and as he grew older was regularly invited to take part in the headmaster's musical evenings. He took lessons in art - judging

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33. His basic text books in French were 'A grammar of the French tongue' by Louis Chambaud and 'Elements of French conversation' by John Perrin. The books of French plays were written by Mdme. Genlis.

from the drawings in his exercise books he was quite a competent artist - and was even coached in dancing.

Had he wished Newman could have taken advantage of the sporting facilities which the school offered, but he limited himself either to long walks - the boys were never chained to the grounds and were free to wander off - or to an occasional dip in the swimming pool.(34) Even so the fact that there were facilities at Ealing for almost every kind of sport, indicates that Nicholas and his staff thought it important for the boys to lead a full and active life.

Dr. Nicholas who was also a clergyman, was especially keen on instilling the Christian ethic. A god-fearing man, he gave his pupils projects or "themes" on virtues and vices such as gratitude, prodigality, avarice and pride. He invited lecturers to speak on religious topics,(35) observed holy days and had the school prayers recited morning and night.(36) At first Newman was impressed - he kept his copy of the school prayer-book together with some of his

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34. Cricket and football, marbles, hopscotch, prisoners' base, long rope, tops and rounders. The traditional playground games did not attract him, although Ealing was well known for its sporting prowess: "the Nicholas hit" was a popular phrase in Middlesex cricketing circles.
35. In 1816, one spoke on Calvinism.
36. Newman echoed the prayer book's sentiments in his own private journal thereby proving that it had impressed him. One prayer began thus: "When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed and doeth that which is lawful, he shall save his soul alive." Newman interpreted this as follows:

"Into the palace of the Lord
Those who do right and keep his word
Will surely go but those who don't
I am quite sure that they won't."

essays on Christian virtues - but when he got into his teens he rejected the Doctor's notion of formalised Christianity on the grounds that it was hollow and turned to the fiery and ascetic Calvinist, Mr. Mayers.

In all other respects, however, he was profoundly impressed by Nicholas.[37] Like most headmasters, George Nicholas regarded the classics and mathematics as basic, but whilst others echoed the sentiments of Dr. James, the headmaster of Rugby, who thought it a waste of time to encourage scholarship - young people, said James,

> " ... are narrow-necked vessels, into which you cannot pour much at a time without waste and running over" -

Nicholas insisted on the highest of academic standards.

In 1852 Newman acclaimed those "schools and colleges" which could

> "boast of a succession of heroes and statesmen, of literary men and philosophers, of men conspicuous for great natural virtues, for habits of business, for knowledge of life, for practical judgement, for cultivated tastes ... " (38)

He might almost have been harking back to Ealing because under Nicholas the school produced a number of men who fitted precisely into these

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37. George Nicholas was a man of acumen and amazing efficiency. Twice married, firstly to Elizabeth Shury, the previous owner's only child, and secondly, to his housekeeper, he was an astute business man. His friendship with the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, who lived close to the school at Castle Hill Lodge, their frequent whist parties and the Duke's presence at speech days, did much to advertise the school. Nicholas was one of Ealing's outstanding figures. When Napoleon threatened to invade in 1805 it was Nicholas who led the committee which mobilised a peasant militia, "The Ealing and Brentford Volunteers", and kept it in a state of preparedness till 1806.

38. 'Discourses', p.146.

categories. George Robinson, for example, who became a Cambridge don and took a first at Oxford, and Bishop Selwyn, the first bishop of New Zealand and founder of Selwyn College, Cambridge, who also took a first, were two of Nicholas' old boys. So was Charles Knight, the publisher who recorded that the Doctor "stimulated (him) with ambition to excel", and Sir George Macfarren, principal of the Royal Academy of Music. Then there was Horace Mayhew, the founder of 'Punch'; William Makepeace Thackeray, the novelist; Captain Marryat, the explorer; Richard Westmacott, the sculptor; and the Lawrence brothers: Lord Lawrence, better known as "Lawrence of India" and his elder brother Sir Henry Lawrence, the hero of the seige of Lucknow of 1857. Others included George Sale, one of the captors of Seringapatam and his brother Robert, the hero of Jellalabad and the north east frontier, Sir Henry Rawlinson of the East India Company, Lord Truro and Lord Chelmsford, both of whom became Lord Chief Justices and later Lord Chancellors, Lord Dazell and the three sons of Quincey Adams, President of the U.S.A.

Newman freely admitted that he was "greatly attached"(39) to Nicholas, whilst Thackeray referred to him as "Dr. Tickle-us" and Charles Knight described him as "our good Doctor". He was undoubtedly a kindly man, one who ran his school as a father would a family. When Newman was seven, for example, he arrived back to begin his second

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39. Autobiographical Writings, p.29. He and his colleagues presented Nicholas with an address in 1813 to mark the occasion of his fiftieth birthday - see Appendix 'H'.

term, but was so afraid of the other boys that he dared not go in to join them. Nicholas happened to notice him and said

> "Hadn't you better go into the big room?" -
>
> "No, no, I won't go, they'll bully me so, they'll do all sorts of things to me though I can't help crying."
>
> "Oh! No, nonsense, they won't." ...
>
> "But they will! Come into the big room and see for yourself," (40)

replied Newman. Hand in hand they entered the room, but nothing was said, nothing was done, and from that point onwards the two retained a special affection for each other. On another occasion, Nicholas remembered that it was John's birthday and as he had to go into London, he took him with him so that John could have dinner with his family in Bloomsbury. These two incidents show that Dr. Nicholas represented a kindliness not always usual in his day.(41)

Moreover, he was also generous. When Newman won his first prize at the age of eleven, he chose Lamb's "Shakespeare" and Denon's "Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte". The second of these two prizes was costly - it was published in two folio volumes with a number of plates - and was also in short supply. Much to Newman's disappointment, therefore, he had to choose an alternative, but a little later, Nicholas came across an unabridged version in English

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40. "The pillar of the cloud" by M. Trevor, pp.10-11.
41. On another occasion when a teacher promised Newman six of the best for insubordination, he intervened and stopped it.

which he purchased for John despite the additional expense. On another occasion when Mr. Newman's bank failed, Nicholas kept John and his brothers at school even though it was holiday time, in order to save their parents anxiety, and insisted that they paid the fees "when it suits". Others benefited also. Charles Knight reckoned that his "nature bourgeoned under the kindness" he received, life was "a real happiness", whilst George Macfarren, an inferior child who suffered additionally from poor eyesight, has his books specially printed in large type. Nicholas also gave him a powerful magnifying glass and nominated two of his staff, Huxley and Heslop, to give him private tuition. One cannot imagine a parent writing of Dr. Keate as Mrs. Newman wrote of Dr. Nicholas:

> "We are in such good hands ... that what he does we shall approve ... "

nor were parents likely to urge their sons to ask for Keate's advice on trivial matters such as the purchase of a violin as Mr. Newman did.(42)

In the Discourses Newman described "the true mode of educating ... a boy" thus:

> " ... the first step in intellectual training is to impress upon a boy's mind the idea of science, method, order, principle and harmony. This is commonly and excellently done by making him begin with a grammar; nor can too great accuracy, or minuteness and subtlety of teaching, be used towards him, as his faculties expand, with this simple view. Hence it is that critical scholarship is so important a discipline for him when

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42. "Buy the Cremona" he told John, "if the Doctor approves".

> he is leaving school for the university. A second science is mathematics: this should follow grammar, still with the same object, viz. to give him a conception of development and arrangement from and around a common centre. Hence it is that chronology and geography are so necessary for him, when he reads history, which is otherwise little better than a story book. Hence too metrical composition, when he reads poetry in order to stimulate his powers into a merely passive reception of images and ideas which in that case are likely to pass out of mind as soon as they have entered it. Let him once gain this habit of method, of starting from fixed points, of making his ground good as he goes, of distinguishing what he knows from what he does not know, and I conceive he will be gradually initiated into the largest and truest philosophical views and will feel nothing but impatience and disgust at the random theories and imposing sophistries and dashing paradoxies which carry away half-formed and superficial intellects." (43)

In referring to the importance of starting boys off with grammar and emphasising order and accuracy before moving on to subjective criticism, Newman might have been explaining how he was taught himself. His references to mathematics, history, geography and literature, and the distinction he made between knowledge which is superficially acquired and knowledge which is methodically and systematically built up, could also be reflections of his own childhood experiences, but there are other analagies too between Nicholas' methods and his own ideas.

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43. 'Discourses' (The Preface), pp.38-9.

The doctor divided his school into houses each under the jurisdiction of a dame,(44) and when he opened a school of his own in Edgbaston in 1859, Newman did likewise. Newman opened the Oratory School, however, at a time when dames were being replaced by house-masters, and Father Darnell who ran the school objected to the influence which was accorded to the senior of his two dames. Indeed, he threatened to resign unless Newman curbed her powers but Newman refused and retained the Ealing pattern even though Darnell and the whole of his teaching staff carried out their threat.

Furthermore, in an era when schools of similar standing were ruled fiercely - in 1859 corporal punishment was used extensively in Catholic as well as Protestant establishments - teachers at the Oratory School were as compassionate as their Ealing counterparts. "The young" said Newman, "are to be kept straight by indirect contrivances rather than by authoritarian and naked prohibitions."(45)

In addition, their curricula were alike. The Oratory School concentrated on the classics and mathematics with subjects like geography, history, literature and French as subsidiaries just as Nicholas had done at Ealing. For its time Ealing's broad curriculum

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44. At Ealing the Dames saw the boys were properly dressed - they wore a distinctive dress consisting of knee breeches, top hats, pantaloons, hessians, tail coats and cravats - minded them when they were sick - Newman was so ill in 1811 that he was sent home twice, and running tuck shops where John spent his coppers on "damson tarts, barley sugar, almond cakes, buttered rolls, oranges and bread and cheese."

45. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.115.

was virtually unique, but in 1859 many schools possessed curricula of a similar kind and also had specialist teachers to implement them. It cannot be concluded therefore that Newman deliberately copied Ealing in these matters although it is significant that Eton upon which the Oratory School was supposedly modelled - it was advertised as an Eton-type school - had yet to broaden its curriculum and relax its disciplinary methods.

So far as drama was concerned, however, there can be no doubt that Newman copied Ealing. He put on classical plays once per year, chose exactly the same plays he had acted in as a boy and even used the same translations. He also promoted boys as Nicholas had done not on the basis of written examinations but upon his knowledge of the boys themselves, and welcomed old boys back for three days each year at his own expense just as Nicholas had welcomed him.

When Newman left school in 1816 he could not therefore have been as unimpressed as Hutton and Ward have implied. Indeed, he said himself that when a boy leaves school for university his "mind is observant, sharp, ready (and) retentive" and he possesses

> "the moral habits ... diligence, assiduity, regularity, dispatch, persevering application ... (which) naturally lead to ... " (46)

the acquisition of knowledge and mental culture.

Newman obviously enjoyed life at Ealing. He enjoyed writing plays like "The Knife-grinder" and breaking-up songs like the one

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46. 'Discourses', pp.106-7.
47. See Appendix 'B'.

for 1812[48] which was mildly mocking of the staff. He enjoyed mixing with his friends: Westmacott, Hamilton and Thresher, and joined in their various activities. Indeed, when he went to Oxford he took his diaries and journals to remind him of these occasions; when he made a kite which had glass eyes, when he wrote a set of verses which won a day's holiday for himself and his friends and when he entered a verse competition at The Drury Lane Theatre. Ealing was important to Newman. It marked a decisively formative phase in his life.

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48. See Appendix 'C'.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY

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Professor Culler is not alone in his conclusion that it was Oxford which fathered Newman's educational ideas. Meriol Trevor has also recorded that it was from Oxford that he "first derived his educational theories",(1) whilst R. L. Archer has described Newman's Discourses as "the classical exposition of contemporary Oxonianism".(2)

It is true that Newman was impressed by Oxford: its setting, for example, appealed to his sense of the romantic,(3) but he was not as captivated as some of his friends have implied and he rebelled, firstly, against the scepticism and rationalism for which Oriel, the most illustrious of its colleges, was famed, and, secondly, against the inadequacy of the supervision and tuition for which its dons were responsible.

Newman believed that one acquired one's ideas comparatively and synthetically, and therefore it would be logical to assume that his educational theories originated within the context of his experiences as a whole and not simply within the isolated setting which Oxford accorded him. Indeed, the trials which he underwent as an undergraduate contrasted so sharply with his happy experiences at school, that instead of inspiring him to adopt a galaxy of new

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1. "The pillar of the cloud" by M. Trevor, p.589.
2. "Secondary education in the nineteenth century" by R. L. Archer, p.39.
3. Maisie Ward has commented extensively on this in her book, "The Young Mr. Newman".

precepts, they only served to reinforce principles and practices to which he had already committed himself.

He was barely sixteen when he arrived at Trinity[4] and took it for granted that his tutors would be as helpful and diligent as Dr. Nicholas. He assumed that they would encourage him to study and help him settle down, but this was not the case. In 1817 Trinity had two tutors: Messrs. Short and Wilson. As the senior of the two, Thomas Short was trying to raise academic standards and improve discipline. He had recently opened the college scholarship to university competition and had introduced tighter disciplinary measures with the object of persuading his commoners to devote more time to their studies. It was a good idea to encourage outside competition because it compelled the best of his undergraduates to raise their level of attainment, but he and Wilson were too incompetent as teachers and too inefficient as administrators to effect any overall improvement and therefore academically and morally Trinity remained as moribund as ever.[5]

Newman was initially impressed by Short's endeavours:

> "If anyone wishes to study ... no college will encourage him more than Trinity. It is wishing to rise in the university and is rising fast." (6)

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4. Newman only went to Oxford by chance. He might have gone to Cambridge just as easily. The post chaise was already at the door before it was decided to drive to Oxford rather than Cambridge. Furthermore, it was expected that he would find a place at Exeter, but Exeter was full and therefore he only went to Trinity by default.
5. It was "a place of port and prejudice" - "J. H. Newman", by C. F. Harrold, p.7.
6. "Autobiographical Writings", p.35.

He was "amused" by the "lamentations in every corner at the increasing vigour" and thought it "delightful" to "heat the groans of the oppressed".(6) Retrospectively, however, he complained bitterly; firstly, because his tutors failed to teach him anything:

> "I spent four years without point and by the age of twenty or twenty-one had in fact to begin my education," (7)

secondly, because they never gave him any adequate supervision:

> "I had as little tutorial assistance or guidance as is easy to conceive and found myself left almost to my own devices," (8)

and thirdly, because they refused to stop the drunken orgies for which the college was notorious. As an educator Newman insisted on the highest of ethical and moral standards, but he could hardly have taken this notion from Trinity. Each Trinity Monday, after they had taken communion, the college commoners began "the Gaudy", a ritual whereby each got drunk at his own pace. Newman argued that it "humbled" the college, creating an inglorious reputation of "bad wine, bad cigars, and ... bad songs".(9) He refused to take part and organised a demonstration against it, but his protest passed almost unnoticed.

He was a victim of his tutors' indifference almost from the very first. He went up three weeks before the end of the Lent term(10)

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6. "Autobiographical Writings", p.35.
7. "Autobiographical Writings", p.52.
8. "Autobiographical Writings", p.51.
9. "Autobiographical Writings", pp.37-8.
10. He was actually accepted at Trinity in December, 1816, when he was only fifteen years old, but had to wait until the following summer for rooms.

and discovered that Short and Wilson had not only stopped lecturing - most commoners were consequently on the point of departing - but had also closeted themselves away. Newman, who "had no thought but that of hard reading"[8] wanted to locate them to ask for guidance with his vocational studies, but he failed to find them.[11] He therefore broke protocol by calling somewhat naively on the President, Dr. Lee, who was almost as elusive as Short and Wilson,[12] but Lee declined to help: "he left all such questions as Mr. Newman asked to be answered by the tutors".[13] By chance however, one day before his three weeks were up, Newman happened to see one of the tutors on horseback riding out of Oxford, and dashing "into the road and abruptly accosting him (he) asked what books he should read".[13] The tutor directed him to his colleague and it was he who ultimately provided the information that Newman required. This was hardly a civilised way of welcoming freshmen,[14] not was it likely to improve college standards. Moreover, it bespoke the kind of impersonal indifference which Newman condemned so roundly in his Discourses.[15]

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8. "Autobiographical Writings", p.51.
11. Short visited Newman's lodgings on the day of his arrival, but finding him out did not bother to call again. Instead, he sent a commoner, William Bowden, who became a close friend of Newman to make the introductions in his stead.
12. When he first visited Lee he was shown into an ante-room and was forgotten. When he was rediscovered, however, Lee had gone out.
13. "Autobiographical Writings", p.33.
14. Newman never forgot it and recalled in his memoirs that as an introduction to the university "it was not of a character to make him at home with it."
15. He argued that teachers had to be "parties" to everything which went on. See the 'Discourses', pp.121-2.

In his first year he had three lectures per week in mathematics and five in classics. The lectures on mathematics were so "childishly easy"[16] that he protested; Short had placed him in the lower of the two sets because he expected him to be ignorant of Euclid, and not until Newman had proven his declared mastery of the first five books did he promote him. Once in the top set, however, Newman set such a hot pace that Short was unable to cater for him and consequently in the autumn of 1818 he was compelled to take a private tutor. The tutor, whose name was Ogle, coached him for two hours each day, but although "he behaved in the most liberal manner possible",[17] he was none the less ineffective: when Newman took his finals in 1820, although Short and Ogle expected him to get a first, he failed even to get a pass "below the line".

Things were much the same in classics. Originally he had one lecture in "Tacitus every morning except Thursday; (and) one in Cicero on Wednesday."[16] The dean, "an uncommonly good natured"[18] man supplemented this by occasionally lending him text books and marking the proses which he sent in each week, but by and large Newman had to draw up his own reading lists and assess his own progress. Not surprisingly he made a "sorry and unsatisfactory"[19] hash of it and in his finals only managed to pass "below the line".

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16. J.H.N. - Mrs. Newman, November 13, 1817.
17. "Autobiographical Writings", p.34.
18. J.H.N. - Mrs. Newman, October 28, 1817. Dr. Kinsey was the dean.
19. "Autobiographical Writings", p.52.

In a sense he had himself to blame. He was far too young for university and Dr. Nicholas, who "knew the state of things",[20] had told him so. "Impatient" and headstrong, however, he thought himself

> "more advanced in the study necessary for Oxford than the run of youths even two or three years beyond him in age." (20)

He soon discovered his error:

> "I now see the disadvantage of going so soon to Oxford and before I have the great addition of time of two or three years ... for there are several who know more than I do in latin and Greek and I do not like that," (21)

and yet had his tutors recognised this, they could have helped him to overcome his handicap.

Trinity had not as yet supplied public examiners and therefore Short and Wilson

> "could not accurately know or instinctively feel as certain other tutors could what particular reading or what circumstantial preparation would tell in favour of their pupils whom they sent to the Schools for its honours." (22)

Christ Church had been represented on the examining board almost without a break for twenty years. Oriel and Brasenose had been represented six times between 1810 and 1820, whilst Balliol and

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20. "Autobiographical Writings", p.39.
21. J.H.N. - Mrs. Newman, October 22, 1817.
22. "Autobiographical Writings", p.40 - Newman gave an example of what he meant. He translated "propium" as "proper" instead of "his own"; he knew what it meant in latin but had Shakespeare's use of it in "Measure for Measure" in mind, "the mere effusion of thy proper loins".

Exeter had sent examiners four times during the same period. The examiners were scrupulously fair, but as Newman said, they would

> "understand a candidate better and follow his lead and line of thought more sympathetically, if they understood his position of mind and intellectual habits than if these were new to them." (22)

This was a serious handicap and partially explains why Newman failed to fulfil his promise, but it does not explain why he failed so badly. Standards were not especially high[23] and moreover, he had won the Trinity scholarship against considerable outside opposition.[24] The real reason for his comparative failure lay with his tutors who were far too distant to fashion the kind of rapport to which he was accustomed. When he first arrived it was some weeks for instance, before Short even spoke to him,[25] and although once he realised that Newman was a student of exceptional potential, he began to lend him books[26] and invite him to breakfast, week in week out he was too

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22. "Autobiographical Writings", p.40.
23. Hawkins of Oriel, who examined him in Responsions, asked at one stage if he could inscribe a rhombus in a circle. He was given passages in Greek, latin, rhetoric and moral philosophy. There were also compositions in latin and logic, plus examination in at least three books of his own choice. There was no time limit and the candidates (there were one hundred and thirty-nine) were allowed to prepare rough copies before submitting their final drafts.
24. There were six candidates from Trinity, two from Worcester, one from Exeter, one from Rugby and one who was not a member of the university. The examination lasted two days and consisted of verse, latin translation, latin themes, a chorus of Euripides, an English theme, Plato, Lucretus, Xenophon and Livy.
25. "Mr. Short has not yet spoken to me though lectures have begun". J.H.N. - Mrs. Newman, October 22, 1817.
26. The first book he lent him was a dissertation on Euclid.

reserved and aloof to make a real impression upon Newman's intellectual development. Wilson was equally incapable of stimulating him. It is true that in Newman's final term he coached him for "two, sometimes five hours per day", but at that stage it was too late.(27)

During the summer vacation of 1819 Newman "fagged" nine hours per day and from then onwards "got up winter and summer at 5 or 6 hardly allowing (himself) time for ... meals".(28) In the six months preceding his finals he improved on this by averaging twelve hours per day: "if one day I read only nine, I read the next fifteen". This extraordinary appetite for work would doubtless have served him well had he been properly supervised. If only there had been "a routine prescribed (at Trinity) in which the student (was) obliged to move without choice of his own"(29) he would never have carried his enthusiasm to such excess. As it was however, he so overworked that he lost his head utterly, broke down and after vain attempts for several days had to retire "in a state of nervous exhaustion."(30)

Newman's experiences at Trinity were therefore chastening. There was nothing illuminating or enriching about them, and yet

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27. At that stage Newman knew that he had concentrated too much on the classics. He recorded studying Patavium, Thucydides, Livy, Aristotle, Sophocles, Aeschylus and so on, but "little or no maths", and told his father that he would have to throw his classics "overboard" if he was to bring his mathematics into port.
28. "Autobiographical Writings", p.46.
29. "Autobiographical Writings", p.52.
30. "Autobiographical Writings", p.47 - He broke down again in 1827, but on that occasion he was serving on the examining board.

despite having to rub shoulders with commoners who drank themselves blind and tutors who absolved themselves of their responsibilities, he continued to engage in a variety of liberal enterprises. He continued for example, to enjoy music, indulged in original compositions and joined an orchestra; "The Brasenose Harmonic".(31) He helped to establish a college debating society and a book club. He spent long hours reading the Bible and learning passages by heart.(32) He wrote a critique on the plays of Aeschylus and another on Aristotle's "Poetics". He spent weeks transcribing Larcher's notes on Herodotus, and wrote poems; one was inspired by the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve(33) and another written in praise of Nature and God.(34) Helped by William Bowden he began a periodical based on Addison's "Spectator" called "The undergraduate". He got interested in chemistry and attended lectures on geology, mineralogy, and history. These activities were in line with the liberal pursuits to which he had always been addicted, but it is significant that he pursued them in spite of Trinity and not because of it.

He continued to take his education seriously and still regarded it as he had done at his father's knee as "a high word". Furthermore,

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31. He took part in their public concerts. On one occasion for example, they presented a programme of music by Winter, Haydn, Vacarri, Romberg, Handel, Riotte, Ditters and Mozart.
32. As time went on he became increasingly spiritual and introspective.
33. See Appendix 'F'. It told of "the unfortunate union of a protestant gentleman and a Catholic lady, ending in the tragic death of both through the machinations of a cruel fanatical priest." The poem was written with Bowden's help and was published.
34. See Appendix 'G'.

having missed the close personal ties which existed between himself and Dr. Nicholas he was made consciously aware of the need for a tutor to foster harmonious and influential bonds with his students, and his theories of pupil-teacher relationships were henceforth assessed within the context of his undergraduate experiences at Trinity and never in the abstract. He forgave Short for his culpability but he never forgot it.

In 1822 Newman was elected a fellow of Oriel. Culler has said that this marked a turning point in his life, the point from which his philosophy of education can be dated. It is true that the latter's thinking acquired new dimensions as a result of his experiences at Oriel. As a college tutor and a university examiner,(35) he was more fully involved in education than ever before, and had therefore to define his ideas and put them into practice in a much more definite way. This did not mean however, that he reacted to Oriel's ethos passively and imitatively. He claimed later that thinking was selective and comparative, open-ended and judicious, and therefore it is not surprising to find that although he was profoundly impressed by the Aristotelian idealism which the giants of the Oriel common room personified, he rebelled against the negative scepticism for which they were equally as famed.

Culler has analysed Newman's educational thought and especially his idea of liberal education in a masterly fashion. He has set it

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35. He also served as a proproctor and university constable.

in a broader perspective than anyone else, but he was chiefly interested in its scholastic implications - he went back to medieval times and beyond to discover analogies between Newman and the sages of the past - and tended therefore to ignore the ways in which Newman actually came to accept it. Newman stated that the seeds of his thinking were sown early: "the subject of liberal education" he said, "has ever had a hold on my mind",(36) and therefore instead of implanting this notion in Newman's virgin mind the fellows of Oriel merely cultivated and developed a notion which he already possessed.

In 1820 when he returned to Trinity to take private pupils(37) Newman embarked upon the study of a wide range of subjects: optics, hydrostatics, anatomy, chemistry, geology, Hebrew, Persian and Arabic. He read Plato, Euripides, Aristophanes, Cicero and Hume, carried out chemical experiments, wrote music and studied logic and natural philosophy.(38) The imperialism of this project allied to the objectivity which motivated it - Newman studied these subjects because he found them intrinsically valuable - is proof sufficient that prior to his election he already owned the kind of mental culture which Capleston, Davison, Pusey, Keble and the others would have recognised as liberal and that was the reason why they appointed him.(39)

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36. 'Discourses', p.1.
37. He took four pupils and charged them £100 each, £50 more than Mr. Ogle had charged him.
38. The curriculum at Oxford at that time was very narrow. There was no modern history, no modern philosophy, no natural or applied philosophy, no natural or applied sciences and no languages except latin and Greek.
39. It was well known that Oriel's fellows never paid undue attention to a candidate's academic reputation - they were more interested in the man, his ethical attitudes and social characteristics.

The years which Newman spent at Oriel were catalystically formative. Oriel was a power house of scholasticism and Newman's intellect was enervated, excited and edified as it had never been before. He fell instantly under the wing of Whately,(40) the most illustrious of the Noetics, and for a time was captivated by the logic of his arguments.(41) After three or four years, however, in 1826 or 1827 he became critical of Whately's thinking on the grounds that it was unduly egocentric. He recognised that the latter's criticism, and especially his criticism of the church, was devastating,(42) but it rested in essence upon his own private judgement and evaluation: he saw things subjectively through his own eyes and not through God's.

At that time Newman was passing through a phase of deep spiritual contemplation. He had taken orders in 1824 and had been ordained in 1825. His scholarship was almost entirely theological: in 1823 for example, he drew up an argument based on St. Chrysostom and other fathers for the strict observance of the sabbath. He wrote a "Life of Apollonius" in 1824 and an essay on "Miracles" in 1825. In 1826 he began his history of the early church and a year later drew up a defence of infant baptism. In 1828 he began systematically to

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40. Richard Whately, 1787-1863. He was the best of Newman's teachers and was the most famous of Oriel's intellectuals. He was a liberal and impressed Newman with his arguments against state interference in church affairs. He became bishop of Dublin.
41. They even wrote a book on logic together: it was called "Elements of Logic" and was published in 1826. He became curate of St. Clements, a parish in the poorer part of Oxford.
42. Whately convinced Newman that the church was divine and was therefore independent of the state and Newman hereafter clung to this principle.

read the fathers and later wrote a history of the Arian Church.(43) He became a curate to the parish of St. Clement's in the poorer part of Oxford in 1825 before being raised to the vicarage of St. Mary's, the university church, in 1828. This was a period therefore when Newman was having to formulate his religious opinions and translate them into action. Moreover, having been appointed the junior of Oriel's four tutors in 1826 and a university examiner in 1827, he had also to commence his professional career as a teacher and apply his educational ideas. These years then, 1826 and 1827, were decisive. It was accidental that he should have commenced his priestly ministry at roughly the same time as he began his career as a university teacher, but nevertheless significant in the sense that for ever after he regarded the one as complementary to the other.

It was at Oriel, at the same time as he was preaching from the pulpit of St. Mary's, that Newman began to apply his educational ideas for the first time on a large scale. Within two years of his appointment as a junior tutor he already had a reputation as a hard task master. He had begun by setting

> " ... himself fiercely against the Gentleman commoners, young men of birth, wealth or prospects whom he considered (of course with real exceptions) to be the scandal and ruin of the place. Oriel he considered was losing its high repute through them and he behaved towards them with a haughtiness which incurred their bitter resentment." (44)

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43. An article on Cicero which appeared in the "Encyclopaedia Metropolitana" was his only piece of sectarian scholarship.
44. "Autobiographical Writings", p.89.

Like the young bloods of Trinity, Oriel's commoners did little or no studying but dressed extravagantly, rode to hounds and habitually made merry. This was not Newman's understanding of education and consequently he complained to Copleston, the aged provost and Tyler, his dean. He asked for permission to stop it - he thought that if he had greater access to these young men he could alter their attitudes - but Copleston and Tyler, who had tolerated this behaviour for a generation and more, refused to give their permission and so Newman was eventually compelled to take the initiative for himself.

He had also attacked the system of private tuition which he considered to be inefficient and fraudulent and had laid it down

> "that on such of his pupils as wished to work for academical honours, he was bound to bestow time and trouble outside that formal lecture routine which was provided for undergraduates ... with such youths he cultivated relations, not only of intimacy, but of friendship and almost of equality, putting off as much as might be, the martinet manner then in fashion with college tutors, and seeking their society in outdoor exercise, on evenings, in vacation." (45)

The majority of tutors took little interest in their students' progress and asked extra fees for the type of supervision which Newman was offering gratis. Most of them were clerics and regarded teaching as a means to an end by using their offices to joust for the most lucrative and magnanimous of church livings, but Newman's attempt to show them up made little headway.

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45. "Autobiographical Writings", p.90.

In 1828 however, Oriel's new provost, Edward Hawkins, appointed two new tutors: Robert Wilberforce and Hurrell Froude, and as Newman was now the senior of Oriel's tutors and vicar of the university church, he felt brave enough to take matters into his own hands. Wilberforce and Froude soon became his closest friends and together with Dornford, the fourth tutor, they attempted to seize control of Oriel's tutorials. They arranged their duties without recourse to Hawkins, accepting a fixed number of students each and assuming a responsibility not only for their academic welfare but also for their moral well-being: they were to be pastors as well as teachers. Newman never informed Hawkins of this plan, either out of fear of embarrassing him - if Hawkins was asked to give the scheme his blessing officially he might have had to refuse - or out of apprehension lest he would not agree in principle.

All went well for a time:

> "It began to be the fashion at Oriel to be regular in academic conduct, and admission to the tutors' set became an object of ambition ... Firsts were once more ... in the offing," (46)

but in the Lent term of 1829 Hawkins intervened and told Newman to end the scheme. Newman, Wilberforce and Froude refused and Hawkins therefore stopped their pupils: they were allowed to keep those they already had but could not receive any more.

The provost argued that Newman had no right to impress his own concepts upon students who were young and impressionable and like

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46. "Autobiographical Writings".

Jowett he took the line that it was a tutor's duty to make his pupils think for themselves. However, had Hawkins objected to Newman's attempted coup on purely educational grounds he would surely have intervened earlier. What then was his motive?

Hawkins was a somewhat overbearing and dictatorial administrator, one who took it for granted that his subordinates were loyal and obedient and therefore Newman's independent line offended him. But he was even more upset by Newman's opposition to the re-election of Sir Robert Peel. In 1829 Peel, who had been chiefly instrumental in driving the Catholic Emancipation bill through the Commons, resigned as M.P. for the university and submitted himself for re-election. He had been accused of betraying the Anglican cause and submitted himself for re-election to salvage his honour. Hawkins pledged Peel his support and canvassed on his behalf whilst Newman led the opposition, and in a blaze of publicity it was Newman who won the day.(47) Hawkins was deeply offended and decided to take Newman down a step, by depriving him of students. It might be argued that Newman was tactless and undiplomatic in the way in which he handled Hawkins,(48) but where principle was concerned he was always inclined to indiscretions of this kind; dissimulation never interested him.

His career as a university tutor was therefore relatively short; seven years in all, but it was formative because some twenty years later

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47. Newman opposed Peel because he thought "a great university ought not to be bullied".
48. Hawkins owed Newman a great deal since it was Newman's canvassing which secured his election as provost.

in Ireland he erected a system of tutorial supervision which was almost identical to that which he had originally devised at Oriel. He only appointed tutors who were capable of building intimate and harmonious relationships with their students and consequently the kind of rowdyism which he objected to so strongly at Trinity and Oriel never occurred in Dublin.

What sort of a tutor was he? According to Thomas Mozley, one of his pupils, he was "first tutor, then preacher and pastor, then writer".(49) Mozley claimed that

> "the interest felt by Newman for his pupils and by his pupils for him was contagious, for young men are certain to find out quickly who really cares for them and has interests in common with them. There were plenty of college tutors in those days whose relation to the undergraduates about them was simply official and nominal. Newman stood in the place of a father, or an elder and affectionate brother. There were indeed intractable subjects at Oriel as there are everywhere, but some of those very men became in after years repentent and ardent admirers." (49)

At first he had some disciplinary problems:

> "I have some trouble with my horses as you may imagine, for whenever they get a new coachman, they make an effort to get the reins slack. But I shall be very obstinate, though their curvettings and shyings are very trying." (50)

He was especially "obstinate" towards latecomers. On one occasion a culprit pleaded that he had failed to hear the clock whereupon Newman

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49. "Reminiscences", by T. Mozley, Vol.1, pp.180-1.
50. J.H.N. - Harriett N., November 1, 1826.

cut him down with the curt response that "it had struck as many as it ever could".[51] Lord Blackford recalled that he was "a master of a formidable and speaking silence calculated to quell any ordinary impertinence", but be this as it may, his pupils liked him well enough to present him with thirty-six expensively bound volumes in 1831.

Geoffrey Faber has described Newman as a "teacher of exceptional genius",[52] one who was comparable to Mark Pattison or Benjamin Jowett. Newman certainly produced students of exceptional quality as Hawkins discovered to his cost. Between 1829 and 1833 he presented four classes for graduation and eleven of his pupils gained firsts, but having replaced Newman, Wilberforce and Froude with lesser men,[53] the provost discovered that his new tutors could only muster five firsts between them over a similar period of time.[54] Once Newman's tutorials ended, Oriel's academic reputation therefore began to decline and it never recovered its pre-eminence.[55] He was certainly a person of considerable magnetism, and taught from his pulpit in the 1830's during the Tractarian controversy to a much larger audience than ever before. He became a figure of national importance and yet he never made the kind of impact on Oxford's educational tradition which Jowett did. He "felt that his vocation lay in teaching"[56] and

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51. "The Oxford Common Room", by V. H. Green, p.88.
52. "Jowett" by G. Faber, p.357.
53. He replaced them with G. A. Denison, W. J. Copleston, and R. Dickson Hampden.
54. 1834-1837.
55. V. H. Green believes that "Oriel had already passed its zenith" when Newman arrived - "The Oxford Common Room", p.88.
56. "Autobiographical Writings", p.60.

yet Oxford afforded him relatively few opportunities of consummating this ideal. He was a "witness" rather than an "actor"[57] and a critic rather than a disciple and therefore had he remained at Oxford indefinitely his reputation as an educator would probably have never attained the heights which it now enjoys.[58]

However, Oxford was important in another respect. Having been frustrated as a tutor, Newman turned his attention to the lower levels of education, and in his capacity as a priest he opened a Sunday school and a ragged school at Littlemore.

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57. 'Discourses', p.2.
58. This is the line which W. Robbins takes in his book "The Newman Brothers".

CHAPTER FIVE

HIS EARLY VENTURES

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1. His venture on behalf of the lower classes at Littlemore

V. A. McClelland has compared Newman unfavourably with Cardinal Manning. He praised Manning for

> "turning his attention to the work of providing schools and orphanages for the poor and then for the middle class", (1)

but attacked Newman, who "never lived or worked amongst the poor",(2) for concentrating on the education of the rich and privileged at the expense of the deprived and illiterate masses. McClelland was justified in praising Manning who inspired the building of hundreds of elementary schools, but he was wrong to accuse Newman of class distinction. Newman knew what poverty meant. At Oxford for example, he was so poor that in 1820 and 1821 he could hardly pay his bills and accepted private pupils at that point, not because he was burning with a desire to teach, but simply because he needed the money.(3) Furthermore, as a curate at St. Clement's which was one of the poorest parishes in Oxford, he spent long hours organising collections for charities, helping widows and orphans and ministering to the sick. Moreover, the very first educational enterprises that he was responsible for were chiefly designed to alleviate the suffering of the poor.

Besides being vicar of St. Mary's, Newman was also in charge of the parish of Littlemore which lay just outside Oxford, and it was

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1. 'Cardinal Manning', by V. A. McClelland, p.31.
2. 'Cardinal Manning', by V. A. McClelland, p.18.
3. He took as many as six or seven at any one time.

there that he opened a Sunday school in 1829 and a ragged school in 1838 to cater for the children of the underprivileged.

At that time poverty and illiteracy were widespread.(4) The workhouse system was introduced in 1834 to deal with the problem of poverty, but it was left to the church to tackle the question of illiteracy, and therefore Newman's interest in poor schools was an inevitable facet of his parochial duties.

Relatively little is known about the Littlemore Sunday school and even less about Newman's part in it. It is known that he took the catechism classes because parties of undergraduates, attracted by the children's "spirit" and "alacrity" in answering his questions, left Oxford each Sunday to listen to them.(5) It is also known that he taught the children to sing - he taught them hymns and Gregorian chant - but they were slow to respond and he complained to Jemima about spending long hours teaching nothing.

His ragged school, which consisted of one classroom,(6) was ruled by a dame and supervised by J. R. Bloxham, his curate.(7) It was chiefly patronised by girls as the boys were sent to work in the fields at an early age. Most of the children were of kindergarten age; there was only one girl for instance who was ten and no more than two who were eight or nine. They were badly dressed and dirty, so

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4. About one-fifth of the population could not read or write.
5. J.H.N. - Mrs. J. Mozley, April 18, 1840.
6. It cost £212 to build.
7. J. R. Bloxham, 1807-91, was a fellow of Magdelin and curate of Littlemore from 1837-1840.

Newman had their teacher instruct the girls in knitting - they knitted socks and underclothes for themselves and their brothers - whilst he provided the funds to buy frocks for the girls and trousers for the boys. This made them presentable and Newman inspected them each Sunday to see that their hair was combed and their faces clean.

His duties at St. Mary's obviously restricted the amount of time he could devote to the Littlemore school, nevertheless, he often taught singing and played the violin to swell the sound and keep the children in key. He was especially delighted when they began to respond - on one occasion they learned three tunes in one week - but on the whole he found difficulty in teaching them. Having led a relatively sheltered existence in the university he knew little or nothing about elementary education and wrote to his friends to ask for their advice. Was it best to adopt the monitorial system? How should lessons be organised? Was it wise to allow his dame to take private pupils and so forth; hints of "whatever kind will be valuable". He was naturally keen on the spiritual aspects of the school's routine and drew up a liturgy of prayers which he had printed and distributed to the children. He also kept a strict supervision over the dame by complaining to Bloxham about her failings and insisting that she kept the children clean and tidy. He occasionally worried about the school's reputation. Once for example, he wrote to his curate to inquire about "a strange request from some young ladies to have a ball" and somewhat uncharacteristically told him that "it did not look well."

When he became a Catholic Newman was just as anxious to educate the poor - the "education of poor children is imperatively necessary"[8] - and therefore besides encouraging the London Oratory to open its own poor schools, he established two in Birmingham himself, one in Alcester Street in 1849 and another in Smethwick in 1852. Edward Caswall, an Oratorian and one of Newman's closest friends, supervised the schools and both prospered.

2. His venture on behalf of the upper classes at Maryvale

Newman was also conscious of the need to provide schools for the sons of the Catholic gentry and middle classes, schools equivalent in quality to the best public schools in the land. His reasons were twofold: firstly, he found existing colleges such as Stonyhurst, deficient,[9] and secondly, he felt a special responsibility towards those Anglicans who could no longer send their sons to places like Eton and Winchester because they had followed him into the church of Rome.

He began in a small way by opening what he called "the Eton of the Oratory", a little school within his own house at Maryvale. It was an innocuous scheme, unimportant for what it achieved - there were never more than three pupils - but significant in the sense that it paved the way for the Oratory School a decade later.

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8. J.H.N. - A. Hutchinson, May 4, 1851.
9. Besides Stonyhurst, other prominent Catholic colleges were St. Edmunds, Ushaw, Oscott (recently reformed by Dr. Weedall), Downside, Ampleforth, Ratcliffe and Prior Park.

In 1846 Elizabeth Bowden, the widow of J. W. Bowden,[10] wrote to Newman asking where she might have her son John educated. She had recently become a Catholic and wanted to transfer John from Eton to a Catholic school of a similar kind. Newman's reply reveals just how barren he considered Catholic secondary education to be:

> "I suspect all Catholic colleges are much rougher places than English schools. The terms show this - the college expenses at Stonyhurst are not I suppose, £40 a year. But there may be a class answering to Gentleman Commoners or Parlour Boarders, for older boys. My diffidence about schools arises from my fearing John would feel the contrast with Eton[11] ... The discipline of a Catholic school is strict - and the contrast to Eton where he is so much at liberty, even in this point of view would be great. Stonyhurst is the strictest of schools ... " (12)

He suggested Prior Park "would suit better than any other college" because it was "like a gentleman's house" and had more "Oxford men" than anywhere else. Added to this Mrs. Thompson, the dame, was "a superior person", one who took her duties seriously.[12]

Newman, who had visited most Catholic colleges - this was one of the first things he did on becoming a Catholic - had been to Stonyhurst on at least three occasions without ever being especially impressed.

> "the only person who ... struck me at Stonyhurst was an old Pole, who had been professor of divinity there for 40 years ... " (12)

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10. J. W. Bowden and Newman had been inseparable friends at Trinity.
11. John Bowden was then seventeen.
12. J.H.N. - Mrs. Bowden, February 1, 1846.

He was doubtless critical of the fierce discipline - prefects and tutors supervised the boys every minute of the day and night - and the poor living conditions,[13] and advocated as an alternative a school

> " ... for those who are to address themselves to the 'ordo doctior, honestior, splendidior', i.e. the education of a gentleman which they can get nowhere at present except at Protestant schools ... " (14)

He toyed with a variety of schemes, proposing at one stage to make Oscott into "a boys' school"[15] and Maryvale into a seminary, and at another stage to move the Oratory from Birmingham to Hammersmith, setting up a school in a house which Wiseman had offered him. Nothing came of these projects however, because Newman thought of a far less hazardous alternative. By taking a handful of pupils into his own house: those who "seem fairly to promise to be Oratorians",[16] not only could no other Catholic college take offence - he was most anxious not "to come across the Jesuits" or offend schools like Oscott which was situated nearby by poaching its pupils - but he could also lay foundations which might mature into a larger school later on.

In the spring of 1848 Newman wrote to George Ryder asking if he could take

> " ... Lisle and make a little Oratorian of him - i.e. to wear the dress and serve at functions and be educated. Then when he grew up, he could exercise the dear right of private judgment - throw off the habit and set up for a flash character - for we have no vows." (17)

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13. See "The Catholic Schools of England", by A. S. Barnes, pp.160-1.
14. J.H.N. - R. A. Coffin, July 8, 1849.
15. J.H.N. - J. D. Dalgairns, July 6, 1846.
16. J.H.N. - G. Ryder, July 16, 1848.
17. J.H.N. - G. Ryder, March 18, 1848.

Ryder agreed and also proposed sending his other son Harry, but at first Newman was not over-anxious to accept him as he had no desire to "take children indiscriminately".[18] Nevertheless, he took Charles Bowden, the younger son of Elizabeth Bowden, although he was three years older than Lisle and asked his mother should she "hear of any nice boy who is likely to have a vocation"[19] to let him know.

Newman's anxieties reveal how conscious he was of the need to provide for his pupils' material well-being:

> "Who is to take care of them? We have several of our number any of whom would generally superintend and be responsible, and several who would give lessons - but we want someone to be with the boys as a sort of usher - to see where they are etc., etc., throughout the day - in short to keep the day going." (20)

It had to be "a superior person"[20] and for some time he considered a Mr. Algar, who prior to his conversion, had lectured at Oxford, but eventually he settled for one of his own lay brothers, Joseph Gordon, who was "fond of children ... and very successful with them."[20] Newman did not specify fees: "as to pay, whatever you give we shall take",[21] but this was an error because both parents offered less than the boys' actual keep and he was ultimately compelled to ask for more.[21]

Charles Bowden, who was twelve, was the first to arrive and quickly settled down - "he seems to be taking to us very well."[22]

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18. J.H.N. - G. Ryder, July 16, 1848.
19. J.H.N. - Mrs. Bowden, (undated).
20. J.H.N. - G. Ryder, July 12, 1848.
21. Ryder paid £25 for his son until Newman complained that it was insufficient.
22. J.H.N. - Mrs. Bowden, July 23, 1848.

The fathers vied with each other to entertain him, taking him for rides and walks to such an extent that for a time Newman feared "they might be too fond of him and interfere with each other".[22] Clearly Charles was treated as one of the family, rather like Newman had been treated at Ealing by Dr. Nicholas. Lisle arrived a month later and as he took some time to settle in, his father stayed with him for a week. Newman liked Lisle - "I do trust he will grow up a saint"[23] - but the lad was sometimes difficult to handle. He seldom washed himself and on one occasion flew into a rage and threw a handful of flour over one of the father's black cassocks.[24] Harry Ryder joined his brother at Christmas and thus the class was complete.

Newman had the boys educated in accordance with his own ideas, insisting for example, that their tutors be an alma mater by ministering to their worldly needs and watching over them at all times:

> "The outdoor superintendence or playtime ... comes on (the tutor) as well as that of schooltime ... the care of the boys is his business."

He forbade corporal punishment:

> "I do not relish the notion of corporal punishment(s) nor the threat of them. And by the bye I ought to have mentioned to Wenham[25] one thing, that I heard he pulled Lisle's ears, which had better not be done. Tell him please of this - or I shall write to him if you think better ... " (26)

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22. J.H.N. - Mrs. Bowden, July 23, 1848.
23. J.H.N. - G. Ryder, September 4, 1848.
24. J.H.N. - G. Ryder, October 16, 1848.
25. J. G. Wenham, 1820-1895, was an Oxford convert. He became a priest in 1849.
26. J.H.N. - F. W. Faber, February 6, 1849.

Newman ended this letter with a crucial sentence: "I think their persons should be sacred". He was never one to misuse words and showed by his own example that he interpretated the word "sacred" literally. He always wrote to the boys in affectionate terms:

> "How I wish I could have seen you before I left - it would have made you remember me better than perhaps you do now. But I must not let either you or Lisle forget me - and so with Father Wilfrid's approval,(27) I wish that both you and he would say an Ave apiece for me every day." (28)

He did some teaching himself, for instance, he taught algebra to Bowden, and always made a point of examining the boys individually in his study at the end of each term, after which he wrote to their parents to report on their progress.

> "I have just been examining Lisle in Corderius, Roman history and catechism - he has answered very well - and better (they say) than his wont. The truth is he wants a stimulus - it would do him all the good in the world, if we had several boys of his age; but we have no prospect of them at the moment. They tell me he has gained much command of his temper. His principal fault on the surface is his day dreaming. I think he seems very happy here." (29)

He encouraged sport by inviting the Ryder brothers to bring their fishing tackle from home - their tutor was press-ganged into accompanying them on their excursions - and to engage in games of football and cricket.

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27. i.e. Faber.
28. J.H.N. - H. Ryder, February 10, 1849.
29. J.H.N. - G. Ryder, February 10, 1849.

On the surface then all was well, but in fact Newman amassed a debt of £400. This was because he was having to run Cotton Hall as well as Maryvale:

> "The two establishments ... are ruinous - how we shall make both ends meet, I don't know." (30)

Cotton had belonged to the Wilfridians, who received it from the Earl of Shrewsbury shortly after F. W. Faber established the order in 1845.(31) It came into Newman's possession when Faber and his community joined the Oratory early in 1848, but it proved so costly to maintain that in the autumn of 1848 Newman was compelled to leave Maryvale and take the three boys with him to Cotton. He was never happy there however, chiefly because it was remote, and therefore returned to Birmingham in 1849. Bowden stayed on at St. Wilfrid's for a few months before going with Faber to London, where a new Oratory was being opened, whilst the Ryder brothers left in 1851 when the Passionists took the property off Newman's hands.

Joseph Gordon unfortunately fell ill in 1850 and had to go to Italy to recover. He was absent for over a year and was replaced by another Oratorian, Austin Mills, but neither Mills nor any of the other fathers knew "Greek and latin enough to floor them"(32) and consequently the boys made relatively little progress.(33) Moreover, in 1850 Newman accepted the position of rector of the new Catholic

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30. J.H.N. - J. M. Capes, August 28, 1851.
31. It was a fine country house situated in Staffordshire close to Alton Towers where the Earl lived himself.
32. J.H.N. - G. Ryder, October 15, 1851.
33. All three were nevertheless competent enough to become undergraduates in Dublin.

University of Ireland and as he could hardly be in Dublin and Birmingham at the same time, the little school had therefore to come to an end. The boys left in 1853 and no one was ever invited to replace them.

This venture, like the schools at Littlemore, was modest. Even so it was part of a pattern. At home, at Ealing, at Oxford as an undergraduate, tutor, fellow and priest, and at Littlemore and Maryvale, one educational aspect or another attracted his attention. Only whilst he was in retreat from 1842 to 1845, prior to his conversion, did he cut himself off from the academic world. Indeed, it is said that he only stayed on at St. Mary's after the publication of Tract 90 because he thought of himself as a mentor to the undergraduate population, using his pulpit in the manner of a headmaster as well as a priest.

Education was therefore Newman's "line" and when he opened the Birmingham Oratory in 1847 he went to some lengths to persuade his superiors in Rome to modify the Congregation's Rule. The Oratorians had never been educators and therefore Newman had to establish the principle that he and his fathers could open a school "if and when it was necessary". Having done so he snatched at every chance, often regardless of the economic risks involved, to apply his new Rule. He realised that Cotton would make a splendid site for a school[34] and offered R. A. Coffin the opportunity of running it for him:

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34. He was right as it is now a public school.

> "I am very much disposed if I could set up or attempt to begin (a school) at St. Wilfrid's. Now what would you say to being rector of St. Wilfrid's - i.e. the head of such a prospective system. We should take such children as were not unlikely to become Oratorians - e.g. the Ryders (as I proposed at Maryvale) - The community would consist of two, and when we could spare, three fathers - such men as Rowe, or Algar, or Simpson (these names for illustration) who would teach without necessarily being of our body, some lay brothers, and such of the Birmingham and London houses as age invalided or on recreation; in time I trust a large community. You would not be missioner, but sacristan and minister as well as rector, or at least they would be under you ... Should the place succeed you would in course of time be practically cut loose from the Birmingham house." (35)

Coffin was an able man but he and Newman never got on and in 1850 he left the order to join the Redemptorists, eventually becoming their Provincial.(36) He accepted Newman's offer in one sense as he took charge of Cotton until he resigned, but he refused to convert it into the kind of school Newman had in mind.

Newman's dream therefore never materialised and a seemingly splendid opportunity was lost, but this did not mean that his enthusiasm was diminished. He merely postponed his plans until the time was more favourable. Newman was always secretive about his intention to pioneer a new kind of Catholic school, so secretive that his closest colleagues barely knew of their existence. It took Faber for instance, a blunt man, yet shrewd and penetrating, over a

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35. J.H.N. - R. A. Coffin, July 8, 1849.
36. He joined the Oratorians in Rome in 1847 and was ordained the same year.

year to see - or rather to fancy that he saw - "a settled wish in (Newman) to have a hand in Catholic education ... "(37) but when he tackled Newman about it the latter's reply was excessively guarded:

> "Both you and I have talked among other things of the possibility of a school at St. Wilfrid's when we were speculating on the fortunes of the place. But you know when Lady Fullerton asked me to take her son, I said we could not because it was not Oratorian practice." (38)

It might not have been Oratorian practice but Faber was right in assuming that henceforth Newman was going to make it his business to modify that practice. His course was set.

It was to be some time before Newman returned to the patronage of schools because in 1852 he was called by the bishops of Ireland to open a Catholic university in Dublin. Pius IX had suggested to Archbishop Cullen that he should build a university to rival Queen's Colleges, undenominational institutions set up by the British government, and as Newman was one of the few Catholic clergy with an intimate knowledge of university education, it seemed to Cullen that he was the obvious choice as rector. At first Newman was reluctant to accept, but pressed by his friends, he eventually packed his belongings and set out to commence what he later described as his Irish crusade.

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37. F. W. Faber - J.H.N., June, 1849.
38. J.H.N. - F. W. Faber, June 20, 1849.

CHAPTER SIX

HIS WORK IN IRELAND

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HIS WORK IN IRELAND

Newman's reputation as one of the leading architects of nineteenth century university education is well deserved, and scholars such as Fergal McGrath and A. Dwight Culler, who have dealt with this aspect of his work, have rightly achieved through the acclaim accorded to their researches, the kind of adulation which his work merits.

McGrath's meticulous analysis of the reality of the situation in which Newman worked, has added an extra dimension to the record of the latter's crusade, but he tended to shy away from the actuality of Newman's project, from his everyday administrative and seminal practices, in order to concentrate on the context in which he found himself.(1) Moreover, he pictured Newman as a tired man, one who struggled vainly against the tide of Irish history, and thought him a tragic figure, disillusioned by opposition and intrigue. This is an image which

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1. Of McGrath's five hundred odd pages less than half are concerned with the "reality" of Newman's mission; with his actual record as rector. It takes eighty-four pages to trace the social, political and ecclesiastical condition of the country and a further seventy pages to explain why a Catholic University was necessary, how Newman became involved in it and how he overcame the various difficulties which faced him when he wrote his Discourses takes up another twenty-five pages and an account of the difficult years, 1852-1855, before Newman actually took up residence, a further twenty-two. Not until page three hundred and sixteen does McGrath begin to investigate Newman's work as rector. Furthermore, in his final summary, 'Newman's achievement', he spends four times as much space on the history of the university after Newman left it, the part played by the hierarchy and the reasons for its eventual failure, as he does in estimating Newman's contribution. It is not therefore a book on 'Newman's University', but a treatise on 'The Catholic University: it's rise and fall'.

contrasts somewhat with that projected by Meriol Trevor, the foremost of Newman's biographers, who claimed that although he was disappointed by his experiences in Dublin, he was never despondent and remained optimistic and volatile throughout. Moreover, McGrath's emphasis upon the fact that the scheme failed is really irrelevant, because it never closed its doors until 1879, twenty years after Newman had left, and even then it was not dissolved but amalgamated with the three Queen's Colleges to form the National University. Indeed, not only did its professors and lecturers find places in the new enterprise, but at least one faculty, the medical faculty, was incorporated lock, stock and barrel, and survives to this very day.

McGrath acclaimed the nobility of Newman's ideal: a university

> "treading every field of human knowledge and valuing that knowledge not merely as the revelation of the wealth of the universe (or) ... the deepest thoughts and loftiest aspirations of the human mind, but most of all as the revelation of that which gives it all its value and meaning, the ultimate Truth and Good." (2)

However, he questioned Newman's ability to implement these ends and maintained that as a practical administrator he had "subtle but definite limitations".(3) Amongst these limitations he cited an "over-insistance on the importance of his own views and an over-sensitiveness to the opposition of others."(3)

Other commentators have likewise regarded Newman's university as a disaster. Wilfrid Ward described it as "a trial which broke his

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2. 'Idea and Reality', by F. McGrath, pp.509-510.
3. 'Idea and Reality', p.507.

spirit",[4] "the critics had been right and his work vain; it was an utter failure".[5] He attacked Newman's "reserve", his "excessive sensitiveness"[6] and his "self-centredness",[7] and just like McGrath described him as one whose spirit was "permanently bruised by failure"; a man "habituated to speculative rather than active work".[8] And yet Ward never scrutinised the way in which Newman applied his educational principles, nor the way in which he modified them in the light of his experiences. He failed to examine the day to day business of university administration, its tensions and crises, its challenges and objectives and made no attempt to imagine what might have been attained had Newman been a free agent.

C. F. Harrold concluded that Newman lacked executive ability and "showed ignorance of the administrative problems which harass a university,"[9] whilst John Moody stated that he was "never outstanding as an administrator and nothing of a politician".[10] W. F. Stockley quoted those who have referred to his "interference in Irish affairs" as "one of the great tragedies of Irish history ... a castle in Spain and a fool's folly"[11] and yet Michael Tiernay rated him a success and praised the "very real and abiding results of his work as an organiser".[12]

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4. 'The Life of J.H.N.' by W. Ward, Vol.1, p.8.
5. 'The Life of J.H.N.', p.9.
6. 'The Life of J.H.N.', p.324.
7. 'The Life of J.H.N.', p.20.
8. 'The Life of J.H.N.', p.321.
9. 'John Henry Newman', by C. F. Harrold, p.95.
10. 'John Henry Newman', by J. Moody, p.147.
11. 'Newman - education and Ireland', by W. F. Stockley, pp.205-6.
12. 'Catholic University', an essay by M. Tiernay, in 'A Tribute to Newman'.

In marked contrast to McGrath, Moody and Stockley, Tiernay stressed Newman's ability as "an organiser". He also championed Newman's "zeal for medicine, science and engineering" and showed how plans, perfectly sound in themselves, were undermined by a lack of response from the Irish people. He marvelled at the "unity and consistency of (his) thought" and believed that Newman wanted to build another Oxford in Dublin, an Oxford "revived, reformed ... and completely Catholic in its life and spirit".(13) For Tiernay, then, Newman's incursion into Ireland was a "disappointment" but not a failure:

> "we still have many lessons to learn from his work, both theoretical and practical, if only we take pains to understand what he meant." (14)

P. J. MacLaughlin has also praised Newman for what he did in Ireland and in particular he stressed his work on behalf of science. MacLaughlin believed that Newman had a "deep understanding of science", that "he loved mathematics" and that he saw as few of his contemporaries did the place of science in "the scheme of universal knowledge".(15) In particular he stressed the importance of the school for scientific research and training which Newman set up at considerable cost "full twenty years before Maxwell began the Cavendish".(15) He also praised his attempts to establish a school of engineering, a chemical laboratory, an astronomical observatory, a meteorological station and The Atlantis. In MacLaughlin's opinion, science in Ireland reached its "high water mark" under Newman and had more funds been available,

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13. 'A Tribute to Newman', pp.174-186.
14. 'A Tribute to Newman', p.206.
15. 'A Tribute to Newman', p.307.

much more would have been done. He also suggested that Newman's work on behalf of science revealed his "considerable practical sense and organising ability", his "prodigious" appetite for work and his sheer "horse power"; he shone as a man of action.(16)

These brief synopses show how varied are the interpretations of Newman's crusade. But what of his educational ideas? Were his Discourses a final and irrevocable statement of his views or not? Too many writers in estimating Newman's contribution to the development of university education have concentrated on his theories at the expense of his practical policies and have thereby jumped to hasty conclusions. Bruce Truscot, for example, criticised Newman's

> "extreme view (to) exclude research from the university altogether" (17)

whilst S. J. Curtis and M. E. A. Boultwood likewise assumed from their reading of the Discourses that he

> "believed that a university is essentially an institution concerned with the diffusion and extension rather than the advancement of knowledge." (18)

In fact, Newman embraced research and instituted an extensive series of research projects, some of which - for instance, The Atlantis, a journal in which he published the results of the university's research - were extremely costly.(19)

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16. 'A Tribute to Newman', p.334.
17. 'Red-Brick University', by B. Truscot, p.142.
18. 'A Short History of Educational Ideas', by Curtis and Boultwood, p.431.
19. This change of attitude can also be seen in his lecture on "Christianity and Scientific Investigation" which is often printed as an appendix to the Discourses.

Newman's Discourses were certainly relevant - in many respects he applied the theories set forth in his lectures imitatively - but they were not a blueprint and he modified them in the light of his experiences. Having advocated an encyclopaedic curriculum which embraced all the sciences he put this precept into practice by offering a wide range of subjects for his students to study: mathematics, latin and Greek, the traditional disciplines together with semitic and modern languages, logic, metaphysics, ethics, economics, politics, natural philosophy, chemistry, physics, history, geography, mineralogy, geology, social science, archaeology, literature and fine arts. He had also opposed discrimination by one subject against another and therefore he refused to grant theology a privileged place. When his staff requested that students should be compulsorily instructed in the scriptures, Newman refused and maintained that it was better for them to

> "sharpen and refine their youthful intellect
> and then leave it to exercise its new powers
> upon the most sacred of subjects as it will ... " (20)

Confident that liberal education would enlarge and cultivate the mind, Newman believed that it would feel the need to forage for "religious information" for itself and therefore he treated theology in practice exactly as he had argued it should be treated in theory, as a branch of knowledge and not as a means of indoctrination.

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20. 'My Campaign in Ireland', p.159.

Leaving aside the environment in which Newman worked, already described so vividly by McGrath, and concentrating especially on the way in which he applied his theories, what kind of rector was he? If one looks at the way in which he encouraged the study of science and compares it to the way in which others were reacting, one is bound to conclude that he was visionary and progressive. It has been said by those who have read only his Discourses that he was hostile to science. Spencer Leeson, for example, argued that

> "Newman found no place for natural knowledge in his vision (since) ... the dawn of science was hardly above the horizon when he wrote his book." (21)

Lord James backed this up by arguing that

> " ... when faced with the challenge of the new scientific knowledge Newman (lent) ... his superb writing to a defence of the view that the function of the university was to enshrine useless knowledge." (22)

However, in practice far from being opposed to science and its application, he was one of its earliest disciples. As a child and adolescent he had been interested in science and as a fellow of Oriel he frequented lectures on scientific subjects, but it was as rector of the University of Ireland that he did most to encourage its advancement. Aided by W. K. Sullivan, who has been described as the most eminent Irish scientist of his day,(23) he stocked his library with

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21. 'Christian Education Reviewed', by S. Leeson, p.13.
22. 'The Content of Education', by E. James.
23. W. K. Sullivan was a genius. A mine of information on subjects ranging from chemistry and archaeology to Indo-European languages, he was internationally famous. He became president of Queen's University, Cork, in 1873.

thousands of scientific papers and publications, he offered valuable bursaries and presented lavish prizes and urged his staff to undertake scientific research. When the "British Association for the Advancement of Science" met in Dublin in 1857, he sent delegates and opened his house to visitors and lecturers. He built two splendid laboratories, one for physics and one for chemistry, opened a medical school for fifty or sixty pupils, and had there been sufficient demand, would have also opened a school of engineering to rival those in Glasgow, London and Durham. He spent as much money on science as he did on arts - £2,000 in the first six months alone - a ratio which few universities could imitate, and yet had more money been available he would also have constructed an observatory, a meteorological station, a geology department and a 'Science House', a separate centre, large in size,where pure and applied sciences could have been concentrated under one roof. Much of what Newman planned for science, therefore, fell through, but had his schemes been implemented, Ireland would have been in the vanguard of scientific progress.

In the early 1850's, more and more students were turning to science. There were over six hundred mechanics institutes in England where scientific subjects could be studied, but save for Owens College, Manchester, and the University of London, the universities showed relatively little interest. It had been possible to study science at London for some time: chemistry, physiology and botany, for instance, have been taught at University College, London, in the

late 1820's and at King's College, a few years later, but it was not until 1859, when London opened a faculty of science, that science degrees could be taken.[24] Even in these London colleges, however, laboratory conditions were sadly wanting. Indeed, H. E. Roscoe, the eminent chemist and father of Manchester University, was so disgusted with the laboratories in which he had to work that he left London in 1853 to study in Germany. Newman's laboratories were good, but had he been able to equip them as he and Sullivan wished - he was for ever planning to buy more apparatus, better specimens and newer text books - he might well have attracted men like Roscoe to Ireland.

What of academic standards? In the Discourses, Newman repeatedly emphasised the importance of establishing and maintaining the highest of academic standards and therefore as rector he only appointed "men of celebrity" as professors, men "eminent each in (their) own department"[25] who would give the university a name and draw students about them "spontaneously".[25] Besides W. K. Sullivan who was in charge of the faculty of science, he appointed Flanaghan, a civil engineer and railroad pioneer; Ornsby, an Oxford classicist; O'Curry, an archaeologist; Pollen, an architect; Hennessey, a physicist and fellow of the Royal Society; McCarthy, a poet; O'Hagan, a prominent lawyer; Thomas Arnold, the son of Dr. Arnold; and so on: a galaxy of talent.

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24. In the provinces, Owens College, Manchester, where H. E. Roscoe became professor of chemistry in 1857, was the first centre of higher education to concentrate on scientific education on a large scale. It was opened in 1853.
25. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.11.

In order to encourage these scholars in their researches, he edited two periodicals: The University Gazette and The Atlantis. The former appeared weekly and was divided into two parts, one for official news, notices and regulations, and the other for controversial articles on "the nature, character, work and peculiarities of a university".(26) The latter appeared half-yearly and was designed to give his colleagues "the opportunity of showing their attainments (and) ... of exhibiting their qualifications".(27) On the whole, the articles in The Atlantis were of a scientific kind but a number of literary articles also appeared "as padding".(28) Renouf wrote on "Egyptian Hieroglyphics", Penny on "The use of sections of the cone in the solution of certain geometrical problems" and Lyons on "The climatology of Lisbon in relation to the yellow fever epidemic of 1857". Sullivan produced an article on "The change of cascine into albumen with some observations on lactic fermentation", Kelly on "The carboniferous rocks of Ireland", Morris on "The date of the book of Job", Hennessy on "The laws which regulate the distribution of isothermal lines" whilst Newman wrote about "The Benedictine centuries.(29) The Atlantis was extremely costly - each edition cost about £150 - and only five or six hundred copies were sold. Nevertheless, Newman

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26. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.6 - "It would indoctrinate the Irish public in the Idea of a University" - quoted by W. Ward, 'Life of J.H.N.', Vol.1, p.348.
27. J.H.N. - A. Ellis, August 16, 1858.
28. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.299.
29. These are but a few of the articles appearing in one of the editions for 1859.

felt that it was worth it, firstly, because it advertised those faculties which were not making much impression on the public, and secondly, because it fostered academic morale:

> "The work implies compositions, not addressed to the general reader, not popular, not like those of a review or magazine, but hard and dry articles, the result of study and labour, communicated for the sake of the learned or scientific at home or abroad, and adapted to advance the province of speculation, observation, experiment or research to which they respectively belong." (30)

He was insistent that each article should be of a high intellectual standard:

> "if it is light material done lightly, it may please the instance but will give a very false idea of what (it) ... should be,"

and refused to set sections aside for the use of particular subjects.(31) Newman's colleagues, however, who seldom echoed his own intellectual fire and taste for controversy,(32) were slow to respond - all too often he was compelled to tout for articles - and shortly after his resignation the periodical ceased.

In the Discourses, Newman had attacked the University of London on the grounds that it was impersonal and illiberal,(33)

> "scarcely more than a board of examiners and an apparatus for degrees ... a college which (was) but a collection of lecture-halls open to young

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30. J.H.N. - J. Acton, May 26, 1858.
31. Theology, for example, had to "find its way into its pages as History (or) philosophy" - J.H.N. - J. B. Morris, September 7, 1858.
32. He engaged in anonymous controversy with some of his colleagues. He argued with R. Ornsby under the pseudonym 'Q. in the corner', but to his disgust found that he was beating him.
33. 'Discourses', p.122f.

> men who ... never (saw) each other or their professors elsewhere ... " (34)

When he became rector it was natural therefore that he should insist that his staff forge close and intimate links with their students and he legislated for this by placing teaching in the hands of tutors and discipline in the hands of lodging house deans.

Newman's ideal tutor was a young man three or four years senior to his students, someone who was "half companion, half adviser".(35) Having been a tutor himself, he knew what to expect and advised his tutors to take their charges as they found them, to "address" themselves

> "to the needs of each ... (to select) their course of reading, recommend ... lectures ... " (35)

and advise them on the best ways of preparing for their examinations. They would do well, he said, to anticipate

> "little love of study and no habit of application and even in the case of the diligent, backwardness and defective or ill-grounded knowledge ... As to the more promising ... let them go awhile and bid them bring ... their difficulties ... In the use of the backward ... ascertain their weak points and set them on remedying them ... As to the idle ... (send) for them ... " (35)

ask to see their work, test them and criticise them, but never antagonise them. Newman described a tutor's work as "close" rather than "great"(36) and "continual rather than continuous",(36) something which required a

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34. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.327.
35. 'My campaign in Ireland', pp.118-119.
36. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.119.

> "sustained solicitude and a mind devoted to his charge ... The way to a young man's heart lies through his studies ... he feels grateful to the superior who takes an interest in the things which are at the moment nearest to his heart, and he opens it accordingly." (36)

"The work", he said,

> "is more of influence than of instruction but at the same time influence is gained through the reputation of scholarship." (37)

At Oriel in 1828 he had fought for the "union of intellectual and moral influence",(38) but it was not until 1854 that he actually succeeded in achieving it. His tutors, all of whom were resident, supervised ten students each and shared their anxieties and chores as well as their pleasures.(39)

Newman, who understood young men very well - this was one of his strengths - described youth as the "most dangerous" and "least docile" time of life, a time

> "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." (40)

At Oriel, as a tutor, he had been uncompromising in his efforts to establish discipline but in Dublin he was a shade more permissive. "These youths", he said,

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36. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.119.
37. J.H.N. - T. W. Allies, November 6, 1857.
38. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.120.
39. Each tutor received £10 per year plus free board.
40. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.122.

> " ... will certainly be their own masters before many years have passed, as they were certainly schoolboys not many months ago. A university residence 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 playground." (40)

He reckoned that the "sudden transition from restraint to liberty"(40) was perilous, that it was wrong

> "to let the great world be the first steps on which the young are set at liberty to follow their own bent," (40)

and consequently encouraged his students to set up their own societies and be their own "guardians". He provided them with games rooms - billiards, a game which he learned as a child, was especially popular - and invited them to soirees and musical evenings. It would be misleading, however, to imply that Newman granted his students the kind of independence which present-day undergraduates enjoy: religious services were compulsory, lectures were held four or five hours per day, and no students were allowed out after a certain hour without permission.

Newman refused to take responsibility for guiding boys through their "first steps in education"(40) - that should have been done at school - yet accepted the task of preparing them for "the business of life", and established a fairly flexible system of discipline: heads of houses were instructed to deal with all but the most serious

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40. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.122.

breaches of discipline themselves - they were to treat offences leniently and sympathetically - and had only to refer the most unrepentant culprits to him.(41)

In keeping with the views originally expressed in the Discourses(42) Newman regularly admonished his staff to treat their students affectionately:

> " ... it is plain that a certain tenderness, or even laxity of rule on the one hand, and an anxious, vigilant, importunate attention on the other, are the characteristics of that discipline which is peculiar of a university ... 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 ... to maintain a preserving 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 partiality." (43)

Coercion then was defective because it undermined the mutual respect between teacher and pupil upon which the university's integrity depended. And yet Newman did not always practice what he preached. In December, 1857, a student by the name of Molloy went to a party without leave. He was accompanied by another student named Mulholland, who induced a servant to leave a door unlocked for their return. Unfortunately, their plot was discovered and reported, whereupon Newman decreed that they should be sent down for a term. This was

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41. He still reserved the right to send students down or expel them.
42. 'Discourses', p.122.
43. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.38.

hardly the action of the alma mater whom Newman described in the Discourses - December after all is a time of customary festivity and end of term abandon - and not surprisingly the young men and their parents protested. Even the college deans felt their punishment had been excessive - a reprimand in their view would have sufficed - but Newman was reluctant at first to give way. In the end, he allowed the truants to return provided they were indoors by four o'clock each day and there the matter rested in a somewhat unsatisfactory compromise.

This incident suggests that as a rector, Newman was a heavy-handed and punitive disciplinarian, but this was not the case.(44) In 1858 there was a riot at a meeting of the 'Aesthetic Society', a body to which staff and students belonged. It was an "unseemly" business, a discussion ruined by heckling and interruptions, but only two of Newman's students were implicated.(45) This was a far more serious incident than the Molloy-Mulholland affair and yet on this occasion he acted with commendable restraint. Instead of sending the rowdies down, he quietly dissolved the society and replaced it with another to which the hooligans in question were refused admission.

Having attempted to gather together a staff which personified the highest of intellectual standards, how did Newman have them teach the students? He was opposed to what he called a "desultory method of study" - by this he meant a syllabus in which subjects were not related - and proclaimed that all students were to follow a common

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44. He actually considered himself to be permissive.
45. The culprits were either externals or members of Trinity.

course for the first two years: the classics, algebra, calculus, geography, French, German and scripture. Those who preferred a career in industry or commerce could leave after completing their course, whilst the "scholars", those who passed their examinations at the end of their two-year course - went on to specialise. Even when they specialised, however, "portions of certain subjects ... being parts of liberal education" were still obligatory. In theory, degrees could be taken after four years' study with higher degrees for those who required them later,(46) but standards were never high enough for these provisions to be effected.

In the Discourses Newman argued that it was essential for students to be resident, and he provided for this by opening four lodging houses: St. Mary's, which he ran himself; St. Patrick's, St. Lawrence's and a Carmelite house for theology students. However, he deviated from this principle by encouraging "externals" and opening classes to members of the public even though they were not officially registered.(47) This was a crucial change of plan.

No sooner had he taken up residence than Newman opened his doors to a far wider clientele than he had originally intended. He insisted that his staff should educate not only the "young men of rank, fortune or expectations",(48) but also the professionals; those students of

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46. Degrees were not taken in fact because the university never received a charter from the government. The actual syllabuses and standards of proficiency are to be found in 'My campaign in Ireland', pp.130-145.
47. They were called "auditors" and paid £10 per year.
48. J.H.N. - Memorandum presented to the Irish bishops in October,1854.

law and medicine for instance, who had to work for a living. He stated that he intended to provide for the "liberal education (of) youths destined to mercantile pursuits", for the education of "youths in the lower classes of the community", and even for secondary education by producing text books of instruction which would help to prepare schoolboys for university. He expected these books to be used throughout the English-speaking world, in countries like America, Canada, Australia and India, and hoped that they might give a Catholic tone to the urban societies in which they were used.

This was a much wider interpretation of university education than was usual and much wider than that outlined in the Discourses. Nowhere in those lectures did he propose to tutor young men for the professions and commerce. Nor did he anticipate educating the sons of the lower classes or providing text books for use in schools. It might be argued that Newman was compelled to spread his net wide because there were so few men of rank and fortune to take advantage of his courses - the English gentry refused their patronage for fear their sons caught the brogue(49) - but nevertheless, regardless of motivation, Newman's concept of university education was much closer in scope to that which has come to pass than the Oxbridge pattern and for its time was boldly imaginative.

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49. T. W. Allies told Newman that 'no inducement would be strong enough to lead English Catholics of birth and position to send their sons to an Irish university with a chance of bringing back the brogue.'

Progress was slow. Of the four faculties, the arts faculty was "lame",(50) whilst the faculty of science was even worse; when Newman left there were no more than fifty or sixty students. The faculty of law was so devoid of pupils that it had to close down, whilst the faculty of theology had insufficient numbers to occupy its staff. And yet although disappointed, Newman was never disillusioned: "all that is wanted for its success is time".(51)

At first he never envisaged a faculty of medicine; nevertheless, this particular faculty flourished whilst those which were seemingly more important floundered. There was a demand in Ireland for a Catholic school of medicine - existing schools were closed to papists - and when a fully equipped teaching unit came on the market, he snapped it up.(52) His students, moreover, reached a fairly high level of scholarship and proficiency, and had there been a demand by equally committed students for other subjects, the university would have doubtless made much more progress than it did.(53)

Evening classes also caught on. Sullivan argued against them on the grounds that they diverted lecturers from their main tasks, but whilst accepting that it was wrong to interfere with his staff's duties, Newman maintained that "in itself a system of such lectures (was) highly desirable". In the Discourses he had spoken scathingly

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50. J.H.N. - Pollen, November 26, 1857.
51. J. H. N. - Dodsworth, July 25, 1857.
52. It cost him £1,450.
53. It is estimated that less than 1% of the Irish population demanded a university education.

of "popular education"(54) and as rector he echoed these sentiments by emphasising that what he had in mind was not "real education". "The power and attention of young men" after being at work all day was bound to be found wanting and therefore he suggested that they be given something "not too dry" or demanding. It was a great thing in his opinion

> " ... to employ the time of young men of an evening. It (was) better they should be awake or asleep in a lecture room, than in many other places they might otherwise frequent," (55)

but there was never any question of giving them anything more than a smattering of knowledge; a superficial acquaintance with those subjects which especially appealed to them and nothing more.

Was Newman too ambitious? He envisaged a university "to which people resorted from all quarters" of the globe, from non-English-speaking areas as well as English-speaking areas, and before long French, Belgian and Polish students arrived. However, there were never as many as he expected, and therefore the project never developed into the kind of cosmopolitan university which has now come to pass. Nevertheless, it might have done. Ireland was in a good geographical position and could have become a meeting point for the cultures of the old world and the new. At that stage neither Europe nor America was especially endowed with universities, and there was an untapped source of potential muted by the inequalities of the age in Ireland itself. His plan, however, needed to be vigorously supported, but "like Frankenstein ... scared of their own monster"(55) the Irish failed to

54. 'Discourses', p.119f.
55. J.H.N., Memorandum, 1867.

give it the kind of heroic backing which it called for. This was a pity because their lack of support undermined Newman's position whilst also cutting the country off from the main stream of modern thought.

By a Catholic University, Newman meant one in which "the officers and teachers were Catholic" and yet at least one of the professors, a professor in the medical school, was a Protestant. Many students were also Protestants and prizes were regularly awarded to these talented aliens rather than Catholics.(56) This practice contrasted not only with the religious intolerance of Oxford and Cambridge where Nonconformists were not admitted until 1871, but also with the intransigence of ghetto-minded English Catholics, shackled by their past to a tradition of controversy and self-centred bigotry. In seeking to co-operate with Protestants and put an end to the unhappy and inflexible discord of recent history, Newman was therefore anticipating the harmony which now exists and was a century ahead of his time.

It has been said that he wanted to make his university into another Oxford,(57) but this is an oversimplification. He certainly wanted Dublin to be "as good as Oxford"(58) and thought it

> "curious ... if Oxford (was) imported into Ireland not in its members only, but in its principles, methods, ways and arguments," (59)

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56. In the medical school between fifteen and twenty students were protestant.
57. W. Ward argued that he wanted "to import Oxford into Ireland, its principles, ways, methods and arguments" - 'Life of J.H.N.', Vol.1, p.312.
58. J.H.N. - R. Ornsby, April 14, 1857 - he probably meant that like Oxford his university would preserve the medieval tradition of giving a religious overtone to its studies.
59. J.H.N. - Mrs. Froude, September 1851.

but in reality, his mission in Oxford was quite different to his mission in Dublin. At Oxford he set out to

> " ... overthrow individualistic liberalism which was tantamount to rationalism and to vindicate against it the traditions of the ... Church ... Hence he was conservative," (60)

whereas in Dublin

> "he strove to counteract the influence of those who failed to look frankly at the trend of science ... (and) desired to build up in the rising generation minds which should be ... sensitively alive to the world of fact ... " (60)

and consequently he was liberal. At Oxford he deprecated discussion of revelation as rationalistic, whilst in Dublin he claimed that freedom of discussion was indispensable. At Oxford he tried to vindicate the authority of the corporate Church, whereas in Dublin he attempted to set up a committee of experts, lay and ecclesiastical, to pronounce on the controversies of the day. Furthermore, Oxford was the result of "slow growth and random issue of private exertions", whilst Dublin had "to be set up in an instant",(61) and therefore whereas in Dublin there was no collegiate system - instead there was a rectorial council which made executive decisions - in Oxford, the colleges, most of which were hundreds of years old, were virtually autonomous. Newman argued that it was cheaper, more efficient, more convenient and more effective to govern from the centre, his university could also "act upon the world" more easily if it was free of

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60. Introduction to the 'Discourses' by W. Ward, pp.xx-xxi.
61. 'Autobiographical Writings', p.285.

collegiate politics, and therefore claimed the right to override the decisions of his council if and when he thought it necessary.(62)

It has also been said that Louvain was his model - Culler for example took this line - but although Newman inquired about Louvain which was a relatively recent foundation, ecclesiastically inspired and seemingly successful, he was far too comparative a thinker to ape a single institution.(63) In planning his university Newman examined ancient and medieval as well as modern universities, and consequently his project was as much influenced by the universities of Athens and Seville as Oxford and Louvain,(64) and was part of a tradition which harked back to the medieval and ancient worlds.

Newman valued tradition because it checked and controlled what F. R. Leavis has described as "the blind drive onward of material and mechanical developments".(65) He regularly lectured to his students on their heritage, but he never believed in a tradition which was stagnant and for this reason insisted that his university equipped its students for "every place and situation they might meet in life".(66) It should produce men who were useful to society as well as themselves; men who would take their place, irrespective of class

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62. "The rector's jurisdiction is supreme throughout the university" - 'My campaign in Ireland', p.106.
63. His government was different from Louvain's. The Senate was open to fellows, thereby preventing oligarchical government, whereas Louvain's was not.
64. See 'Historical Sketches', Vol.3, pp.13-15, and 'My campaign in Ireland', pp.437-447.
65. 'Education and the university', by F. R. Leavis, p.25.
66. 'My campaign in Ireland', pp.320-321.

and denomination in the commercial, industrial and professional life of their times:

> "You are born for Ireland and your ambition is to advance Ireland's honour, its learning (and) its political power." (67)

Newman was a good businessman. The bishops gave him £58,000 to establish the university, a large sum by Irish standards, but insufficient to establish the kind of international centre which he had in mind. Because he lacked money he was therefore compelled to economise; to pay low salaries - whereas at Louvain professors received £500 per year, at Bonn £700 and at Edinburgh £1,200, at Dublin they only received £300[68] - to cut down on lodging house expenditure, and effect only the most necessary repairs.[69] However, most of his students were poor and had to be subsidised. He appealed to the Irish gentry in the hope that they would open a subscription list, and approached their English counterparts to see if they would endow a lodging house, but neither showed much enthusiasm. It is true that some English families supported him - the Throckmortons, for example, sent their son to study in Dublin and gave generously to the cause - but they were an exception. It might be argued that Newman could expect little better from an impoverished country, and yet the Irish had invited him and had happily applauded his eloquent theories: surely, he had every reason to expect them to help him put these theories into practice.

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67. Quoted by W. F. Stockley in 'Newman, education and Ireland', p.49.
68. He received £400 himself and gave his vice-rector £350.
69. He paid some of the repair bills himself. He paid £300 for example to have St. Mary's lodging house renovated in 1854.

Running costs were high - £6,800 in the first year alone - but when he approached the bishops and asked them to legislate for this, they turned a deaf ear. He asked them to set up a national finance committee; this body would not only provide him with funds for expanding the venture, but also supervise the ways in which he spent them - however, such a body was contrary to their lordships' tradition and taste and consequently it never materialised.(70)

Of the £58,000, he invested £46,000, leaving £12,000 or thereabouts, to spend on buildings and equipment, on establishing four lodging houses and four faculties. Whenever he needed more, he went out and asked for it. For example, he needed a church. St. Mary's had been an integral part of the life of Oxford, exerting a powerful influence on the undergraduates, and Newman approached Cullen in the hope of taking over an existing church which he could use in a similar fashion. At first, Cullen agreed(71) but he never implemented his promise and consequently Newman was compelled to forage for himself. He organised an appeal and within two years, the church, which is still used, was opened.(72)

It was unfortunate that he had to begin his university during years of strife and turmoil. The great famine of 1845 had wiped out one-eighth of the population, the revolution of 1848 had ended in a fiasco, eviction was widespread and agrarian crime was on the increase.

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70. Therefore he had to find £5,000 each year by begging.
71. He was going to give him St. Audeon's.
72. Newman preached there and invited others to preach too. It was also used for prize-givings and ceremonial occasions.

Fenianism was in its infancy and countless Irish were emigrating. Newman realised that it needed "extraordinary" measures to "change the existing state or condition of things"(73) and therefore appointed priests to travel round the country convening public meetings, setting up associations affiliated to the university, stimulating interest amongst parish clergy and advertising courses and bursaries. Theoretically this idea was sound:

> "I am sure nothing will be done successfully unless we set out with a clear and precise view of how we mean to move the people, what inducements we are to offer them as the quid pro quo for their subscriptions" (73)

and yet his disciples met with only a limited response. The "extraordinary" change which Newman called for never occurred because of the poverty, prejudice and hostility of the times, but this worried Newman less than it has worried McGrath:

> "I contemplate a people which has had a long night and will have an inevitable day. I am turning my eyes towards a hundred years to come." (74)

Newman's staff complained bitterly about the ignorance of their students. The professor of ancient history for instance thought that he had

> "the right ... to take it for granted that his hearers (had) some knowledge, however imperfect ... " (75)

but this was not the case. The faculty of theology complained that their students were "deficient" whilst the professor of logic, in a

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73. J.H.N. - E. Butler, November 19, 1857.
74. 'Historical Sketches', Vol3, p.32.
75. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.202.

lengthy memorandum concluded that he had taught his students nothing. Like his colleagues he objected especially to their "imperfect preparatory training",(76) their idleness, and their "general carelessness, inattention and negligence".(77) In classics, the story was the same: it was "uphill work".(78) How far was this an indictment of Newman?

It was certainly true that most schools in Ireland were incapable of coaching their students to undergraduate levels, and Newman recognised this by inviting them to use the university's facilities - he opened his library to them - by offering scholarships to their pupils on a competitive basis, and by pressing his staff to write schoolboy manuals which students could "get up" before they registered.(79) Some manuals were produced; Arnold, for example, wrote a grammar, whilst Darnell produced a book on the scriptures, and they sold very well; however, there is no evidence that standards rose appreciably as a result.

Would standards have improved if the university had awarded degrees? Newman's staff thought so and in 1855, 1857 and 1858 they

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76. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.193.
77. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.197.
78. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.191.
79. "We want histories of Greece and Rome, general histories, lives of great men, histories of literature, periods of the Church, national or local churches, of revolution etc. etc.
"Italian literature, the Moors in Spain, the Inquisition, the Roman Empire, French Protestantism, Cromwell, Origen, The Revolution of 1688 etc. etc.
"Again books of evidence of Christianity - introductions or analyses of scripture, accounts of the Greek Church, German philosophy etc. etc." - J.H.N. - W. G. Todd, October 7, 1857.

pressed him to petition the British government for a charter. However, he refused on the grounds that they did not deserve one: what was the use, he asked, of "conferring degrees until we have a name." McGrath has stated that Newman's decision was wrong - he maintained that the bait of a degree would have spurred students to greater efforts. This is a powerful argument, albeit a hypothetical one, since standards did not improve whilst this incentive was denied, and yet it is significant that Newman preferred to run the risk of being condemned as incompetent rather than sacrifice academic standards. Expediency never entered into it.(80)

His relations with his staff were good. McGrath has attacked him on the grounds that he was "over(-insistant) on the importance of his own views"(81) but this is unfounded. Always willing to take advice, he regularly consulted his staff, and his senior staff in particular. Sullivan, who held views which Newman described as "large and bold", was of tremendous "assistance", whilst Moriarty was helpful in setting up the laboratories, and Ellis organised the medical school exactly as he thought fit. It is true that "collisions" sometimes occurred. On one occasion there was trouble between Professor MacDermott and his professors of anatomy and physiology, Hayden and Cryan. He claimed that they had no right to issue orders

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80. There were other factors too: Mr. Monsell, a Catholic M.P., advised Newman not to petition the government. Anti-Catholic feeling ran high in England in the 1850's before the restoration of the hierarchy and Monsell felt that a petition would add 'a new grievance'.

81. J.H.N. - E. Butler, November 19, 1857.

to the faculty's demonstrators, whereas they maintained that they had. The latter appealed to Newman who upheld them, whilst MacDermott appealed to the Council. Eventually Newman settled the dispute by arranging for Hayden and Cryan to consult with MacDermott before giving instructions to their demonstrators, and this proved acceptable to all concerned.

Nor was Newman "over sensitive to the views of others".(82) Flannery, who was dean of St. Patrick's lodging house, criticised Newman for refusing to allow him to make his own policy decisions and asked for his independence. Newman had gone to pains to organise a highly centralised system of administration, but after the shortest of exchanges, he accepted Flannery's criticism and agreed to delegate his authority.

He also gave way over the question of granting degrees. Although adamantly opposed to a charter, he eventually agreed that "The professors should have the last word",(83) and had the bishops not vetoed their proposition, would have presented a petition to the British government on their behalf.

There are those who might argue that these two incidents reveal Newman as a weak and ineffectual administrator, one who bowed before his subordinates and sacrificed his better judgment to their pressure. This suggestion, however, would be even further from the truth.

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82. This is what Ward and McGrath believed.
83. J.H.N. - E. Butler, July 20, 1858.

Flannery, an efficient and trustworthy colleague, reacted well to his new responsibilities and justified Newman's confidence in him, but he never allowed Flannery's colleague, Dr. Quinn, the dean of St. Lawrence's, the same privileges and held fast to his control over Quinn's affairs. Moreover, he never flinched from disciplining those of his staff who were incompetent. Dr. Forde, who was incidentally a cleric, was an indolent and uninspiring individual. In three years, he had "not given one lecture or formed even one class. He had simply done nothing,"(84) and yet he demanded a salary. Not only did Newman tell him what he thought of his idle ways, but refused to grant him a salary, whereupon Forde appealed to the bishops who granted him £100, £200 less than the other professors received. On another occasion, Newman took Thomas Scratton to task for not publishing examination results quickly enough - the delay "irritated" him(85) - and he also chastised Quinn for failing to balance his lodging house accounts.

When he criticised Newman's "over-sensitiveness" McGrath was thinking especially of the ways in which the rector objected to the Archbishop's criticisms. McGrath described Cullen as a godly man, intelligent, astute and diplomatic, yet lonely and isolated, one who had few friends and many enemies. Cullen certainly had his problems,(86)

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84. J.H.N. - Flannery, May 23, 1857.
85. J.H.N. - T. Scratton, July 25, 1855.
86. He was afraid, for example, that McHale, who opposed the university on the grounds of cost, would divide the bishops against him.

but his reticence and cautious introspection[87] irritated Newman and they quarrelled.

They quarrelled over the role of the layman in Catholic education, over the 'Young Ireland' movement, over the appointment of professors and so on. Newman never concealed the fact that he wanted to prevent the university from becoming a priest-ridden, quasi-seminary, and therefore appointed laymen to his staff instead of clerics: of the thirty-seven professors, he appointed, thirty-two were laymen and long after he left Dublin, this ratio continued, a unique development within the pale of Catholic education. However Cullen was not appreciative and when Newman attempted to have a layman appointed as vice-rector, he stepped in and stopped him.

The first two vice-rectors, both of whom were appointed over Newman's head, were clerics[88] and when the second of these resigned in 1857[89] Newman pressed for Professor Butler, a layman, to be appointed in his place. Butler was well qualified and competent. He was accustomed to the university's problems and routine and was genuinely attached to Newman's cause. None the less, as a layman he would not be as subject to the Archbishop's discipline as his predecessors and therefore Cullen refused to recognise him. It also occurred to the latter that Butler's appointment would encourage the

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87. Shortley after Newman left, Cullen went ahead with plans which Newman had laid for building a 'University House', but the opposition was so intense that he dropped the idea as the structure got to the foundations stage.
88. Dr. Taylor and Dr. Leahy.
89. Dr. Leahy became Archbishop of Cashel.

laity to expect executive posts in other quarters, a trend which he dared not countenance. The same thought had occurred to Newman. Indeed, this might have been one of the reasons why he canvassed for Butler. Moreover, he was so determined to assert the university's independence - a university in his opinion should be free of all external pressures - that he preferred to resign rather than accept another of Cullen's nominees.(90)

Then there was the question of 'Young Ireland'. Many of Newman's students were Young Irelanders, whilst Sullivan, O'Curry and O'Hagan, three of his most able professors, were associates of Smith O'Brien, the leader of the 1848 rebellion. Newman met O'Brien and his most prominent lieutenants and proclaimed that had he been Irish, he would have joined them.(91) This alarmed Cullen and he brought pressure to bear in the hope of persuading Newman to pick his acquaintances more carefully.(92) He probably feared that the University of Ireland might become a revolutionary focal point as the German and Italian universities had, but Newman dismissed the likelihood of this and protested that he had the right to meet whoever he wished.

They also quarrelled over the appointment of Thomas Arnold, the son of Arnold of Rugby. When Professor McCarthy resigned from the

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90. Newman did not resign as Ward claimed because he felt a failure. He resigned over a question of principle.
91. O'Rahilly in his article in 'Studies' maintained that Newman "had not the slightest sympathy with the militant views of Young Ireland" but he was wrong.
92. "With the most intense expression of words and countenance he assured me (that such acquaintances) never came right - never."

Chair of English Literature, Arnold applied for the post. He was an excellent scholar and a fine teacher,[93] and Newman provisionally appointed him in March 1857. The Archbishop, however, refused to ratify this appointment and kept Arnold waiting for seven months before allowing him to take up his duties.[94]

O'Rahilly has defended Cullen on the grounds that he never rejected Newman's proposals:

> "Cullen expressed doubts and views different from Newman's but did not press them ... "

This is true; however, Newman never complained on this score. What he objected to was Cullen's "incomprehensible silence";[95] "he neither acts himself nor will he let me act".[96] Newman was not therefore the supersensitive, intolerant character outlined by McGrath. The Oratory had only released him for a time and when he found his schemes for raising academic standards frustrated, his attempts to win over the Irish frowned upon, his ideas to raise capital questioned, and his appointments scotched, he naturally protested. Indeed, had he not questioned the Archbishop's policies, he would have been failing in his duty.

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93. He had been Chief Inspector of Schools for Tasmania and had revolutionised its educational system.
94. Arnold, who had been sacked in Tasmania as soon as it was learned that he had become a Catholic, was unemployed and badly in need of money.
95. 'Autobiographical Writings', p.329.
96. J.H.N. - Leahy, October 16, 1857 - "I could not get him to say yes or no to questions which I asked him, and if I acted without asking, then I displeased him" - 'Autobiographical Writings', p.329.

When Cullen asked him to become rector in 1851, he doubtless assumed that having been recently converted to Rome, Newman was as docile as the rest of his clerical contemporaries: however, as he showed in his Apologia, his conversion had not been a sudden submission but a gradual recognition of his true position. He was therefore as forthright in the 1850's and 1860's as a Catholic, as he had been in the 1830's as an Anglican. There was no change. Had he been more tactful in his dealings with Cullen, he might have won his support, but this was not his nature. Forthright and bold he was no trimmer; dissimulation did not interest him.(97)

As rector, then, Newman managed to set the university off. He gathered together a first-class staff, well qualified and dedicated, and drew up a flexible set of statutes. Where else were so many subjects offered, where else were the public so welcome? As emphatic as his Oxbridge contemporaries that students should live communally, he was more realistic than they by not prohibiting those who could not afford to live in. Adamant that the university should preserve high scholastic standards - only ten of the initial intake of forty-three passed their "Scholars' Examinations" in July 1855 - he distinguished between the various phases of undergraduate studies by compelling his students to defer specialisation until the final two years of a four-year course. This practice is now catching on but at that time it was unique.

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97. He nevertheless urged his successor to be more tolerant and friendly than he.

McGrath has not been especially impressed. He discovered that shortly before he left Ireland in 1859, Newman recorded his "sense of inadequacy"(98), describing himself as "an ass in a lion's skin"(98) and in 1870 he apparently admitted that he had "attempted an impossibility".(99) He certainly passed through periods of doubt:

> "Feeling as I do my extreme incapacity and knowing how vague and illogical the belief of my capacity is ... I wish more than ever to get away before I am found out," (100)

yet on the other hand, rated himself a success:

> "Everything I have done has succeeded - the notion of disappointment, the very shade of despondency does not come upon me." (101)

Where did he stand? Was he a success or was he a failure? On the face of it he certainly failed to recruit enough students to justify the expense. The Jesuits had urged him to give up the idea on the grounds that the middle class was too impoverished to support him, the gentry preferred Trinity, whilst the aristocracy continued to send their progeny abroad. Dr. Russell, President of Maynooth, echoed these views, so did a host of laymen, but "reckless to (their) gossip"(102), Newman carried on. He ultimately recognised that the lack of students was a handicap and from time to time his morale was dented, but he saw the university in a much wider setting than his hosts

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98. J.H.N. - MacDermott, July 26, 1858.
99. 'Autobiographical Writings', p.326.
100. J.H.N. - Flanaghan, May 17, 1857.
101. Quoted by W. F. Stockley in 'Newman - education and Ireland', p.36.
102. J.H.N. - Dodsworth, July 25, 1857.

and never took this lack of patronage as seriously as they did: " ... all that is wanted for its success is to be left alone."[102]

For Newman it was not just a question, therefore, of filling lecture rooms with second-rate undergraduates, nor was it simply a matter of providing Catholics with a good education. He was convinced that a new era of unbelief was dawning, an unbelief which was "more astute, more subtle, more bitter and more resentful than ever before"[103] and forecast a "silent, unconscious perversion and corruption of Catholic intellects".[103] Catholics would be "within the Church's pale yet external to her faith".[103] There would be floating views and " ... a multitude of separate and independent minds",[103] and, therefore, he pressed on with this project in the hope that eventually it would produce graduates capable of involving themselves in the intellectual controversies of the day. Unless the laity absorbed new sciences like geology, ethnology, anatomy, chemistry, engineering and so on, sciences which seemingly questioned dogma, he feared that they would never be able to challenge the heresies of Spencer and Huxley, and seen, therefore, as an attempt to liberate the laity from the passive conformity of post-Reformation times, his crusade in Ireland was a success. It was a turning point in the history of the English as well as the Irish church.

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102. J.H.N. - Dodsworth, July 25, 1857.
103. 'A form of infidelity of the day' - a lecture given by J.H.N. in 1854.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HOW HE ESTABLISHED THE ORATORY SCHOOL

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Having discovered that the University of Ireland was unlikely to make much headway until standards in schools were raised, Newman determined in 1857 to open a school himself. He originally mooted the idea to Sir John Simeon,(1) one of his most influential friends, and suggested a relatively small school based on the public school model. He wanted it to be built in Edgbaston, close to the Oratory,(2) but hoped that once it had grown in stature, it could be moved from Birmingham into the country. The Oratory's relationship with the school was, therefore, to be "temporary"(3) and although he claimed that the school was his "absolutely"(3) he insisted on feeling "free to give it up"(3) at any time.

There was a wide demand at that time for a new-type of Catholic school, especially from those Anglicans who had joined the Catholic

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1. " ... I do not wish it known just now that I certainly shall get away from Dublin at the end of this year, having set the university off which is all I proposed to do. If having done this I could be instrumental also in setting off another great Catholic desideratum, a public school, I should have cause of great thankfulness to Him who gives strength and opportunity for useful undertakings.
"Of course the idea of a large school implies the existence of boys to fill it, and I suppose there are plenty if the parents would send them. However, it cannot be supposed that any great number would be got together at once. The school must have a very modest beginning, and moreover, it would meet with grave difficulties as involving an opposition to existing Catholic schools, if it started with any great pretension. It is this circumstance that leads me to think the Oratory could help in it. Ultimately the school must be in the country, but while it is small, this neighbourhood which is airy, high and covered with trees and gardens would not I conceive be unsuitable ... " - Sir J. Simeon, 1815-1870 became a Catholic in 1851. He was an M.P. from 1847-1851.
2. In Hagley Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham where Newman had opened an Oratory in 1846.
3. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, February 2, 1858

Church as a result of the Oxford movement. Prior to their conversion, they had been able to send their sons to the best schools in the land, but these were now closed to them. It is true that there were a few Catholic boarding schools in existence. There was Stonyhurst and Spinkhill, both of which were Jesuit controlled, the three Benedictine schools: Downside, Ampleforth and Douay, Ratcliffe which was run by the Rosminians, and Oscott, Ushaw, Cotton and St. Edmund's Ware, which were quasi-seminaries. They were staffed by the clergy and were citadels of scriptural orthodoxy and Catholic self-discipline. However, their standards of scholarship, aestheticism and physical prowess were relatively low, and converts like Sir John Simeon, an intelligent, cultured and outspoken extrovert, were unwilling to patronise them. Indeed, Simeon, who was very critical of Catholic colleges, claimed that he had

> " ... not yet seen a single Catholic parent or layman whom ... (he considered) a well educated man." (4)

He put his case at considerable length:

> "It is to my mind axiomatic that unless something can be done to improve the education of our boys it is impossible for the Catholic body in England to educate themselves into an intellectual equality with their fellow citizens and until this is done it is vain and childish for us to complain of and grumble at the inferiority of our social position and more childish to endeavour to make up as some do for the sourness of the grapes by a system of self education. Unless converts are ready and able to do something to meet this state of

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4. Sir J. Simeon - J.H.N., April 1857.

> things the mere accession of numbers that they bring to the Catholic body will have no effect ... " (4)

Simeon was especially critical of Catholic education for its

> "want of manliness, want of completeness, want of definite purpose and consequent want in influence on the future pursuits and character of the man." (4)

He applauded the way in which it inculcated "a high moral standard", (4) but claimed that this was achieved at the expense of "energy and readiness to face the world". (4)

Simeon wanted Newman to model his school on Eton because Eton seemed to him to represent everything that was good in the English way of life:

> "Now I am and cannot help being ... emphatically English in all that relates to freedom, whether of individuals, of thought, of discipline or of institutions ... but ... there is nothing that I look on with more jealousy and distrust in the present day than the disposition to denationalise the English Catholic and to set up as a model for his imitation some foreign type, which ... I look upon as in every way inferior. It seems to me that the convert element amongst us has much to answer for in this respect ... I should be sorry to see boys throw overboard the instinctive English character in favour of something which is by some people considered Catholic, simply because it is anti-national ... " (4)

Simeon represented those who, having submitted to Rome, were staggered by its apathetic introspection. He and his fellow converts were upper middle class professionals, men of social stature and worldly-wise proficiency, and Newman, having led them into the bosom

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4. Sir J. Simeon - J.H.N., April 1857.

of the Church, felt a special responsibility towards them. Nonetheless, establishing the school was by no means as simple as Simeon apparently imagined and it proved to be a delicate and difficult matter, involving the Oratorians, the hierarchy and two groups of lay factions.

Rather than declare his intentions publicly - to do so might arouse the opposition of existing schools - Newman left it to Simeon to canvass on his behalf and soon the latter gathered a group of influential Catholics together to petition Newman to open a school. Father Richard Ward made the original approach on behalf of his brother Francis(5) - he suggested "a very small and unpretending"(6) school, a school promoted by laymen but maintained and organised by the Oratory - and Newman replied in encouraging terms. Shortly afterwards, a promoters' meeting was held in London to discuss how best to set up an "upper class lay Catholic boys' school".(7) There were seven people present: six laymen, Messrs. Allies, Dodsworth, Capes, Wegg-Prosser, Francis Ward and Bellasis, and one priest, Father MacMullen.

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5. Richard Ward, 1813-1869, and Francis Ward, 1815-1899, were converts. Richard had been an undergraduate at Oriel when Newman was a fellow and became a Catholic in 1851 before being ordained in 1857. Francis, an eminent lawyer, became a Catholic in 1851 too. Both were enthusiastic disciples of Newman who had great faith in both of them.
6. Richard Ward - J.H.N. (undated).
7. On January 29, 1858.

> "All were agreed as to the opening of such a school being necessary and further that if the plan of it were to be carried out, it should be formed not upon the accidental views that a variety of persons might entertain, but upon the mature deliberations of some one mind, that Dr. Newman's connexion with the Catholic University and the interest he must necessarily take in the earlier education of youth, pointed him out as the person to whom they should address themselves; that they desired such a school as should combine a vigorous intellectual training with the more important element of a thoroughly Catholic atmosphere; and that they thought the school should be essentially a lay one ... " (8)

This letter seems innocuous enough; a courteous invitation to establish a new school, but how was a priest to design a school which was essentially "a lay one", how would the hierarchy react and what degree of control would the headmaster exercise? T. W. Allies raised the question of money.(9) How was the school to be financed? Promoters were ready to help - Bellasis offered £100 and Francis Ward £50 - but they wanted to know the kind of figure which Newman had in mind. Was it £1,000 or £2,000? Then there was the question of fees: £70 was "high enough", and the question of numbers: although Downside was apparently full - forty boys had been recently turned away - Allies could only think of twenty potential Oratory School students.

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8. 'Oratory School Annals' - a private publication kept in the Oratory files.
9. T. W. Allies, 1813-1903, a fellow of Wadham, he became a Catholic in 1850. He lectured in History at the University of Ireland under Newman and from 1853-1890 was Secretary of the Catholic Poor Schools Committee.

Newman was actually a jump ahead of Allies, Bellasis, the Wards and the rest. Money did not worry him because he planned to house the school in the Oratory. Nor did numbers cause him any anxiety. He had already had architect's plans drawn up for a school of "fifty boys", plans which utilised the second storey of the Oratory building.(10)

Would the promoters, however, accept a school which was situated within the Oratory house? They represented a stratum of Catholic society which was critical of the educational techniques employed by Catholic clergy and anxious to pioneer a school of such quality and repute that it would rival Eton, Winchester, Rugby and other leading schools. One of their number complained that Catholic boarding schools were "as bad as bad can be" and pleaded for places which practised

> "religious teaching, instruction, in fact theology as distinct from training."

Another stated

> "our own colleges and converts are so undeniably behind the times, in all things relating to education it would distress me to have my boys put under the care of well-meaning but untutored ecclesiastical ploughboys."

News of discontent also reached Dr. Ullathorne, the Bishop of Birmingham, via one of his canons who had been in conversation with "an influential layman" in London. He was told that "in some Catholic colleges ... the masters (were) often ... in statu pupillari."

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10. Some new buildings would be needed and he had provisionally decided to build on a site, 80' x 75' directly in front of the Church. He had also earmarked a further area 200' x 24' with a "fair ball-court" and was ready to lease another site: "an acre and a half" within a stone's throw of the school.

Furthermore, the "intermingling" of layboys and seminarians as at Oscott and Ushaw was unsatisfactory, a criticism echoed by Canon Morris in a letter to one of the promoters, written a little later:

> "If on the one hand it is clear that the church never intended her future priests to be at such schools as Eton and Harrow, it is equally clear that she never intended future lawyers, or diplomats or members of Parliament to be trained in her seminaries ... Your sons injure our seminaries and ... our seminaries injure your sons."

Indeed, mixed education was creating widespread bitterness. J. A. Herbert, for example, maintained that

> "a school is very much wanted for English Catholics to which there is no admission or cheap tenure for boys who imagine they have a vocation or whose parents have a wish to get education for nothing. If all boys paid alike the teachers could have sufficient remuneration which is not the case at most Catholic schools."

An alternative form of education was, therefore, imperative, but once they heard where Newman intended to build his school, the promoters split into two opposition groups. One faction, assuming that the Oratorians were going to dominate the school, demanded an "independent" venture - there seemed little point in opening a school which was as clerical in tone as Stonyhurst or Ampleforth - and a second faction likewise rejected an Oratorian controlled school but advocated an establishment over which Newman's personal influence was supreme.

This connection between the Oratory and the school proved to be a serious stumbling block. Initially, Newman had told Simeon that the fathers would only "help in it" and yet in subsequent correspondence

with Bellasis he suggested that the school would best "grow up under the shadow of the (Oratory's) ... superintendence ... "; by "superintendence" he meant that the headmaster and confessors would be Oratorians. This definition, together with the revelation that the school was to be housed within the Oratory itself, caused the promoters to assume that the fathers were going to run it, and this they objected to.

In actual fact, had they wanted to run the school, the Oratorians lacked the necessary manpower to do so and for this reason, Newman insisted that the school was his responsibility: "The school is mine and Father Darnell's, not the Oratory's".(11) But if the school belonged to Newman and Darnell, where did the Oratory stand since they were both Oratorians and were consequently subject to its discipline? And why was Darnell appointed as Newman's "representative" in the undertaking by the Oratory and not by Newman? In April, 1858, a congregation of the Oratory installed Darnell as headmaster. Was this what Newman meant by "superintendence" or was it something more?

But it was not only the role of the Oratory in this venture which caused the promoters concern. The relative roles of Newman and Darnell were likewise indefinite. When the promoters asked Newman to open a school, did they expect him to claim a primacy over such matters as the appointment of assistant teachers, the purchase of text books and furniture, the holding of examinations and the

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11. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, February 2, 1858 - Darnell was going to be headmaster.

organisation of dormitories? Newman claimed a jurisdiction over these matters shortly after the school had been established, but there is no evidence to suggest that the promoters expected him to do so. And what if Newman died? He was ailing fast and expected to die very soon. What then? Whose school would it become? Would it belong to Darnell or the Oratory? And what of Darnell? What was his role to be? As Newman's "representative", was he allowed a degree of executive responsibility or not? Did he have authority over his staff or were they responsible to Newman? The question of government was clearly difficult, but by evading any kind of accurate definition, Newman allowed the school to be set up without ever deciding with the promoters and his fathers who was exactly responsible for what. It was all very well claiming that the school was his, but where did this leave Darnell?

Late in 1861, Darnell quarrelled with Newman over this very question and only then did it become crystal clear that Newman claimed a total autonomy over all aspects of the school's affairs. It also became apparent at that stage that whereas the promoters assumed they were patronising a school which would rival Eton or Winchester, Newman had no intention of allowing it to develop along public school lines. It was natural that Newman should have wanted at least a degree of executive control. He was Superior of the Oratory and could hardly lend his name to an enterprise of this kind without ensuring that it coincided with his basic educational ideas, but whether or not he was justified in demanding unilateral powers, and whether he

was right to hide the fact that he wanted a private school rather than a public school, is worthy of debate.

As it was his initial proposals for a school "superintended" by the Oratory were turned down,[12] and but for the chance intervention of Father Ambrose St. John, his most trusted confident, the project might have never materialised.[13] Shortly after the promoters had rejected Newman's proposition, St. John happened to call on Francis Ward, who explained that he and his colleagues would never support a school run by the Oratorians. St. John assured him that they never intended this - they merely proposed to "watch over the school" - and as a result of this clarification, Ward arranged an emergency meeting at which it was decided to send Bellasis and Acton to Birmingham to discover exactly what the Oratory's role was likely to be.

Sergeant Bellasis[14] was the leader of the group which pressed for a school under Newman's jurisdiction. He was devoted to Newman and thought it "nothing short of imbecility to (refuse his) offer". He used his offices in Westminster[15] for the promoters' meetings, and acted as chairman as well as secretary. He backed Newman because he argued that only he could design a prototype Catholic school, comparable to best public schools in the land, a school of high

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12. Newman made his proposals in a letter of February 2, 1858. The promoters discussed its contents on February 3, 1858.
13. A letter was prepared rejecting Newman's proposition but it was not posted, presumably in the hope of a reconciliation.
14. S. Bellasis, 1800-1873. A distinguished Parliamentary lawyer and an Oxford convert, he sent his boys to the school as soon as it was opened.
15. He had an estates office.

intellectual and cultural esteem, a school which catered for the pastoral as well as the spiritual needs of the individual, where standards of teaching were high - he hoped that the classics would still predominate - and where the "flogging" and "surveillance" for which the Jesuits were well known, was absent.

Hope Scott was another of Newman's devotees.[16] Indeed, he was even more Oratorian than Newman and advocated a school which was irrevocably associated with the Oratory. William Dodsworth[17] and J. M. Capes,[18] who both eventually canvassed the country on the school's behalf, were others who doubtless supported Newman's cause.

Sir John Acton[19] on the other hand, was the leader of the group which pressed for a school which was independent not only of the Oratory, but of Newman as well. He was an aristocrat, a liberal and an intellectual. Fired by a burning desire to raise the level of Catholic scholarship, he was one of the foremost laymen of his day, but although erudite and honestly righteous, he failed to see how Newman could guarantee the school's independence if it was adjacent

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16. J. R. Hope Scott, 1812-1873. A parliamentary lawyer of great reputation, he was another Oxford convert. "Ask Hope" was a proverb.
17. W. Dodsworth, 1798-1861. A friend of Manning and Allies, he became a Catholic in 1850.
18. J. M. Capes, 1812-1889. An Oxford graduate who took Anglican orders, he became a Catholic in 1845. He taught at Prior Park and edited 'The Rambler' for a number of years.
19. Sir J. Acton was still a young man in his mid-twenties. An excellent historian and a pupil of Professor Dollinger of Munich, the leader of continental Catholic liberals, he was already famous. He was the stepson of Lord Granville, the Whig politician and he wished to associate Catholicism with the Whig cause rather than the Tory cause.

to the Oratory and fought strenuously to find a new site for it. It is not known how many promoters supported Acton, but there must have been a number because his opposition obviously worried Bellasis.

There are two records of the meeting between Newman and the promoters' representatives. The published version declares that Newman withdrew his original proposals, offered to discuss the whole question with the Oratorians and presented another memorandum which proposed that the school be placed under the "Oratory's care". However, Newman's own version makes no mention of any withdrawal, although it does refer to the presentation of a second memorandum. Newman would only have withdrawn his proposals of February 2 if he had known they had been rejected, but St. John did not tell him of his meeting with Ward until the deputation had left, and therefore he was unaware of the crisis.(20) Indeed, he seemed surprised to learn that the promoters "had got (the) wrong view" and amused to think that Bellasis had assumed that "the whole house ... was going to pick up other employment and turn schoolmasters". Nevertheless, his reference to Oratorian "superintendence" clearly lent itself to this interpretation.

It would undoubtedly have been better had Newman been more explicit and had he met the promoters face to face in order to explain his plans in toto. Relying upon third parties and corresponding

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20. "After they had gone back in the evening, Ambrose told me of their meeting at London ... When my letter was read they had actually declined my invitation and had drawn up an answer to that effect ... but Ambrose by his conversation with Francis Ward ... had turned them all round in favour of my view ... "

through the post was no way to initiate a scheme of this magnitude. However, he was in a difficult position:

> "I was freer to advise than to act for I could advise abstractedly, but I must act as an Oratorian."

In other words, he was afraid of committing his order to a scheme which might prove embarrassing, and in negotiating with his backers, he therefore preferred to be guarded and conservative rather than cavalier.

Bellasis and Acton "went over the premises and talked over the whole plan" and apparently went away satisfied. There were "no differences" between them and they promised to approach Cardinal Wiseman, Bishop Ullathorne, Dr. Weedall, the rector of Oscott, and other interested parties. However, they must have pressed Newman for an exact definition of the Oratory's role because no sooner had they gone than he and his fathers began to scrutinise their Rule. They chose the following extract from their "Brief of Instruction":

> "Laudamus plurimum Newmanii, ejusque sociorum propositum, ut dum sacri ministerii muneribus omnibus in Anglia fungentur, illus simul animo defixum precipe habeant et efficiendum curent quod ad Religionem in amplioribus precesertim urbibus, atque inter splendidiores doctioris et honestioris ordinis homimum caetus, amplificandum perducere pope putaverint." (21)

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21. "We greatly honour the intention of Newman and his companions that while they perform all of the duties of their sacred ministry in England, they have at the same time this particularly in mind and strive to bring it about that they should lead that class of men who are of more noble or more learned and more upright in character especially in the larger cities to a wider practice of religion."

After debating this extract, they made the following observations:

> "Now our Brief itself has placed us in Birmingham ... In having them a school of gentleman's sons we do conform to the object, which the Holy See sets before us, as nearly as under the circumstances as possible ... The care of the boys was a special object of St. Philip ... The one spiritual need of the upper class of Catholics just now is a lay school ... "

But what if the London Oratory gossiped at Rome? Acton told Newman that they had already pronounced that his propositions infringed the Rule. This was dangerous talk and Newman and his fathers were therefore compelled to examine their position even more closely. Did their decrees "interfere" with their "keeping" a school?

Decree LXX was as follows:

> "Cum sint multi in Ecclesia Dei, qui audiendis Morualium confessionibus aut dant operaus, aut dare optime possunt; propterea nequis ab instituts Congregationis nostrae proprio possit abduci, statutum est, ne nostrorum eliquis sese obliget aut dedat confessionibus audicendis, moribus reformandis rebusque earum gerendis. Idem dicimus de Seminariis, Collegiis, Congregationibus Societatibus aut aliis Universitatibus rebusve earum, sine gravi necessitate Tractandis." (22)

Newman and the fathers then made three observations. Firstly, it was "in no sense an universitas or established body". Secondly,

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22. "As there are many in God's Church we are engaged in the hearing of the confessions of nuns, or very well could do this work, so lest any one should be led away from the work proper to our Congregation, it is forbidden that any one of our members should give themselves to the hearing of Confessions, the reforming of morals (in convents) or the conducting of their affairs. The same we decree about seminaries, colleges, congregations, societies, or other universities whose affairs are not to be undertaken without grave necessity."

> "no one is or can be abduci by means of it from the institution of the Oratory in as much as a father who is a schoolmaster in fact does not take part as any other father in all the duties, preachments, ceremonies, exercises etc. of the house."

And thirdly, "the absence of any day school in England (was) a gravis necessitas."

They then examined decree XCIV:

> "Si quid ambignum furerit in nostris Constitutionibus Preapositus, et Defuctati, declarabunt; nullo tamen modo popuit eas immutare derogare aut aliqua ex parte innovare vel novas condere," (23)

and asked:

> "Does this interpretation which makes our decree LXX compatable with keeping school, amount to an innutatio derogatio or innovatio? Is it more at most than a desideratum of what is not clear, or a taking at one of two interpretations, both of which are admissible?"

These three decrees together with the comments which Newman and his fathers made upon them, are revealing. They prove that the Oratory was related to the school in an executive capacity, that its fathers taught in the school as Oratorians, and not as private individuals - they were fulfilling their Oratorian calling - and that Newman, in conjunction with Darnell, was to settle any controversial issues between them. For Newman to pretend that the school was not Oratorian was therefore misleading and to argue that they would not interfere in its running was equally misleading. As Superior of the

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23. "If anything is unclear in our Constitutions it will be settled by the Superior and the Prefect, but they may make no alterations or add or subtract anything or introduce new constitutions."

order it was Newman's duty to guard the Oratorians' interests and to see that their reputation was preserved. He would therefore intervene on their behalf himself if and when it was necessary and this was exactly what he did in December 1861.

There was never really any question of breaking the Oratorian Rule by opening a school. There was no likelihood of scandal and no need to involve Rome. Newman had been to Rome for Christmas 1855 and recorded his observations in a memorandum:

> "I think we have discovered by our visit to Rome this: that the ecclesiastical officials there naturally do not like additional work; and that therefore there is a prima face prejudice against anyone who comes to Rome to oppose, or protest, or interfere, or explain or the like.
>
> "Next that there is a dislike of scrupulousness about duty in their subjects. ...
>
> "I think they wish their subjects at a distance especially in missionary countries - to use a large discretion; to go as far as they can, before they come to Rome for advice; and to wait to be pulled up if they go too far.
>
> "I conceive that our conduct as a Congregation should be this, never to act without good reasons, and reasons which can be produced but with them to act for ourselves. To take our own line and anticipating objections in our own calculations to provide answers to them also. To keep our eyes about us and to watch how things are taken at Rome; but not to volunteer explanations. To rely on our own strength and to be sure that if we really are doing work Rome will never be hard upon us even if we are informal, imprudent or arbitrary - and much less if we manage to avoid these faults." (24)

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24. J.H.N. - Memorandum, February 7, 1856.

Nevertheless, Newman was back to square one. If he wanted to go ahead with the project he had to admit that his order was associated with it and it was this that Acton and his followers strenuously objected to. It was a tricky situation.

On February 10, Bellasis and Acton reported back to their colleagues and together they agreed that Newman should have "absolute control over the school". However, they left the question of the school's connection with the Oratory to be defined at a later date and went ahead with plans to advertise the project in high places, a task which bristled with difficulties.

They approached Wiseman, for example, and sent him copies of the relevant memoranda. Wiseman concluded from these documents that Newman proposed to open a school which guaranteed "proper religious instruction" for young boys "between the ages of 8 and 11", a school which might grow into a college as the boys matured. He seemed satisfied that it would lead its "students to habitual piety and produce a deep love and veneration for old Catholic usages and practices", but wanted more precise information, and wrote to Bellasis setting out forty-one questions:

> "How old were the boys to be?
> Was the principal to be a layman or priest?
> Would the pupils be under the same roof as the Principal?
> Were the priests to be secular or regular?
> Who would appoint the Principal?
> Where was the money to come from?
> How many masters were there to be?
> Were they to be lay or ecclesiastics?
> What of discipline and so on?

Bellasis answered as many questions as he could, but the Cardinal withheld his consent: he thought he had no

> "right to put any questions on the subject of the new intended school; that it appeared that the whole plan was to have a lay school under not only Oratorian management, but under the same roof as the Oratory (and); that these circumstances were such as would make it unbecoming in him to hazard an opinion on the subject ... "

Wiseman obviously appreciated the apparent inconsistency in establishing "a day school" under the Oratory roof and withheld his support accordingly, but the laity, partly because the Oratory's precise role had not yet been defined, and partly because they felt the overwhelming need to open an Eton-type school, flocked to Newman's banner.

The Duke of Norfolk, Viscount Fielding, Lord Thynne, Lord Kerr, Sir Robert Gerard, Sir Robert Throckmorton, the Right Honourable W. Monsell, Mr. S. de Vere, Sir John Simeon and over twenty other prominent laymen publicly supported the scheme. Lord Fielding for example, who was "delighted" with the news, believed that existing schools "leave much to be desired" and was ready to offer financial aid. Lord Petre was likewise enthusiastic, preferring a school "in immediate and intimate connexion with the Oratory itself" to "an independent school". Lord Campden gave Dodsworth a "simple approval" and offered money in two or three years time. Monteith donated £100 but would not guarantee to send his sons as yet. J. H. Woodward, who had gone abroad to have his boys decently educated, wrote from Belgium

to ask for "an opening". If Newman offered his boys places, he would return at once, provided, that is, Newman was in charge. J. A. Herbert promised Bellasis that "whenever my three little boys are old enough, I shall certainly trust them to his care ... ", whilst Mrs. Charlton asked for "some idea of the class books".

Another parent wrote and asked Newman for the best place "for educating my little boy aged eight". W. F. Wingfield repeated Mrs. Charlton's request and asked for text books, whilst Scott-Murray guaranteed two boys plus £100. Murray, who had been visited by Bellasis felt the "disadvantage of keeping boys at home" and pressed Newman to take them as soon as possible, whilst J. Weld Blundell commented upon the significance of Newman's plan "to the Catholic world at large". He made three points. Firstly:

> "A boy is generally speaking better at home under the eyes of his parents than at the public school till he is 11 or 12. Secondly, however important the amount of knowledge which a youth may acquire by the age of five years the system by which his intellectual and moral faculties are trained and developed is of far greater importance. And thirdly, this system can be carried out best in a school numbering at least 100 students, in other words, a public school. ... The ecclesiastical element in our Catholic schools is in my opinion very desirable on many accounts as tending to the moral and religious benefits of the scholars. I believe it to be of the highest importance."

Norfolk, Fielding, Thynne and the others all assumed that Newman was going to establish a school which was based on the pattern seemingly perfected by headmasters like Arnold of Rugby and Butler of Shrewsbury, but Newman never stated that this was his intention. The

English middle class was very keen at that time on boarding school education - the publication of "Tom Brown's Schooldays" in 1857 symbolised their enthusiasm - the press was debating the type of education which was best suited in these schools, and parliament was beginning to agitate for a parliamentary commission to investigate the question. It was natural therefore when they heard of Newman's plans that the Catholic middle class should have assumed that he was going to provide them with the kind of institution which their non-Catholic neighbours enjoyed, with the kind of school, for example, in which the headmaster was as all-powerful as Arnold, Butler, Keate or Thring. Public school headmasters had a professional relationship with their governors rather than a personal one, and were totally responsible for policy making and administration, but once the Oratory School had been opened, it became apparent that Newman was unwilling to afford Darnell the kind of independence which Arnold and Butler enjoyed, and therefore the school was unable to develop as Rugby and Shrewsbury had. However, those who were elated by Newman's project were not to know this - Newman did nothing to enlighten them - and therefore they agreed to a scheme which was unlikely to develop along the lines which they expected. Only one parent had the wisdom to ponder: Sir Robert Gerard promised £100 if and when the school came up to his expectations, whilst the rest backed it regardless.

In March the promoters finally agreed:

> "whatever some of them might have thought at first they were all now of the opinion that the project should be started, if at all, as an Oratorian school ... "

but what kind of agreement was this? What was meant by the term "Oratorian School"? It was left vague for obvious reasons - they could not agree on a proper definition - but this meant that Newman was free to interpret the phrase as he thought fit, so was Bellasis and so, too, were Darnell and Acton. None the less, when Darnell began to embark upon policies which conflicted with Newman's, the quarrel between them was settled by the Oratorians: Darnell had to answer to the fathers in Congregation and not to the promoters. It was, therefore, just as Acton had claimed: the Oratory was the ultimate authority.

Dr. Ullathorne, the bishop of Birmingham, was informed of the promoters' agreement and after Bellasis and Acton had visited him, despite expressing doubts, he gave the scheme his blessing.

> "We understood your Lordship to approve so far as the plan tended to effect a separation between lay and ecclesiastical students, but to have considerable doubts as to our means of commanding that degree of discipline and of school management which is to be found in existing schools. Your Lordship's advice on this lead will probably materially affect the ultimate assignments, but we did not understand that you intended to put any veto upon the school itself and should be glad to be certified that we have not misunderstood you in this respect." (25)

However, Ullathorne obviously shared Acton's anxiety about the Oratory's relationship with the school because he suggested that it should be built as far away from the Oratory as possible. He also suggested that at first it should be confined to "little boys" and should be limited in size.

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25. S. Bellasis - Bishop Ullathorne, March, 1858.

Dr. Weedall of Oscott also agreed to the scheme and saw no reason why the two schools should not exist side by side:

> "I see no reason to differ from you ... Catholic society has numerous educational wants and if one place of education cannot supply them it should be a gratification to think another may. Neither do I fear that we shall ever come into collision ... the field is large enough for both ... Oscott and the Oratory may both (exist) together without the one interfering with the action of the other." (26)

On the surface, then, all seemed well, but the school never opened its doors until May, 1859, one year after Darnell's official appointment. What were the reasons for this delay? Firstly, although Ullathorne agreed to the venture in the spring of 1858, he did not give his final consent until November of the same year, too late even for an opening the following January. He knew that Newman was going to resign as rector of the University of Ireland but he would not officially approve the school until the latter had finally severed all ties with Dublin.

Secondly, there were very few definite offers to send pupils, and thirdly, the more the enterprise was publicised, the more apprehensive Newman became:

> "Shall I not, as time goes on, wish I had nothing to do with an undertaking which has only brought me anxiety and mortification ... "

He expressed his feelings in a letter to Hope Scott:

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26. Downside also approved. Dr. Sweeny wrote to F. Ward: "I am glad Dr. Newman has made up his mind to commence his school ... the great and important work of Catholic education must be promoted by such a step."

"Left to myself I should not wish it. It increases anxieties, responsibilities and enemies. There are various reasons which make me stir in it. Among others, 1. the need, 2. Fr. Darnell's both wish and capacity to undertake it.
1. My original idea was to begin with a few children, i.e. a private way ... and let it grow and the fact of its existence grow in people's minds.
2. When various gentlemen took up the notion in the spring it necessarily changed to a forward intention and a sort of less prized public undertaking.
3. It has now subsided again into something like its original state ... we should begin it with a few children without show.
4. But now, it having been made public, it will be measured not by what it is but by those ... ideas which ... come after and which have been divulged.
5. Further, where a number of respectable names were likely so as to set it off ... I was personally protected. I was answering a call ... (But) I am, on my own responsibility, a priest in this diocese setting up what has been ... (seen) as a great plan against Oscott, Ushaw, and Stonyhurst. This I don't relish at all.
6. Moreover I know people are looking at me very sharply just now. The Cardinal inquired ... whether I had been at the theological gathering at Sir John Acton's. I have no friend whatever at Rome (except the Pope) and the Cardinal, Monseignor Talbot and Dr. Cullen.
7. It may be represented at Rome that I am setting up a convent school and perpetrating a convent spirit and party.
8. I have no taste, nor time, nor money, nor strength for journeys to Rome to explain.
Now as my friend what would you advise me to do?
P.S. I should add that our bishop is not against us but if left to himself would be for us but I fear otherwise. The feeling is against the plan ... " (27)

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27. J.H.N. - Hope Scott, October, 1858.

This letter is one of the few indications of what Newman's attitude really was. Throughout the negotiations leading to the opening of the school, Newman kept in the background. He was obviously embarrassed by the extent to which "various gentlemen" had supported him and was fearful lest his "enemies" - those who doubted his loyalty to Rome - ganged up to scotch his plans. Furthermore, it is significant that whilst Acton and his followers wanted a public school, Newman wished only "to begin with a few children" in a "private way". Whereas the promoters were therefore in favour of attracting public attention, Newman wished only to avoid it, and whereas they wanted to establish a school to rival Eton, there and then, Newman preferred to go slowly and gradually.

Had the latter made his views plain, Acton and perhaps even Bellasis would never have supported him, and therefore he had to hold his peace. Nevertheless, underlying the scheme was a fundamental conflict of interests and policies. It was in the promoters' interests to open a public school and in Newman's interest to establish a private school: it was the former's policy to go quickly and the latter's to go slowly. This dichotomy is best proven by a comparison of the official school prospectus with a draft prospectus which Newman scrapped in the light of criticism. The draft prospectus reads as follows:

> "Father Newman of the Birmingham Oratory intends with the blessing of God to commence on May 1 next, a school for the education of boys not destined to the ecclesiastical state and not above 12 years of age on their admission.

> "He takes the step at the urgent instance of friends and with the concurrence and countenance of a number of Catholic gentlemen whose names have been transmitted to him. The undertaking is concerned with the approbation and good will of the Rt. Revd. the Bishop of the diocese. A house has been taken within five minutes' walk of the Oratory with acres of garden and land capable of accommodating as many boys as are likely to be entrusted to its care. The boys will be under the care of an experienced matron and female assistants who will also have the management of the house. ... The school room and its masters will be under the rule and superintendence of Fr. Darnell ... Terms £100 including all extras. There will be two vacations, one of seven weeks in the summer and one of three weeks at Christmas."

The promoters refused this prospectus and therefore a new one was prepared:

> "The school is intended to afford to Catholic youth the advantages of great public schools in England apart from the evils which are incidentally therein preserved. It embraces the same classes of pupils with the same variety of destinations as are to be found at Eton, Winchester and Rugby.
>
> "The school and play homes; the management of the day, the discipline and the books are those of an English public school so far as is consistent with Catholic habits and requirements. Especial attention is paid to the diet, health and comfort of the boys who are committed to the care of ladies experienced in such duties and are lodged in the Oratory building and the houses adjacent to it.
>
> "Besides a large playroom and home playground the school has the use of an enclosed field not far distant (from 6-8 acres in extent) with a house upon it, for the purpose of (games) etc. on play days.
>
> "The best medical advice including homeopathic when desired by the parents, is in call.

"The pension is 80 guineas per annum, it is payable in advance in three equal proportions on 20th January, 20th April, and 10th September, the opening days of the three terms.

"Boys are received at the pension of half term (£14) on the first days of March, June and November. The pension of half a term (14) is required of boys who are withdrawn without a term's notice.

"There are no extras. Music, drawing, and other studies usually considered and charged as such are entirely at the discretion of the Father Prefect.

"An account of the personal expenses of the boys, i.e. for books, pocket money, clothes, journeys, etc. is sent to their parents three times per year.

"The Christmas holidays last from December 20 till the Tuesday after January 20. The Summer holidays last from July 20 till the Tuesday after September 10. A vacation of some days is allowed at Easter on application of the parents from Holy Saturday to Low Monday, a return to school on Low Monday is imperative as also on ... the first days of the other terms. Letters are to be addressed to Father Newman ... "

These two documents vary immensely. In the first, Newman revealed the type of school which he had in mind; a small private establishment governed by dames and supervised by a headmaster, but in the second, the promoters promised that the school would imitate "the great public schools" of the land. In all probability, Newman never wrote the final draft, but he allowed it to be circulated. Why did he allow a document which was opposed to his own policy to be publicised? By so doing, he undoubtedly confirmed the expectations of men like Simeon and Acton and probably misled Darnell into thinking that he agreed with those who wanted to ape Arnold and his disciples.

Newman pursued this course because he was advised by those he trusted to do so. Even Hope Scott and Bellasis pressed him to advertise the school as an Eton-type venture and he bowed to their wishes. None the less, there is no evidence to suggest that he was ever in sympathy with the educational philosophy which these schools enshrined, and consequently Darnell's position was de trop, from the very first. Newman was pleased to recognise that the school was in Darnell's "hands as his work",(28) it was subject to his "rule",(29) but if he ever began to develop it along lines alien to his own, Newman was bound to take him to task and a conflict of some sort would therefore follow.

The final stages were rife with rumour and innuendo. Mrs. Charlton, for example, wrote to Bellasis:

> "I have this day heard the news from a Catholic that Dr. Newman's school for little boys is decidedly not to be. I cannot believe such a report. The less so as Sir John Simeon said only lately that it was to be opened next year - besides I would fain not believe our bishops so insane as to break down an undertaking which could not fail eventually to be of the greatest advantage to the Catholic gentry. The eyes of the most bigoted must be open to the cruelty and disadvantage of sending our sons to our own underbred colleges ... our everlasting drag chain "bigotry" ever is keeping us down ... "

Lord Thynne wrote to Newman a week or so later and asked "when and where is your new school to be opened", but it was not until Ullathorne had finally approved on paper that precise undertakings were entered into.

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28. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, February 2, 1858.
29. Newman's draft prospectus.

Richard Ward could not "avail" himself of the school because he was a priest, but he offered £50. Sir John Simeon who was "truly glad to hear that Newman's project (was) nearing completion", was "happy to give £100", and put Bellasis in touch with a friend of his; Mr. Garsford, who donated another £50. Monsell offered £50 and Scott-Murray sent the £100 he had earlier pledged, whilst Monteith enclosed £100 and rejoiced to find that the school is to be. "May it prosper," he wrote, "beyond all your hopes and be everyway a consolation to you."

Francis Ward promised to send his three sons, Bellasis agreed to send his two boys, Capes offered his only son, whilst Scott-Murray arranged to send his two boys in the summer. Mr. Stokes was so keen that he not only sent his nephew but tried to get Darnell to accept one of his children although he was not even three. The discriminating Mrs. Charlton, however, had reservations. She enthused because "a new era for the education of the Catholic gentlemen of England" had been ushered in, but as her little Oswald was frail and as two boys in establishments similar to the Oratory School had recently died of diphtheria, she informed Bellasis that her husband had decided not to send his son after all.(30) Moreover, she also raised the question of what was "to become of Dr. Newman's scholars after the age of 12?" Surely, she suggested, he intended carrying his plans through:

> " ... it will be mere cruelty placing boys in a 'gentlemanly school' with the certainty that they must undergo afterwards the painful feeling of receding in civilization as no old Catholic establishment can come under the denomination of 'gentlemanly colleges'."

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30. He actually joined the school a little later on.

Mrs. Charlton, who was obviously a shrewd woman, had touched on a vital issue. What was going to happen to the boys when they reached the age of twelve? Were they to stay or were they to leave? Newman refused to give her a definite answer because he had no wish to disclose his hand. Nevertheless, he would have to explain whether the school was to remain a private preparatory establishment similar to Ealing or grow into an all-through school similar to Eton.

With Darnell as headmaster and Mr. Rainsford as his assistant, the school began in May, 1859.(31) There were nine pupils, six being the sons of promoters. Not that the lack of numbers worried Newman. It was precisely the kind of unobtrusive beginning that he had always wanted, a golden opportunity to apply his educational ideas in another setting.

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31. The Oratory fathers merely superintended the school's spiritual life and left the classroom teaching to Rainsford.

CHAPTER EIGHT

HOW HE SAVED THE ORATORY SCHOOL

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HOW HE SAVED THE ORATORY SCHOOL

At first, all went well, so well that a year later Newman thought they should "take advantage of the good opinions of men and place (the school) boldly before the world".(1) He wished especially to "put the school on a formal and firm basis" and give "it consequence in the eyes of the boys"(1):

> " ... they must have visible objects to make them venerate it, to engage their affections, to make them proud of, to lead them in after life to look back with pleasure on their school days." (1)

Newman arranged to borrow £4,400 firstly to purchase houses for the boys to live in, and secondly, to construct "an imposing" building which would include classrooms, a headmaster's study and offices for the accountant and butler. They were in the "spring tide"(1) of their enterprise:

> " ... we are at a moment when if it were a matter of worldly trade or enterprise, a wise man would, if he had the means, launch out and success would be according to his prudence and boldness." (1)

The new buildings were begun in the summer of 1861 and the school grew in numbers and esteem.(2) In December, 1861 there were fifty-six boys, one of whom was the Duke of Norfolk's eldest son, but beneath

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1. J.H.N. - Memorandum, May, 1860.
2. Even allowing for interest repayments on the £4,400, they would show a profit because there would be room for 30 more boys. Newman, ever the businessman, made a long list of alterations which were necessary to existing buildings and made drawings to illustrate them.

the surface all was not well. Those issues which had become apparent whilst the school was being established - the question of Oratorian influence and the relevant responsibilities of Newman and Darnell - had not been settled but simply swept under the carpet. In addition, it was becoming clear that Newman's philosophy of education was different from Darnell's, that the latter, for example, was more permissive than Newman, that he was by no means as insistent on a strict code of behaviour and that he was not over-keen to establish the kind of intellectual atmosphere which Newman had always championed. Newman thought that the boys were becoming badly behaved and feared that academic standards were falling and therefore complained to Darnell in the summer of 1861:

> "I have heard ... that there is talking in the dormitories and on inquiry I find that it is so; nay (I think) that some boys have been bold enough to say that the rule of silence did not hold now. It seems to me very desirable that the Rules on this and other subjects which I wrote out from your papers last Christmas should be enforced unless experience has condemned them, or circumstances have superseded them.
>
> "With boys especially, if our Rule is transgressed, others are also and general idleness is sure to follow on impunity. Now certainly the progress of the classes in their studies during the last year has not been altogether creditable to us. We both were dissatisfied with examinations at Easter ... Various parents have complained at their boys not having got on, or of their having (confessed) to idleness. It has struck me to inquire whether you have monthly or weekly (tests) in school and I cannot make out that you have. Again I think the terminal examination, if I or others are to take part in it ought to be got up with more solemnity than we have hitherto observed in it." (3)

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3. J.H.N. - Darnell, August, 1861.

Newman also complained about the boys playing cards for money and protested that there were no opportunities for them to make "voluntary acts of religion".(4) He maintained that there was no supervision in the dormitories, and questioned whether Rougemont, an abbé who taught the youngest boys, was capable of enforcing a satisfactory standard of discipline. He complained about "the introduction of older boys" on the grounds that they were the most ill-disciplined of all and asked for the fathers to have access to the boys in order to supervise their spiritual lives.

Darnell ignored Newman's complaints:

> "neither by word of mouth nor in writing did Nicholas make me any answer. It passed sub silentio never even alluded to by him." (5)

When Mr. Rainsford resigned in the summer of 1861, he appointed his successor, Mr. Oxenham, without reference to Newman and began to search in secret for an alternative site for the school. But it was not until December that a confrontation between Newman and his headmaster actually occurred.

They quarrelled over the status of Mrs. Wootten, the senior of the school's two dames. To the casual observer, their argument might have seemed to be simply a clash of personalities, a clash between Newman, Darnell and Mrs. Wootten, but others became involved: the entire teaching staff - all four assistant masters together with Miss French, the second of the dames - the promoters who were again

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4. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, December 26, 1861.
5. J.H.N. - Memorandum (undated).

split into two camps, the parents and boys who were likewise divided and the Oratory fathers.(6) It was not just a quarrel, therefore, between three people who got on each other's nerves. In any case, Newman, Darnell and Mrs. Wootten were close friends and there existed a genuine bond of affection between them which was not only apparent during this dispute but apparent even when it was over.(7)

What then were the chief issues at stake? Firstly, there was the question of Mrs. Wootten: what were her duties and to whom was she responsible; secondly, there was the question of the school's future: what kind of a school was it going to become; thirdly, the question of the school in relation to Catholic education in general; fourthly, the question of Darnell's colleagues, most of whom Newman distrusted; fifthly, the question of reforming the school: improving its academic and moral standards and revitalising its administration; and finally, there was the crucial question of government: who decided policy: the Oratorians in Congregation, Newman or Darnell?

Mrs. Wootten, the widow of an Oxford tractarian, had followed Newman and Darnell into the church. She was a well-meaning, hard-working soul, but she was inclined to take matters into her own hands, to give instructions to boys without recourse to Darnell and his masters, and even to take Darnell to task for his failings: she

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6. Fr. Flanaghan, the school auditor, left the order along with Darnell, whilst Fr. Ryder openly supported him.
7. Mrs. Wootten had always befriended Darnell, their relationship was "singularly intimate" (J.H.N. - H. Wilberforce, January 26, 1862), so intimate that even in his anger Darnell described her as "almost a mother".

criticised him, for example, for searching illicitly for a new school site. When Darnell finally brought her to heel and forbade her to act of her own volition, she appealed to Newman who supported her. However, the subsequent controversy was really concerned with educational principle and practice and the question of Mrs. Wootten's status faded into the background.

What type of school was the Oratory school to become? Darnell believed that it should develop into an Eton-type public school in accordance with the wishes of promoters and parents:

> "I at least believe myself to be going straight towards our great desideratum in the present day - a public school", (8)

but Newman opposed this on the grounds that public schools were Protestant rather than Catholic:

> " ... the mode of conducting the great schools of Eton, Winchester etc., necessarily end in subordinating religion to secular interests and principles; and ... this consequence would ensure in ours, but for the presence of matrons of a high class and of spiritual directors." (9)

In 1861 the Clarendon Commission was about to begin its sittings prior to the publication of its report on the public schools three years later. Neither Darnell nor Newman knew much about the system, although Darnell had at least gone to a public school as a boy - he went to Winchester - whereas Newman had not. In his letter to Sir John Simeon of April, 1857, in which he set the project off, Newman had

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8. Darnell - S. Bellasis, December 27, 1861.
9. J.H.N. - Memorandum, December 28, 1861.

proposed to open a "public school", but whilst Simeon, Ward, Acton, Scott-Murray, Darnell and other enthusiasts took this to mean that he wanted a school which was likened to Eton, Winchester or Rugby, Newman was thinking of something quite different. The Clarendon commissioners referred to public schools in terms similar to Simeon, as places which encouraged individuality, vigour, manliness of character, order, discipline, respect for public opinion and love of physical exercise, but Newman had never used this kind of terminology. He had always looked towards a gentle, objective, humble young man, someone who was compassionate and tender rather than aggressive and dynamic. His notion of a gentleman was therefore very different to that idealised by Simeon, and consequently he was hardly likely to apply the latter's precepts in preference to his own.

He wanted a school which catered for the spiritual needs of the boys and although his attack upon Eton-type schools on the grounds that they "subordinated religion to secular interests" was never substantiated by the Clarendon Commission - the commissioners discovered "an advance in moral and religious training" and commended the endowed schools for their evangelising zeal - it should be remembered that what they meant by moral and religious training was quite different to what Newman meant. For Newman, Anglicanism was merely "a feeling, an emotion, an affection, an appetency ... "[10], whereas Catholicism was something which admitted no compromise and was spiritually spartan.[11]

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10. 'Discourses', p.16.
11. 'Discourses', pp.155-8.

He also wanted a school which was composed of young boys rather than older ones. He opposed the introduction of older boys on the grounds that they were ill-disciplined - people had complained to him about their behaviour in church - but in the midst of his quarrel with Darnell, Newman gave way and agreed to accommodate them. He suggested that the school should be divided into two with Darnell as headmaster of the upper school - boys who were over the age of thirteen - and someone else as headmaster of the lower school. Darnell rejected this proposition because it was out of step with the current fashion of housing senior and junior boys together and would therefore have prevented the school from developing along public school lines. In fact, this was a considerable concession by Newman, one which Darnell might have been better advised to accept. It would have meant building another school, probably at Rednal where the Oratorians had a country retreat and would have prevented him from developing the project along private school lines.

Scott-Murray was one of the first to realise that Newman was opposed to the public school ethos, and criticised him for building a school which failed to fulfil the purpose for which it was founded. Having seen the new buildings, Scott-Murray realised that Newman had constructed a "large private school", one which was doomed to remain in Edgbaston for a considerable time to come. If Newman intended moving it into the country, why, he asked, were the new buildings necessary? Why was Newman planning to hand "all the big boys"[12] over to Oscott and simply to "prepare little boys"?[12] What

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12. Scott-Murray - S. Bellasis, December 27, 1861.

Scott-Murray wanted was not another small Catholic school, but a new type of Catholic school. It was therefore the actual nature of the school which mattered most to the promoters, and Scott-Murray explained their point of view in a long letter. "The objections to the old Catholic English system", he said,

> " ... were not so much that learning was deficient ... but that it ... allowed of none of the independence and freedom of individual character which ... (is) so admirably cultivated in the Protestant public schools. Many old Catholics thought such liberty and such a system incompatible with Catholic training, but others thought that Catholic superiors and the use of the Catholic sacraments were alone wanting to make the English system of the Protestant schools inevitable to Catholics. It was understood that Dr. Newman and the Birmingham Oratory were of that opinion, and I thought that a plan for a short time entertained of beginning the school at the Oratory had been given up, because it was foreseen, that if the new school flourished it must be independent of the Oratory as a body, and even probably in lay hands.
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> "The mere suggestion of an improved Oscott being an end to be wished for, seems to be a falling off from the idea of establishing a public school, for Oscott, improved would be at best but a college, and we want or did want a public school." (12)

Murray also maintained that it was obvious to all: boys, teachers, parents and promoters alike, that the school was a "disappointment"(13) and that further difficulties would arise if older boys stayed on since the present buildings were far too small. This letter was a

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12. Scott-Murray - S. Bellasis, December 27, 1861.
13. J.H.N. - Ambrose St. John, December 31, 1861.

telling indictment by one who fairly represented the majority of promoters and parents and Newman could find no fault in the substance of its arguments. In a memorandum written in his own defence, Newman agreed that "a country place" was better than Birmingham. He claimed that he had never excluded Rednal as a site and that with Oscott so near he felt that they "were at a disadvantage". All this is significant, but of greater significance is Newman's own testimony that he was in a "state of great despondency from having no control over the school". There were "many things wrong in it" but "... Father Nicholas was not up to these wrongs or their removal". He stated that he "dreaded lest it should become a mere Protestant school" and "felt hos much easier it was to manage little boys than great".(14)

Here then are Newman's motives laid bare: feeling that he was losing control of the school at the same time as its standards were seemingly deteriorating and always having had serious reservations about developing the school, he was reluctant to initiate the sort of system which Simeon and Scott-Murray enthused about because of the risks involved.

Acton argued that he should never have lost control:

> "He reduced himself to a nonentity in the school by keeping aloof from both boys and masters, and then expects that all the influence and attachment will not be concentrated in the dymoucros who does the work and exercises all the everyday authority." (15)

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14. J.H.N. - Memorandum, January 16, 1862.
15. Acton - R. Simpson, January 5, 1862.

In actual fact Newman was involved in a variety of other enterprises - he was editing the Rambler for example, and could not afford the school much time, but nevertheless, Acton's point is valid and it is significant that after the quarrel with Darnell had ended, despite being overworked, he took an infinitely more active role in the school's affairs than he had done originally.

It might also be argued that having lost control, he went about recovering it in an odd fashion; to write to one's "representative" whilst he was on holiday abroad - Darnell was in Germany when Newman complained to him in the summer of 1861 - and to criticise him coldly in print was hardly politic. Why not thrash the matter out face to face: after all, they shared the same table? Moreover, if Newman thought Darnell was incompetent, why did he constantly entreat him to continue?

In a sense, Newman had good cause not to want a public school. What of the cost involved? The promoters only collected £1,000 whereas the new buildings alone cost four times that figure. Where was the rest of the money to come from for the kind of expansion which Scott-Murray expected? Then there was the Rambler controversy. The Rambler was a periodical founded by Anglican converts and for a time Newman edited it.(16) It was suspected by the ultramontanes of being anti-papal before Newman became editor, but as a result of one of his articles, On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine, for which

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16. He edited it in 1859.

he was secretly delated to Rome, it was bitterly attacked by Wiseman and the hierarchy and clergy. Thus, at exactly the same time that he was opening the Oratory School, Newman's orthodoxy was under suspicion and in 1861 when Darnell was pressing him to rub shoulders with the great Protestant schools of the land, his integrity was still in doubt. The school's future was bound up with Newman's reputation and if he was to have embraced Protestant educational traditions as overtly as Darnell and his supporters demanded, he might well have jeopardised his own standing on the one hand and the school's progress on the other.

What of the school in relation to Catholic education as a whole? Although Newman originated the idea to improve the flow of undergraduates to Dublin, he seldom referred to this as his end. Acton on the other hand regarded it in this kind of context and asked if Newman intended patronising the University of Ireland or establishing a Catholic college at Oxford.

> "When the first generation of boys has been trained to University level, and turned out of Edgbaston - unless one of these alternatives is provided it will break down - for no fruit can ripen if the year ends in June." (17)

Darnell however, saw it only as a school in its own right. He was anxious above all else to establish a prototype Catholic public school and to blaze a trail so that others could follow and therefore June was the end so far as he was concerned.

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17. Acton - R. Simpson, January 5, 1862.

The school's academic standards were clearly not what they might have been and therefore Newman was justified in protesting. Moreover, it is obvious from the amount of time that he had to spend in 1862 on correcting the school accounts that Darnell was a poor administrator,(18) but moral standards might not have declined to the extent that he imagined. Simeon praised public schools for their "manliness", whilst Scott-Murray applauded the way in which they allowed for "independence" and "freedom of individual character". If Darnell was to develop the school along these lines by not supervising the boys, for instance, whilst they slept, as most Catholic colleges did, surely dormitory pranks such as gambling, were inevitable. Furthermore, by not insisting that his charges frequented the sacraments or engaged in acts of piety, was he not again attempting to relate public school "independence" to Catholic precept? Was Darnell not entitled therefore to turn a blind eye to talking in the dormitories or even misbehaviour in church to attain his end? If he was, then Newman's charges must obviously lose some of their sting.

Then there was the question of Darnell's colleagues: the four assistant teachers and Miss French, the second of the dames. They became implicated and consequently their future was as much in jeopardy as Darnell's. Oxenham and Moody were undoubtedly plotting to remove the school from Edgbaston and they encouraged Darnell to

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18. He had undercharged one parent, Mr. Wilberforce, by as much as £72 within the space of two years.

assume a greater control over the school's destiny. At that time, it was usual for headmasters of public schools to rule as absolutely as Arnold had at Rugby. The Clarendon Commission supported this trend by proposing that control over personnel and policies should be vested solely in their hands, and therefore in arguing that he had the right to chastise Mrs. Wootten and deprive her of whatever duties he thought fit, Darnell was echoing contemporary developments. It is not known whether or not Newman was aware of this trend, but if he was, he never showed it. He was sorry for Mrs. Wootten, and appalled by Darnell's outbursts, he claimed that she was subject to his authority alone. Oxenham, Moody, Marshall and Rougemont challenged this ruling and thereby brought Newman's wrath upon their heads, but of these four, it was Oxenham and Moody who were the real agitators. Oxenham was an ambitious man, one who was fairly forthright and somewhat anti-clerical. It was he who pressed Darnell to sever the school's ties with the Oratory, to assert his own sovereignty and to secularise the school's ethos, whilst Moody spread rumours about Newman's incompetence by suggesting that his reason was failing.

Matters came to a head somewhat innocuously. On Sunday, December 1, Mrs. Wootten called a doctor and later a surgeon, to examine a boy called Cholmeley who had chronic chilblains. She wrote to Mr. Marshall, Cholmeley's tutor, informing him of their decision:

> "The surgeon desires as well as Dr. Evans that Cholmeley be kept strictly to bed to cure his foot." (19)

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19. Mrs. Wootten - Mr. Marshall, December 2, 1861.

The next day, however, she allowed Cholmeley to attend a bazaar without notifying Darnell or his tutor, and on Tuesday took another invalid, Doria, together with Cholmeley, to a dog show, again without Darnell's knowledge. Mr. Marshall spotted them and informed the headmaster:

> "It may be as well to let you know without delay that to the astonishment of the boys as well as myself we came across Mrs. Wootten and her two invalids Cholmeley and Doria at the dog show. The crowd was very great in most places, a regular cram with plenty trampling on toes. Facts are sufficient without comments so I leave them to your digestion." (20)

The boys evidently knew that there was tension between Darnell and Mrs. Wootten because Marshall quoted Norfolk: "I say, Mr. Marshall, won't Father Darnell be in a wax." Darnell's reaction was instantaneous. He ruled that

> " ... no boy who is not on the sick list (is) to enter a dame's room on any pretext whatever without leave from his tutor. No boy on the sick list can leave his own house premises without the headmaster's permission. Boys who have leave out to their relations or friends from the headmaster, are to report themselves on going and returning to their own tutor." (21)

He also wrote to Mrs. Wootten. He wrote in the third person and sent a copy to Newman via Ambrose St. John. He began by reminding her of the doctors' instructions and continued:

> "Cholmeley was at the bazaar on Monday and at the dog show yesterday. Father Darnell finds

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20. Marshall - Darnell, December 3, 1861.
21. Darnell - Memorandum, December 4, 1861.

> it impossible to reconcile Cholmeley's absence from (bed) and presence at the bazaar with the express orders of Dr. Evans and the surgeon. He therefore takes it for granted that Cholmeley will be in school today at $11\frac{1}{2}$ oclock and begs Mrs. Wootten to have him ready accordingly.
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> "Father Darnell also begs that Mrs. Wootten will take no boy who is on the sick list out of the house without his express permission and that she will allow no boy who is not on the sick list to enter her room on any pretext whatever without leave from Mr. Marshall, Mr. Benham or himself." (22)

Darnell's policy was a reasonable, albeit dramatic, assertion of his sovereignty. If Cholmeley and Doria were fit enough to attend a crowded bazaar, they were fit enough to attend classes, but instead of taking it up with Darnell, Mrs. Wootten appealed to Newman and all too quickly the issues became distorted.

Mrs. Wootten, a highly emotional woman, tendered Newman her resignation, but he refused it:

> " ... your relinquishing your present duties would be the most calamitous of events as regards the prospect of the school. And I trust with all my heart that you will find it possible to stay for the sake of the boys and for the sake of their parents and for the sake of the Oratory." (23)

Newman defended Mrs. Wootten on the grounds that if she went,

> "parents would lose one of the main inducements which makes them send their children to us, and the Oratory would lose one of its best benefactors, one who uses all her influence among the boys to excite devotion to St. Philip and an affectionate loyalty towards his Birmingham house." (24)

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22. Darnell - Mrs. Wootten, December 4, 1861.
23. J.H.N. - Mrs. Wootten, December 6, 1861.
24. J.H.N. - Memorandum, December 28, 1861.

There is no evidence that parents patronised the school because of Mrs. Wootten's presence, but it is true that they worried about the pastoral aspects of education.

As a practical educator, Newman had always emphasised the pastoral as well as the academic. At Oxford and in Dublin he had seen to it that his pupils' personal needs were attended to as well as their intellectual, and consequently he saw Mrs. Wootten's role at Edgbaston as complementary to Darnell's. She attended to the boys'

> "private needs ... the care of their persons, their cleanliness, health and ... childish weaknesses and troubles ... " (24)

whilst he "grounded" them in their books and gave them "a really liberal education".(24) This duality was central to the application of Newman's educational thought and it was partly because Darnell was seeking to assume both roles himself that he chose to support Mrs. Wootten. Had Darnell been a competent administrator it might have been different, but whereas it seemed to Newman that Mrs. Wootten had fulfilled her role admirably, Darnell had not:

> "the fruits of Father Nicholas' exertions are to come and those of Mrs. Wootten have been immediate." (24)

To have allowed Darnell to have his way by assuming that he was responsible for supplying the boys' domestic needs when it was doubtful whether or not he could supply their classroom requirements, would have jeopardised the school's future still further. Newman was,

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24. J.H.N. - Memorandum, December 28, 1861.

therefore, just as adamant on this occasion as he had been in 1828 when he criticised Hawkins for not ministering to his students' pastoral needs, or in 1854 when he opened lodging houses in Dublin to meet his undergraduates' social and personal demands. Education for Newman was all-embracing; it was not just the intellectual prowess of his schoolboys that he was anxious to develop, but their psyche as a whole, and because it seemed to him that Mrs. Wootten was fulfilling a role which Darnell was apparently unable to fulfil, he insisted on retaining her services.

Save for her odd behaviour over Cholmeley and Doria, Mrs. Wootten was a diligent and devoted servant.(25) She claimed two things: firstly, complete authority over her own house, and secondly, access to her boys whenever she wished. She reckoned that she had given "distinct assurances" to many parents that she would "look to the personal health and comfort of the boys committed to (her) care"(26) and that if she saw anything faulty in their relations with other boys or in any other "little matter"(26) she would "help them out of it".(26) She wanted, therefore, to send for a boy "for any one of these purposes without making any fuss or difficulty ... or drawing upon him any notice that might disquiet him."(26) She also had medicines to administer and diets to supervise, "an extra handkerchief or a collar, (or) a dry pair of stockings" to supply and letters to write

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25. She bought a house next to the Oratory and gave it to the school.
26. Mrs. Wootten - J.H.N., December 7, 1861.

for those boys in difficulties of a confidential kind. She kept money for her boys and bandaged their cuts and bruises. She tried to break various bad habits they fell into and tended them when they were ill. She was therefore claiming that if her "discretionary"(26) powers were taken away from her, her effectiveness would be undermined and her promises to the boys' parents would be broken.

Newman was exaggerating when he contended that Mrs. Wootten's resignation would mean "almost the destruction"(27) of the project; he claimed that if she left, "there was a chance of half the school going",(28) but Darnell's statement that her "independent authority"(29) was prejudicial to the integrity of the school was likewise exaggerated. Newman and Darnell met to discuss the question on December 8, but settled nothing.(30) Indeed, Darnell was incensed and accused Newman of "blinking the point at issue".(29) It was a question not of renewing the "entente cordiale"(29) between himself and his recalcitrant dame, but of creating a

> "right understanding between her and each of (his) masters and tutors - Miss French - the great majority of boys ... the servants and all ... connected with the school." (29)

It was a "patent absurdity ... a sheer impossibility"(29) for Mrs. Wootten to appeal to Newman over his head. She was:

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26. Mrs. Wootten - J.H.N., December 7, 1861.
27. J.H.N. - Darnell, December 7, 1861. This phrase was struck out of the actual letter for fear of offending Darnell.
28. J.H.N. - R. Ornsby, January 31, 1862.
29. Darnell - J.H.N., December 9, 1861.
30. Darnell genuinely hoped for a settlement and was "thankful for the opportunity of ending this misery" - Darnell - J.H.N., December 3, 1861.

> "a veritable imperium in imperico - a German princess regnant with a backway to the Emperors of Russia and Austria, when she falls out with Prussia ... She has utterly lost my confidence (and) has thrown contempt and defiance at all my masters and tutors ... " (29)

When Darnell accused Newman of "blinking" the issue he was right. Newman was not arguing about the status of a dame, the position of a headmaster or the nature of the school, nor even at this point about its academic and moral standards or its place in the scheme of Catholic education. He side-stepped these issues and claimed that it was a "question between him and me".

> "Is the school mine or is it his ... Mine, I mean not only as Father Superior but as direct originator of the undertaking." (31)

It is noticeable that at this point Newman began to involve the Oratory and to treat it as an internal matter. He felt that his prime allegiance was to the order of which he was head, but Darnell, who was just as wrapped up in the school as Newman was in the Oratory, felt his allegiance was to the school and consequently they were pulling against each other.

Darnell made the error of allowing himself to be diverted from the educational issues at stake by becoming emotional and volatile. He was quite right to insist that Mrs. Wootten should not act independently. Dames were moribund and were fast giving way to housemasters. Indeed, in 1865 she left the school and was not replaced. Consequently,

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29. Darnell - J.H.N., December 9, 1861.
31. J.H.N. - Memorandum, December 15, 1861.

when he complained that she countered his instructions with "propositions of her own", "scorned his dormitory rules"[29] and tampered with the loyalty of his servants, he was justified, but she was not "insidious", "dangerous ... insolent ... (or) perverse", nor was she "frantic". Darnell's bitterness was all the more illogical because of the genuine affection he felt for his "most unselfish benefactress, (his) most willing servant and most tender nurse and second mother".[29]

Thus, whereas Darnell argued that he should have authority over the school staff as a whole, Newman argued that he should not. Neither would give way, the former because he wanted to make the school independent and the latter because he wished to safeguard the Oratory's influence. Their dispute escalated very quickly but whereas Darnell was never short of sympathisers at first Newman was. The latter could only count on Bellasis and Hope Scott in the first instance, although others backed him after the storm had subsided. Newman drew up a list of principles which he intended to insist upon. No boy was to enter the school without his consent, each boy was to be examined at least twice per year, no furniture was to be purchased or repairs carried out without his approval and the headmaster was not to order anything in excess of one pound unless he had countersigned the order himself.[31] He outlined these principles in a letter which he intended to send to Darnell:

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29. Darnell - J.H.N., December 9, 1861.
31. J.H.N. - Memorandum, December 15, 1861.

"1. I am the immediate superior of the school. If I wish to speak to the masters, dames, etc. I am not obliged to do so through you; not need they speak to me through you. On the contrary there is ever an appeal to me from any of them, and a supervision on my part over all of them.

"2. The whole property of the school belongs to the Congregation. Its houses, buildings, grounds, furniture, and the whole material, are ours and no one's else. It has surprised me accidentally to be told that you claim certain furniture, and that you have kept back certain engagements or leases. All this confusion should have ceased long ago, and now it must cease at once.

"3. The confessors must be allowed their free influence upon the boys, and not be dealt with in a peremptory manner.

"I know the value of your services; but rather than these conditions should not be observed, I should be content that the school should come to nought. And it is necessary before proceeding that I should receive your distinct recognition of them." (32)

If Newman had made these points clear during the negotiations leading up to the opening of the school, perhaps there would have been no conflict. On the other hand, had Darnell known of these "principles", he would surely have never taken the post, since points one and two hardly coincide with St. John's statement that the Oratory only wanted to "watch over the school" and Newman's own statement that the Oratory desired merely to "superintend".

This letter was never sent because Darnell wrote in the meantime in a manner which was so "violent" that there seemed little

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32. J.H.N. - Darnell, December 17, 1861.

point in sending it. Darnell's letter marked his point of no return:

> "Here as there (Winchester, Eton etc.) the only remedy is for (an) insubordinate dame to return to her duty to (the) proper superior or to go.
>
> "It is quite clear that the time is long past for Mrs. Wootten to take the former step.
>
> "(As) between her and me the evil is still deeper. She has presumed to lecture me on obedience, and has put forward what she supposes to be a failing on my part in my duty to you, as the ground of her failing in her duty to me. Thus then, she is scrutinising me through an imaginary Oratorian medium of her own and assuming an important dictatorship to(herself) ...
>
> "I have written to Mrs. Wootten to say that as far as she and I are concerned, the status quo cannot continue, that one or other of us must go ... " (33)

Darnell's letter to Mrs. Wootten (dated December 13) made it clear that if she stayed on after the Christmas holidays he would consider his position "de trop"(34) and would resign forthwith. It is significant that he held this letter back for almost a week - he obviously hoped that Newman would give way - but the latter's brief note of December 16(35) convinced him that he had to take this step even if

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33. Darnell - J.H.N., December 19, 1861.
34. Darnell - Mrs. Wootten, December 13, 1861.
35. "On my return here on Saturday I got your letter. Of course you do not expect me to answer it at the moment; but this I will say, that you are wrong in thinking I felt Mrs. Wootten's requests to be unreasonable, or that I was conscious of "blinking" the issue. I further remark that your letter on the face of it, disavows the right of appeal on the part of subordinates in the school to me as President, and this I cannot for an instant allow. I think you must never forget that without my name the School would not be, and that many (to say the least) of the parents make me responsible for their children".

it meant involving other people. Not that Newman was moved:

> "The headmastership of the School has been put into your hands by the Congregation, and to the Congregation you must deliver it up, tho I heartily trust you will think better of it. And besides this, the obvious propriety of the case requires you to give notice to us of your intention; for I am sure you do not wish suddenly to drive us into a corner. The immediate and abrupt resignation either of you or of Mrs. Wootten would be a great disadvantage to the school.
>
> "Accordingly I think it right, and I do not know how to doubt that you readily will concur with me, to put you under obedience not to do more in the matter, either towards Mrs. Wootten or as regards myself, till I have a talk with you." (36)

Newman also wrote to Mrs. Wootten and told her neither to write to Darnell nor to talk to him.

Certain of the boys sympathised with Mrs. Wootten:

> " ... some of the boys have shown remarkable affection to Mrs. Wootten on occasion of the notice forbidding them to go to her - e.g. Bowden, your younger son, Simeon, Doria, Beccatini, Waldron, the younger Capes, Petre, two Hornyolds, Powell, Charlton, Poole (and) the younger Hibbert. These are boys too who go to her on Sunday evenings to escape the card playing - e.g. the two Bethells and Norfolk, but this does not exactly prove that they would be strongly for her ... " (37)

The controversy came into the open on Christmas Eve. It was then that a Congregation of the Oratory was held at which Newman read a prepared statement. In this he urged the fathers not to discuss the matter since it would involve them in "long, painful and

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36. J.H.N. - Darnell, December 20, 1861.
37. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, December 23, 1861.

unnecessary discussions".[38] He recognised that Darnell and Mrs. Wootten could no longer "act together"[38] but claimed that this did not mean that they should "dispense with either".[38] He reiterated his claim that the school was "his" and quoted from the school prospectus to prove it.[39] He also quoted from the original decree by which the Congregation made Darnell the "Father Superior's representative in the undertaking"[38] and gave Mrs. Wootten "management" of the School House. Newman paid tribute to Darnell and his dame, describing them as "the pillars of (his) undertaking"[38] and in order to retain their services proposed a compromise: "an upper school and an under school quite distinct from and independent of each other".[38] Darnell would be headmaster of the upper school in which there would be no dames, only servants, servants who "would have no right of appeal"[38] to Newman: "they must obey (Darnell) or go", whilst the under school would have another headmaster with Mrs. Wootten as Dame.[40] This was a generous offer, providing Darnell with the opportunity, firstly, of ending the controversy without loss of face, and secondly, of developing a public school along his own lines.

From the Oratory minutes it is clear that Darnell had no authority to appoint staff without consulting Newman:

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38. Newman's statement of December 24 is a very long document, too long to quote at length.
39. "It is the intention of Fr. Newman ... to commence ... a school ... and he takes this step at the instance of friends."
40. Messrs. Moody and Oxenham would teach in the upper school and Marshall and Rougemont in the lower. Boys would be transferred at thirteen from one to the other.

> "the appointment of all Masters, Dames, Servants and of the whole personnel ... shall rest with the Father Prefect with the confirmation of the Father." (41)

It is also clear that neither he nor Newman could make basic policy decisions without Congregation's consent. Such items as the leasing of new property, the appointment of auditors, the purchase of new furniture, land surveys, even the purchase of the school clock, all had to be debated by the fathers assembled in Congregation. Thus Darnell was undoubtedly assuming greater responsibility than he was strictly entitled to.(42)

At first, it seemed that he was interested in Newman's compromise. He "seemed pleased with it"(43) and asked for a few days "to think about it".(43) But even if Darnell accepted they were "not yet out of the wood". Newman maintained that the promoters had

> "the whole of the advantage (except the merit) and we the whole of the risk ... We are willing to give our time, thought, labour and anxieties to it, but it is scarcely fair that we shall involve ourselves deeply in pecuniary liabilities for the sake of others ... We must engage a large house if the new plan comes into operation ... How is this to be met?" (43)

What did the promoters think? Bellasis and Hope Scott were resolutely opposed to Darnell's policy and urged Newman to settle the question of primacy once and for all. They suggested that if

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41. Oratory Minutes, December 4, 1860.
42. He doubtless thought he was acting in the best interests of the school and had even used his own money to help pay its initial debts.
43. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, December 24, 1861.

Darnell did not come to heel he should be "discontinued"[44] and they should make their own way without him. There were others, however, who thought differently. Scott-Murray, Francis Ward, Lord Thynne, Richard Simpson and Acton for example, backed Darnell. Scott-Murray reckoned that he was a first class headmaster and feared for the school's future without him. Ward echoed these sentiments: Darnell was "really a good master", and after it was all over, he stated quite bluntly that he was unhappy about the outcome. This came from the promoter who had originally called the first meeting and had petitioned Newman on the promoters' behalf. Thynne expressed his sorrow and disappointment and told Newman that in driving Darnell out he had "abandoned what is called the public school system". He wrote to Newman "in confidence and perfect frankness", blaming Mrs. Wootten for being "too independent" and praising Darnell's excellence - he had "entirely ... won ... the confidence of the parents and the love of the boys."[45] Simpson, however, tended to misrepresent the affair. He gave lengthy versions of what had happened and claimed that the boys "hate Mrs. Wootten, love Darnell, and care nothing for Newman whom they never see". Acton, who was a close friend of Darnell, testified that Newman would "fail without him"[46] and considered the episode to be a tragedy with far-reaching repercussions for English Catholics. The crisis, he thought, was "grave" and "all the future of

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44. S. Bellasis - J.H.N., December 24, 1861.
45. Lord Thynne - J.H.N., January 16, 1862.
46. Acton - R. Simpson, January 13, 1862.

education (was) at stake".[47]

Christmas passed and then the storm broke. On December 27, Darnell resigned and the school was "in hot water".[47] The events of the next few days were confused. On December 28, whilst expressing his "fixed intention"[48] to resign, Darnell offered to stay till Easter provided Mrs. Wootten left immediately.[49] He also presented the resignations of Moody, Oxenham, Marshall and Rougemont, who had actually handed him their resignations nine days earlier. All four were resolute:

> "We have learned with deep regret that, in consequence of serious complications having arisen between yourself and Dr. Newman in reference to the position of Mrs. Wootten as a dame in the school, you have felt it your duty to tender the resignation of your post as headmaster ... You will not need to be assured of our entire confidence in your fitness for the important and responsible office which you have hitherto so efficiently discharged, or our hearty sympathy with you in your protest against a claim which we had long and growingly felt convinced was fatal to the best interests, if not to the continued existence of the school - under these circumstances our line of duty however painful is clear. We have therefore to request that in tendering the resignation of your own post as headmaster, you will accept our resignation of the posts which we have hitherto held under you in the school." (50)

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47. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, December 27, 1861.
48. A "connecting notice" in a collection of documents "re Darnell".
49. Newman promised to consider this offer, but felt obliged to take counsel in London with Bellasis before making a final decision.
50. The joint resignation - December 19, 1861.

In a sense the resignations were to Newman's advantage since he was dissatisfied with each of them and especially with Moody, whose resignation he accepted there and then. Upon hearing of Newman's reaction to Moody's resignation, Darnell withdrew his offer to stay till Easter - "nothing in heaven and earth should make (me) come back ... even though the Congregation make (me) head of the school instead of ... "[51] Newman - and concluded "that all is over". He was still drawn to Newman and apologised for his "coldness and pride", adding "I love you from my heart and shall always love you, better if possible than my own father",[52] whilst Newman reciprocated, "I return your affection with all my heart".[53] Although he appealed again and again to Darnell to reconsider his decision, Newman knew at that point that the latter's mind was made up, and therefore decided to assume the role of headmaster for himself and to recruit new staff. This was a major decision which was widely applauded, and it was to have lasting repercussions for himself and the school.

Miss French resigned on December 28. She also felt affection for Newman:

> "I wish I could express my gratitude for your generous confidence and kindness to me - or tell you my love and sorrow for you ... " (54)

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51. J.H.N. - Memorandum, December 29, 1861.
52. Darnell - J.H.N., December 28, 1861.
53. J.H.N. - Darnell, December 28, 1861.
54. Miss French - J.H.N., December 28, 1861. She left on January 7 and was replaced by Miss Mitchell. Newman tried hard to make her change her mind - "Pray don't (leave) ... till you give me a trial ... Say you will stay till Easter, and then ... you will be able to say whether I am worthy of your confidence." - J.H.N. - Miss French, December 29, 1861.

but her loyalty to Darnell compelled her to resign.

Newman was not surprised by these events, but when Darnell resigned from the Oratory itself, he was shocked. Of the nine priests who made up the Congregation, Fathers Flanaghan and Ryder supported Darnell with the others apparently uncommitted at that stage although Fathers St. John, Neville and Bittleston soon gave Newman their support. There was therefore "confusion among (his) people" and he was plainly worried: "another Cross is laid on me and a heavy one".(55)

So far as re-staffing went, Newman interviewed a prospective teacher, a Mr. Butler, in London and upon returning to Birmingham, wrote to two others: Mr. Campbell and Mr. Pope.(56) Campbell was recommended by Allies and Newman asked him to become first master at £150 per year,(57) but he refused the post because he was already committed to a grammar school in Dublin. Richard Pope was the brother of Thomas Pope, an acquaintance of Newman's. He was teaching in Gibraltar at the time, but accepted Newman's offer of a post at £100 per year and remained at the school for the rest of his career. Newman also wrote to a Mr. Rowlett asking him to become a prefect at £50 per year, but Rowlett was too late in replying and was therefore passed over. Newman still had hopes that Rougemont and Marshall would surrender and therefore knowing this, Bellasis suggested to them that

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55. J.H.N. - Catherine A. Bethurst, December 29, 1861.
56. Newman was eventually able to do without Mr. Butler, He only accepted him provided there was a place for him.
57. Newman checked on Campbell with Faber who also knew him and asked "what is his presence, and address and social qualities ...", J.H.N. - Faber, December 31, 1861.

they might withdraw their resignations. Rougemont was the first to do so. He wrote "a very proper letter ... such as became a priest and a gentleman",(58) which Newman accepted: "It is a great relief to me to feel now there is no kind of difference between us".(59) However, Newman was reluctant to have Marshall back until he had recognised the error of his ways and it took four letters from the penitent before the former eventually agreed to have him back.

Ambrose St. John canvassed the Catholic University in Dublin:

> "We want one of the Professors, Arnold, Stewart, Ornsby or Renouf ... Our terms are £50 per month with board and lodging ... " (60)

Arnold accepted St. John's invitation and was released by the university despite the fact that he had private pupils whom his colleagues were reluctant to take off his hands. Newman knew that Arnold was a fine scholar and an efficient teacher, but he wanted him primarily because of his name: "The advertising of so great a gun would benefit the school".

Newman described Darnell's conduct as "extravagant ... inexpressibly impatient, peremptory and dictatorial",(61) and so it was. There can be no doubt that he had "made an enormous scandal",(62) but Newman tended to exaggerate the enormity of it. He claimed, for instance, that Darnell had:

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58. J.H.N. - Bellasis, January 3, 1862.
59. J.H.N. - Rougemont, January 5, 1862.
60. J.H.N. - Ambrose St. John, January 6, 1862.
61. J.H.N. - Pollen, January 7, 1862.
62. J.H.N. - Monsell, January 5, 1862.

> "been round people ... giving out that he and Father Flanaghan were going, which now is in the mouths of all the people," (63)

and secondly, that "he was going to set up a school, and (was) speaking of the boys ... whom he could secure",(64) "how many only time must show".(65) He was plainly anxious and told Hope Scott: "If I do not yield they will write to the parents against me".(66) What evidence did Newman have that Darnell was working behind his back? What justification was there in his accusation that Darnell was "addressing himself to the parents one by one, to get the boys away"?(66) He had heard of a meeting between Darnell and his four colleagues which was called apparently to issue a public statement, but no statement was issued as two of the staff "dissented".(67) Newman knew that these were Rougemont and Marshall because they had decided at that stage to withdraw their resignations, but he did not know that it was Darnell who managed to restrain Moody and Oxenham, both of whom were incensed by Rougemont's "dastardly conduct"(67) from petitioning the parents. Acton who was close to Darnell, recorded that his friend had quietly "resolved to make no public demonstration and restrained the eagerness of Oxenham ... "(68) Indeed, the letter Darnell wrote to Newman on the day of his staff meeting was the epitome of discretion. He was so pacific at that stage that he even

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63. J.H.N. - Hope Scott, January 4, 1862.
64. J.H.N. - Hope Scott, January 4, 1862.
65. J.H.N. - Hope Scott, January 12, 1862.
66. J.H.N. - Bellasis, January 5, 1862.
67. Bellasis - J.H.N., January 3, 1862.
68. Acton - Simpson, January 13, 1862.

asked for permission to withdraw his resignation from the Oratory:

> "Allies (has) ... told me that you are under the impression that I and my staff ... have been working to upset you in the school - and to transfer it elsewhere. For one and all I undertake to say most positively that this is not (the) fact - and that Mrs. Wootten was and is the real ostensible crux ... For my own part I am willing as a proof of my sincerity to ask you to inspect my last note ... so far as it concerns the steps necessary to be taken for my leaving the Oratory, till it is your own will and choice that I should put it forward again." (69)

Newman was pleased "to see the beginnings of a change of mind and heart" but told Darnell "what you have written is not enough".(70) If he exaggerated the damage Darnell was doing to the school he did not exaggerate the effect he could have on the Oratory itself. Newman was reluctant to lose Father Nicholas - "we all love Nicholas and he loves us" (71) - but as Superior of the order he could not allow one of his fathers to break their Rule with impunity:

> " ... he had not observed the subordination due to me as Father Superior from a subject of the Oratory." (72)

Then, quite out of the blue, came the news that Newman had been hoping for:

> "Bellasis has sent me the wonderful news that Father Darnell has given in. Darnell is wretched in the extreme, and all Friday evening cried, and

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69. Darnell - J.H.N., January 3, 1862.
70. J.H.N. - Darnell, January 5, 1862.
71. J.H.N. - H. Wilberforce, January 26, 1862. Newman still tended to distort the issues between them. He wrote a letter to Darnell on January 4, 1862 (it was never actually sent) in which he stated, quite falsely, that the issues between them were limited to the question of the resignations. Clearly, he found it difficult to believe that a friend had been disloyal.
72. J.H.N. - A note, January 3, 1862.

> all night, admitted himself to have been wholly in the wrong in having presented the resignation of the masters ... and that he would not meet the rest on Saturday morning but went away and was willing to do anything to make amends etc." (73)

Newman proposed that Darnell "go away for half a year"(73) after which the Oratorians could consider his letters of resignation. His name would be kept on the prospectus and the boys would be told that "our dear Father Darnell was away for a time".(73) He would also be required to sign a declaration (signed by the other fathers too) of confidence in Newman, and to permit a thorough reorganisation in his absence. When he returned he might be allowed to develop "an incipient upper school"(73) at Rednal. Hope Scott, however, wisely criticised these propositions. He thought it good that Darnell should be absent for six months, but opposed the declaration of confidence - it was most unlike Newman to make a haughty demand of this kind - and questioned the logic of reorganising the school without the headmaster's consent. What kind of a headmaster would he be if he returned to a school which had been remodelled by someone else to make good his deficiencies?(74)

Darnell's change of attitude had occurred in London where he was staying with John Hungerford Pollen and his wife. Apparently, "his heart was wrapt up in the school",(75) he could not bear to

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73. J.H.N. - Hope Scott, January 5, 1862.
74. Newman sensibly accepted Hope Scott's criticisms and proposed that if Darnell returned, he should only be asked to remove himself for six months, after which time all other matters could be settled amicably.
75. J.H.N. - Bellasis, January 5, 1862.

leave it, and because of this he accepted his friends' advice and decided to return to repair the damage. Newman recalled that "Mrs. Wootten prophesied the change of mind in him", although she warned that "what has happened once, may happen again."(75)

On January 6, Darnell returned, but alas he showed no signs of the repentance that Bellasis had written of and asked "whether he (should) remove his effects."(76) He had "frozen up again" and left for the Queen's Hotel from where he wrote asking how he might bring the "miserable affair to a conclusion" with "as little pain as possible".(77) Had Newman and Darnell been able to meet to discuss the affair, a satisfactory conclusion might have been arrived at, but the former's authoritarianism and the latter's pride prevented this, and consequently they continued their debate on paper.

Newman asked Darnell to go away for a week - Darnell went to stay with his sister in Wolverhampton - and also re-approached Pollen to see if he could mediate a second time. Darnell had seemingly left the Pollen's in humble and contrite mood - he was "calm, anxious for conciliation and ready to concede all he could honestly do"(78) - but before returning to Edgbaston he had called on Scott-Murray and there had "found sympathy".(79) This caused him to alter his mind yet again and led Newman to describe him a few days later as "changeable, quite like a child".(80)

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75. J.H.N. - Bellasis, January 5, 1862.
76. J.H.N. - Ambrose St. John, January 8, 1862.
77. Darnell - J.H.N., January 7, 1862.
78. J.H.N. - Pollen, January 21, 1862.
79. Pollen - J.H.N., January 7, 1862. He stayed with Scott Murray two days.
80. J.H.N. - Hope Scott, January 8, 1862.

Darnell's behaviour did much to strengthen Newman's status within the Oratory itself. The divisions which were apparent on December 27 and 28 disappeared. Indeed, Father Henry Bittleston could not "conceive how anyone ... could have spread about ... that ... the fathers were not with ..." Newman. In his opinion Newman was compelled to act as he had in justice to Mrs. Wootten, because of his obligations to the parents and founders of the school, and his duty to St. Philip and the Congregation. "It was just one of those trials which prove a man's fitness to govern".(81) Newman replied that he had "never mentioned Nicholas' ordinary right to send away dames - but his power of sending Mrs. Wootten away instanter without appeal to me".(82) Strictly speaking this was true, as was his statement to Hope Scott; "I never refused to Father D. to remove her - I only said that it could not be done abruptly ... "(83) However, had Darnell made these demands, Newman would doubtless have refused them. Mrs. Wootten's future was central to their argument and to infer differently suggests that Newman's conscience was worrying him.

What of Darnell? His happiness was at stake and so too was the Oratory's reputation. If only Darnell would "make some sort of an apology".(84) "Any sort of submission would be enough, '... if he said he might have done better", this was all Newman wished.(84)

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81. H. Bittleston - J.H.N. (undated).
82. J.H.N. - Bittleston, January 2, 1862.
83. J.H.N. - Hope Scott, January 8, 1862.
84. J.H.N. - Pollen, January 10, 1862.

Hungerford Pollen, who had been asked to mediate, failed even to locate Darnell and therefore Newman made one last appeal himself:

> "My first thought this morning was to write to you a private line intreating you for St. Philip's sake to be merciful to yourself and to us. We cannot bear to part with you. You have a place in our hearts and are rooted both in the Oratory and among our people. Why will you destroy the work of so many years, and leave all our affections lacerated and bleeding?
>
> "There is only one thing we prefer above you, that is our duty to St. Philip. I cannot believe that your good sense will not tell you that you have been precipitate both in the steps you have taken towards the Congregation and in your generous disposition to refuse to avow what I venture to say every one feels. If, however, you still refuse, I will not give up hope. I will hope that time and reflection will effect what our entreaties cannot. Accordingly I shall propose to the Congregation to put off the consideration of your letter of resignation for six months, giving you leave of absence in the interval. The thought of you, in the meantime, I know well will be in the minds, prayers, and Masses of all of us." (85)

Darnell replied as follows:

> "The whole complication is so hideous that I cannot see my way out of it, or indeed into it - and therefore for all our sakes and for my sake especially I will entreat you to have recourse to the expedient, painful one as it must prove to be at best - of my going abroad for six months with your leave, and that of the congregation. I do not attempt to say more - though I could say much - for there is no use in making complication more complicated. Only, whatever I may now or eventually think of your and my public acts be assured of my remaining unshaken in love to yourself, the fathers, Mrs. Wootten and all." (86)

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85. J.H.N. - Darnell, January 11, 1862.
86. Darnell - J.H.N., January 12, 1862.

In response, Newman wrote:

> "I received your letter yesterday and am obliged to say I am disappointed that, together with its declaration of unshaken affection for us, which you cannot doubt we all return, it does not contain a word expressive of your submission to the Congregation or if you wish to withdraw or explain any of your recent acts. We have passed a resolution this morning in Congregation Deputata giving you six months leave of absence from this date. At the end of this time we shall take into consideration your letter of December 30 in which you state your desire to be released from your obligation to the Congregation." (87)

And there the matter rested. Darnell became private tutor to Prince Doria's son, Alfonso and later worked as a priest in Northumberland.(88) He returned to the Oratory to collect his papers and belongings on January 16 but made no attempt to submit when his six months exile was up.(89)

Newman tended to exaggerate the extent of the scandal although it was natural as Father Superior that he should have done so. "The scandal he has brought upon us," he said, "is ... enormous"(90) and "the mischief he has done among our own people is vast".(91) He summed it all up as follows:

> "My greatest support, after that of a clear conscience, is the verdict of my friends in this matter - and they go one way. I really

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87. J.H.N. - Darnell, January 13, 1862.
88. Newman gave Darnell his permission on January 18, 1862. " ... there is no reason against you forming an engagement with Prince Doria".
89. Many ludicrous rumours were spread abroad, e.g. the protestants of the neighbourhood believed Darnell had gone off with Miss French.
90. J.H.N. - Bellasis, January 5, 1862.
91. J.H.N. - Pollen, January 5, 1862.

> cannot see that I have been wrong in any one step I have taken - and I have all along expressed to Nicholas by my acts the true affection which I have for him. He is hampered, it seems to me, by a sense of honour to the undermasters and this combination is a stronger feeling with him than the submission to his Congregation ... " (92)

There is no doubt that Newman acted with integrity and honesty but so did Darnell. So did Mrs. Wootten, the promoters, the teaching staff and the Oratory fathers.

Darnell's attempt to establish a public school which was independent of the Oratory and subordinate to his jurisdiction therefore failed. Indeed, as a result of the controversy the Oratory's role became supreme. Hope Scott suggested that its power should be sovereign:

> "If the Oratory is to lend its name and incur responsibility, the Congregation must be supreme; and so far as individual Oratorians take part in its management they must do so with the constant sense that they are merely officers of the body". (93)

But if Scott had broadcast this line in the early stages, the school would never have been opened because the promoters would have withheld their patronage.

Acton watched the confrontation from a distance yet identified the principal issues which were at stake much more clearly than most. He saw that the question of Mrs. Wootten's "suicide" was irrelevant and supposed quite rightly that this was an argument firstly about the Oratory's connexion with the school and secondly, about the nature of the school itself.

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92. J.H.N. - Pollen, January 10, 1862. W. Ward described it as " ... a trial which brought out all the determination and force in action which Newman could show on occasions". Vol.1, p.456.

93. Hope Scott - J.H.N., January 4, 1862.

> "By the new building ... the school has become a regular appendage, almost a part of a religious house - and that for good; and of course at the same time the secular character of the establishment is diminished, and the Protestant public school element so far as it consists in dame's houses and the absence of surveillance necessarily loses ground. The school is rivetted to the spot for ever and stands or falls with the Oratory. One should suppose that the tendency of all this is to conciliate those whom the Protestant associations offended and it may be connected with a change which I think has taken place of late in Newman's views on education ..."

It is not clear what Arnold meant by Newman's change of views, but it could be that Arnold fancied that Newman was interpreting education more narrowly than he had done in Ireland, as Roman Catholic rather than Catholic.

Acton agreed that Newman should assume the headship of the school, but he was resolutely opposed to the way in which the school was tied to the Oratory. "It should learn to stand on its own merits," he said, "to resist the storm which will assail it when the awful chief is gone."(94)

Early in January, Darnell visited Acton and the latter's account of what transpired affords an interesting comparison with Newman's version.

> " ... Darnell is here, and the complication has increased since you saw him. He has resolved to be away for a time, his presence at the Oratory being a stumbling block to the school now that

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94. Acton - R. Simpson, January 5, 1862.

> he is no longer master - but he will never be able to remain in the Oratory again, I think, unless he recovers his headmastership.
>
> "He wrote yesterday definitively to Newman in spite of my urgent advice to do nothing that will be irrevocable, and refused to let me involve myself in the usual fate of meddlers, which seemed to me the last forlorn card, now that Hope-Scott has been deluded. Newman's strong feeling against Oxenham is a greater obstacle to any arrangement than his strong proceedings against Darnell. He means to go on with Arnold and Marshall, the other Marshall and Rougemont having submitted. The case of the latter affords a sinister satisfaction to Oxenham, who sees in his iniquiry the result of the seminary system. Moody goes to Oscott ...
>
> " ... I have encouraged (Darnell) to write merely a short private letter to a few parents who know him best - such as can be shown. This he has composed with great skill and judgement - neither justifying himself, nor giving up his point, neither accusing Newman nor patronising his successors, nor divulging secrets - quite short and matter of fact. Oxenham has written to Newman a letter which is a masterpiece of temper for an indignant and angry man ... I see no hope unless Darnell some day comes back - a consummation which depends henceforward on the wisdom of Arnold. If Darnell had taken any revenge, or made public protest or opposition - that would be impossible for ever. He cannot stand by himself, and Newman must fail without him." (95)

Later Acton recorded that Darnell and Oxenham were "disputing", and then

> " ... Darnell is gone. Oxenham goes tomorrow, having exhausted the topics of possible discussion with me, and kept me up till $2\frac{1}{2}$ in the morning for a fortnight." (96)

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95. Acton - Simpson, January 13, 1862.
96. Acton - Simpson, January 21, 1862 - "Oratory School Magazine", 1960-1.

Differences between Darnell and Oxenham became increasingly acute and rumours became more and more sour:

> " ... I wrote yesterday to Darnell warning him of the dangers of an opposition scheme. I have never distinctly known how much influence Oxenham has had with him. There has been some coolness between them of late; People have convinced Darnell that Newman will not take him into the House again ... But the position is getting more and more complicated. Bellasis is circulating the letters of Newman and Darnell and the effect without explanation, is of course unfavourable. Bellasis accompanies them with lying comments of his own. This is an unfair and aggressive measure and considering the generous forbearance and reserve of Darnell no better than infamous. I could not now advise the others not to put forth a defence, but I have begged Darnell to do nothing, which ... should prevent his (recovering) ... " (97)

There was obviously a small but important group in favour of pressing Darnell's return upon Newman: Dr. Wetherell of Oscott was one and Francis Ward was another, and therefore Newman was wrong when he claimed that all his friends supported him.(98) Moreover, it is obvious from Acton's account that Darnell acted with much greater restraint and temperance than Newman gave him credit for and that Oxenham was much more dangerous to Newman than Moody. Simpson's account,(99) although sprinkled with discrepancies is likewise revealing because it shows that had Newman not accepted Moody's resignation so quickly, Darnell might conceivably have submitted.

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97. Acton - R. Simpson, March 6, 1862.
98. "It would be a great thing if Newman would be induced to do what Wetherell suggests. Francis Ward is thinking the same thing" - Acton - R. Simpson, March 18, 1862.
99. See Appendix 'I'.

It was unfortunate that Darnell should have been lunching with the Moody family when Newman's note accepting the latter's resignation arrived because henceforth he felt he owed it to Moody to leave when he did.

It is odd that having recently returned from Ireland complaining that Cullen had obstructed his plans for the university by not supporting him, Newman should have checked Darnell in much the same authoritarian way. It is true that Cullen was motivated chiefly by political considerations whereas Newman was not, but Newman's victory over Darnell was just as pyrrhic as Cullen's. Darnell was gone, his enthusiasm lost to the school and his presence lost to the Oratory. As Acton said, it was a tragedy.

When he went to Dublin to establish the Catholic university, Newman adopted a bold, idealistic approach and laid his plans openly for all the world to see, but when he established the Oratory School he was cautious and secretive, reluctant to reveal his hand and given uncharacteristically to expediency. There is no doubt that the type of public school envisaged by Darnell, Simeon, Acton and Scott-Murray was closer in kind to which the Clarendon Commission envisaged than Newman's, but whereas they were idyllic - they envisaged a showpiece school, a shining example of enterprise, scholarship, culture and liberality - Newman saw it for what it was: a risky enterprise, beset with a host of practical difficulties, the kind of which were common to most first generation schools.

It would have been better had Newman taken Darnell into his confidence far more than he did - he tended to take his loyalty for granted - and better had he defined the Oratory's role more clearly. It was all very well declaring that it was his practice to delegate his authority to those he trusted, but he carried this to illogical lengths. Father Nicholas was a good friend, a sound scholar and a well-meaning teacher. However, he was an inefficient administrator and consequently standards began to decline, but because he had not been active in the school's affairs, Newman had no effective means of arresting this decline.

The school obviously belonged to Newman in the sense that he was responsible for it just as Cullen was responsible for the University of Ireland, but at the same time Darnell had as much right to claim that it was his duty to supervise staff and make policy decisions, as Newman had when he was rector in Ireland. Mrs. Wootten had undoubtedly worked hard on behalf of the school, but it is unlikely that she would have been afforded the degree of independence which she claimed in other boarding schools, and, therefore, it is doubtful whether Newman was justified in supporting her.

Darnell's emotional outbursts marked a turning point in the confrontation because they tended to justify Newman's criticism of him. Furthermore, his extravagant statements and dramatic gestures obscured the basic educational principles for which he was campaigning. He had a strong case and could have driven Newman into an even more difficult position had he kept his head.

Once he had begun to pick up the pieces, Newman's confidence in the school returned: "We are going on well ... when things go by system, they will go easier",(100) and by the end of the year he was jubilant. He described it as "a year of great trial and anxiety",(101) a year of "unusual difficulties" and complained that "the endlessness of the task to me (at my age) is a serious trial".(100) Newman ended his message to the staff thus:

> "I congratulate the masters and tutors on their manifest success in attaching the boys to them, in setting their minds in the right direction, in teaching them what discipline is, in making them obedient and in advancing them in their studies.
>
> "I am deeply grateful for the assistance, so indispensable to our welfare, of the matrons, for the unwearied vigilance with which they have watched over the bodily and moral health of the boys, have made the school a second home to them, and have hitherto, through God's Providence, shielded them from the illnesses which we hear of round about us.
>
> "Moreover, I congratulate you one and all on the peace and harmony, that rare and great gift, which prevails among you. And I earnestly pray that all these favours may be continued ..." (101)

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100. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, February 16, 1862.
101. J.H.N. - Staff of the School, Christmas, 1862.

CHAPTER NINE

HIS WORK AS HEADMASTER OF THE ORATORY SCHOOL

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In 1861 when he became headmaster of the Oratory School, Newman was sixty years old.(1) Having seemingly failed as rector of the Catholic University of Ireland, he was "under a cloud", rejected, mistrusted and feared by many of his Catholic contemporaries. Some thought his mind was failing,(2) others believed he was dying from a heart disease, whilst he complained of fatigue:

> "I am overworked, with various kinds of mental labour - and these pull me down ... " (3)

He felt frustrated rather than disappointed and constantly stressed his "great responsibilities and anxieties".(4) He shied at the physical effort involved:

> "The endlessness of the task at my age is a serious trial. It is as if I had nothing to look forward to in this life," (5)

and confided in Bellasis: "they ask too much when they wish me to turn headmaster".(6) Crises were inevitable:

> "one knows that trials and troubles are in the nature of things and will come in their season however fair things look" (7)

but was it worth the effort?

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1. W. Ward stated quite wrongly that "he was never active headmaster ... " - 'Life of J.H.N.', Vol.1, p.457.
2. The Moody family thought so.
3. J.H.N. - Dr. Charles Russell, May 27, 1862.
4. J.H.N. - Mother M. M. Hallahan, January or February, 1862.
5. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, February 16, 1862.
6. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, April 20, 1862.
7. J.H.N. - Duchess of Norfolk, January 30, 1862.

> "St. Christopher took up a little child and he proved too heavy for him - and thus we in our simplicity, allowed to ourselves ... to profess to take boys and are seriously alarmed at the responsibilities which we have brought on ourselves." (8)

Initially, he worried lest parents withdrew their sons on account of the recent "convulsion"(9) and wondered whether or not the boys would accept him. Actually, he had no need to worry. It is true that term began three days late, but everyone was there:

> "we have met without the loss of a single boy and with the addition of several." (10)

Nor need he have been anxious about his reception. He took prayers on the first night of term and was elated with the response of the boys:

> "It was trying to do so for I was quite prepared ... to find not more than a sprinkling of boys. What was my surprise upon going into the room and finding it full scarcely a boy wanting and those absent of necessity ... I was most astonished for I should not have expected it ... I afterwards gathered from some boys and parents that it had been made a point among them, each of them to return to the day which at that time ... was unusual." (11)

Newman's morale was boosted by this incident:

> "though the most promising appearances may fail we certainly start with better hopes than we ever had" (12)

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8. J.H.N. - Dr. Charles Russell, May 27, 1862.
9. J.H.N. - Ullathorne, January 31, 1862.
10. J.H.N. - Pollen, January 29, 1862.
11. J.H.N. - an undated note.
12. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, January 29, 1862.

and within a few months he counted Darnell's departure "the greatest blessing that could possibly be."(13)

During the early weeks of term, Newman's contacts with the boys were limited:

> "We have great work to get under way. There is everything to arrange and we are in consequence thrown back in getting better acquainted with the boys." (14)

He left most of the actual teaching to Ambrose St. John, his prefect of studies and his four assistants: Arnold, Pope, Marshall and Rougemont. He had great faith in St. John:

> "Father St. John is my vice and I know he will make a good one," (15)

but unfortunately St. John suffered from asthma and Newman was compelled from time to time to bear the burden of responsibility himself. St. John was ill in the summer of 1862 and was forced to absent himself for several weeks. Furthermore, he sometimes became dispirited - "St. John sadly wants encouragement" - however, on the whole he lived up to expectations and remained Newman's chief support till his death in 1872.(16)

What kind of a headmaster did Newman turn out to be? As a university rector he had emphasised the need to educate the whole man and therefore it was logical that he should have been anxious as a headmaster to provide not only for the intellectual development of

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13. J.H.N. - Miss Holmes, May 25, 1862.
14. J.H.N. - T. W. Allies, February 10, 1862.
15. J.H.N. - Pollen, January 29, 1862.
16. He was succeeded by Fr. Edward Caswell.

his pupils, but also for their spiritual and moral progress, their cultural interests, their entertainments and pastimes and their physical welfare.

It was not easy in the initial stages to raise academic standards. Darnell had not been really interested in creating an atmosphere conducive to study and consequently the boys were "backward in everything".(17) A new curriculum was needed and the syllabuses had to be revised, but above all else, the boys needed stricter supervision.

Newman took his time remodelling the curriculum, and eventually produced a scheme of studies which, whilst being as biased towards mathematics, latin and Greek as Darnell's, was far more liberal in the sense that it introduced the boys to subjects like history, geography, french, German and English literature at an earlier age. The first form studied algebra, geometry and latin, English history, scripture and French whilst they were still practising the rudiments of reading, writing and spelling. The second form, which dropped the basic elementary exercises, continued to study these six subjects and also began geography, whilst the third form added Greek and German to the list. The fourth commenced latin composition and the fifth began elementary Greek proses. In latin the boys began with Virgil and then progressed to Cicero, Livy and Horace, whilst in Greek they started with Aesop's fables and moved on to Homer, Xenophon, Euripides, Hecuba and Anabasis. In French they studied writers like Moliere and Lamartine,

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17. J.H.N. - St. John, October 23, 1862.

in German Goethe and Schiller and in English Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Donne, Cowper, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley, De Quincey, Thackeray and Dickens.

These curricula and syllabuses compared favourably with most public school curricula of the time. Thring, for example, was a progressive in this respect - he introduced artistic and aesthetic subjects - but he still relied on the classics and mathematics like Newman. By comparison with those curricula in vogue in Catholic schools, Newman's was much more adventurous, especially as he encouraged extra-curricula activities, such as drama and music.(18)

It was obvious that widening the curriculum and extending the syllabuses did little to raise academic standards: it merely extended the boys and widened their horizons, but by examining his pupils regularly, Newman supervised their progress far more strictly than Darnell, and it was this needle and thread work which proved to be efficacious. Like Dr. Nicholas of Ealing School, he leaned heavily on oral examinations: on "repetitions" and "characters".

"Repetitions" were held each month. They were viva-vocas conducted by Newman in the presence of St. John and the boys' tutors. They were called "repetitions" because Newman was examining each boy's ability to repeat long passages in Latin and Greek. A fanatical advocate of rote learning - he could still remember passages which he

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18. Catholic schools did not begin to modify their classically-centred curriculum until the last quarter of the nineteenth century when they began to send students to the universities and enter external examinations.

had learned as a schoolboy - Newman expected his pupils to compete with him by rattling off a hundred odd lines at an instant. Newman was so thorough that it took him three days to get through the whole school and most boys found it "a trying ordeal".(19) It was said that the headmaster was "one of the most considerate and sympathetic of examiners"(19) but one who "insisted on perfect accuracy and readiness ... "

> "even in the higher forms he sometimes expressed his opinion that the practice of learning by heart might with advantage be retained to a much greater extent than was usually done." (19)

"Characters" were examinations of a different kind. Newman insisted on written examinations in all subjects at the end of each term, after which each boy had a "character". These were interviews where Newman met boys individually and privately and spoke to them frankly about their academic and personal development. It was in this kind of situation that Newman was most effective. There are very few references to those occasions when he addressed the boys en masse, but many references to the times when he met the boys separately or in small groups: he doubtless felt more able to influence them individually because the atmosphere was much more intimate.

No boy was moved up without proving that he was ready for it: this meant that he had to satisfy Newman on paper by gaining good marks in his written examinations,(20) but he also had to perform well

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19. This was the testimony of an old boy, M. J. Sparrow. It appeared in the 'Catholic Times' in May, 1890.
20. See Appendix 'O'.

in "repetitions", and convince Newman when he had his "character" that he was personally deserving of promotion.

This was not the only factor which led to an improvement in academic standards. As the school grew in size - Newman allowed it to develop into an upper school as Darnell had planned - so the quality of intake improved. Hilaire Belloc, for example, was a pupil during the 1880's.(21) According to his biographer Robert Speight, Belloc was an outstanding pupil, especially in literary subjects, and thrived on the rough intellectual demands which the staff made on him.(22) But he was not the only pace setter. James Hope and Somers Cook, his two friends, were also clever - the former eventually became deputy Speaker of the House of Commons and the latter became one of the foreign office's chief advisers. Newman was clearly too old to exercise much of an influence on Belloc, Hope and Cook - according to Belloc he was "a presence rather than a power"(23) - and had given up holding "repetitions" and "characters" but had he not insisted in the 1860's and 1870's on a high level of scholastic attainment Belloc and his friends might not have been stimulated in quite the same way ten years later.

What kind of school teacher was Newman? He reckoned that he was a poor teacher:

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21. From 1880 until 1887.
22. Robert Speight in his biography of Belloc records that the boys rose at 6.30 a.m. each day and heard Mass at 7.0. At 9.30 classes began, continuing until 1.0 p.m. when dinner was served. Classes recommenced at 2.30 and lasted until 9.0 with only one hour for tea and recreation.
23. They called him "old Jack".

> "I have it as little in me to be a good teacher or Dean as to be a good rider or successful chess player"

but this was not quite the case. He never did any classroom teaching, firstly, because he seldom had the time and secondly, because he had never had any experience of it. At Oxford in the 1820's, he taught boys in small groups or individually and preferred to continue this practice as headmaster of the Oratory School. Periodically, he gave private tuition and sometimes called boys to his room to discuss a variety of academic topics. He also prepared boys for their university entrance examinations and one boy recalled his teaching thus:

> "When I was reading for the London University intermediate examinations in Arts along with another, the Father took us himself in Classics and English Literature, and I shall never forget those lectures especially in Literature. He told us he greatly admired Sir Walter Scott's novels and regretted they were, he believed, getting to be less read than formerly; he also expressed a great liking for 'Rejected Addresses' as some of the cleverest parodies he had read and encouraged us to read good novels." (24)

In the 1860's, Newman was therefore teaching his boys in much the same way that he had taught his sisters forty years before - his approach was just as subjective and he placed equally as much emphasis on the reading of "good" books.

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24. M. J. Sparrow's recollections of Newman. An anonymous diarist wrote this: "after dinner I went up to see Dr. Newman in his room and talked to him about half an hour on the changes in the meaning of words." He also recorded that at one stage he did 'latin composition' with Newman 'every day'.

Besides tutoring boys in small groups, Newman regularly took the sixth-form for scripture. Many of his lecture notes remain together with some taken by the boys themselves and it is from these that one gets a glimpse of his teaching techniques and seminal prowess. Every Sunday for many years he lectured in St. Philip's chapel. His early lectures were factual in content and relatively short in duration - it took him some time to feel his way - but his later lectures which contained background material and controversial comments were much more thought-provoking and longer. He based one of his earliest lectures on the following question: "Why did Christ only appear to chosen witnesses and why not to the public?"(25) A week later he showed how Christianity was part of a long chain of historical events, and on the following Sunday traced the setting where Christ lived. This second lecture is doubly significant because it shows on the one hand how Newman, an expert on the history of the early Church, tried to set the scriptures realistically within the context of the age in which they happened and on the other, how keen he was on exactness and precision - he defined his terms time and time again.(26) He often referred in his lessons to the early Church(27) and amongst other themes traced the four marks of the Church and utilised some of the most salient ideas contained in his philosophical treatise: "A grammar of assent".(28) He tackled the universality of

25. See Appendix 'J'.
26. See Appendix 'K'.
27. See Appendix 'L'.
28. See Appendix 'M'.

of the Church[29] and extolled the lives of those who were "poor and lowly" - they were the strength of the Church. Newman told his boys that it was significant that Christ chose to be born and

> "spend his early life in poverty. He also chose Apostles from among the lowly and uneducated people. St. Paul was an exception ... The first of many exceptions sufficient to vindicate the Catholicity of the Church as able to include all classes of society."

Newman's was a school for the rich, but he was ready to recognise that Catholic schools and especially elementary schools relied upon "the zeal and self sacrifice of the parents of the (poor) children who attend them." He also dealt in other lectures with Christian Unity, Protestantism, whether or not the Church of England could claim to be Catholic, the question of the rejection of the Jews and the election of the Gentiles and so on.

He told his boys that in his opinion it was futile to argue on behalf of revealed religion with men who had

> "lost their hold on the truth of Natural Religion and stripped themselves of all sense of responsibility to the invisible Lawgiver and Judge enthroned in their conscience. They will be ... out of sympathy with the subject ... "

But on the other hand he did not want his boys to assume that they were elect simply because they were Catholics. Using the parable of the olive tree which ceased to bear fruit and was therefore pruned, he pointed out that "if God hath not spared the natural branches neither will he spare thee". All religions in Newman's view:

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29. See Appendix 'N'.

> "in so far as they contain elements of truth are holy, and as St. Augustine says there is no such thing as pure falsehood to be found in the world. False doctrines make their way by the truths they contain though in a corrupt form. Mohammedanism teaches a holy doctrine, the unity of God and inculcates habits of prayer. Buddhism ... upholds the separation of the soul from the earthly things."

In addition, he warned his boys that they would find bad Catholics within the Church and used Christ's parable of the field which produced cockle as well as wheat to illustrate his point:

> "It would be difficult to point to the external lives of Catholics in this country as marked better than those of Protestants. Every man has free will. If Catholics misuse this gift they compromise the note of holiness in the eyes of the world."

The Church was

> "like a net cast into the sea ... gathering ... all kinds of fishes. Which when it was filled they drew out, and sitting by the shore they chose the good into vessels, but the bad they cast forth. So shall it be at the end of the world."

Newman described the Bible as "a book taken up with just two ideas: holiness and sin", and compared it to the literature of Greece and Rome which spanned the whole range of human activity. He defined dogma and often referred to contemporary events like the Bulgarian atrocities and the opposition of the German bishops to Bismarck's anti-clericalism.

It is not known exactly how many lectures Newman gave, but in all there must have been well over a hundred. He apparently gave the first in 1865 and continued regularly till 1877, but even gave at least

one in 1881 when he was eighty years old. His sight was then failing and his writing slanted across the page in an almost illegible hand.

These lectures reveal the same subjective approach that he used in tutoring his sisters when he was at Oxford and in addition they prove that in accordance with the desire which he expressed in the Discourses that students should think critically, he set out to make his sixth-form worry about contemporary problems. Technically he was thorough. The boys took notes whilst he spoke and then wrote essays based on the lecture afterwards. Newman then marked each piece of work. He marked everything: spelling errors, grammatical errors, omissions and so on, and commented from time to time on the views which they expressed. Such remarks appeared as "carefully done ... ", "fair ... good ... right ... an improvement ... right but your penmanship might be better ... too strong ... this is good but somewhat wanting in logical succession and distinction of parts". When one boy wrote: "In fact the Jews after their refusal of our Saviour have never parted from the law so that the law has become to them as it were a God of wood and stone, from which they cannot free themselves", Newman remarked "this is harsh". On another occasion he wrote three pages of corrections and regularly substituted quotations wherever they were applicable.

It cannot be claimed that Newman was an outstanding teacher - he was obviously a better tutor than he was a teacher - but he was by no means as incompetent as he suggested.

When Darnell resigned, the school was spiritually decadent. Indeed, the Bishop of Shrewsbury claimed that it was not being conducted in a Catholic spirit - the boys, he maintained, could not even recite their catechism - and Newman was bound to agree. Newman soon put matters right. He allocated a confessor to each boy - this was a fundamental which Darnell had always opposed - and made them responsible for seeing that their charges observed the usual Catholic rites. He also organised retreats. Father Suffield, for example, gave one in 1862 which lasted four days, and Father Coleridge gave another of similar duration, the following year. At certain times of the year - on great feast days and holy days - he invited the boys into the Oratory house or took them for the day to Rednal, the order's country retreat. On one occasion some of the senior boys even shared in the last rites, visiting and praying with one of the Oratory's servants when he was dying in 1867. When he preached to the boys, Newman had something like the same effect that he had had from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, in the 1830's.

> "Dr. Newman read as I shall never forget from St. Matthew's Gospel ... In so very touching a way he said: 'Come to me all you who labour and are burdened, and I will refresh you; take up My yoke upon you and learn of Me, because I am meek and humble of heart, and you shall find rest to your souls, for My Yoke is sweet and My burden is light'."

However, he never made any attempt to force his boys to adopt a spiritual way of life. It is true that some became priests when they grew up and some, like Edward Bellasis, even joined his own order, but they did so naturally and independently.

It was fashionable in the 1860's for headmasters to imitate Dr. Arnold by insisting that their boys observed the highest of moral standards. Newman was as anxious as they to ensure that his boys behaved well, but whereas they enforced these standards. Newman never did. He trusted boys far more than his average Victorian counterpart and seldom disciplined them in a heavy handed fashion. For example, he allowed his boys, irrespective of their age, one hour per week to write letters home. He knew that many misused this privilege because parents regularly complained at not receiving any mail, but he refused parental pleas to supervise their sons and never checked to see whether or not they had "forgotten" to catch the post: it was a question of conscience and honour.

Newman was obviously unhappy about introducing too many rules and regulations. Moreover, he doubted his ability to keep discipline: "I am not in practice a good disciplinarian." He claimed none the less that this

> " ... did not hinder (his) feeling the NEED of strict discipline for boys - for many a man approves what he cannot practice." (30)

The boys knew that he "did not approve of enforcing a too strict discipline"(31) and tended to take advantage of it. Belloc certainly described the school as a wild place:

> "it was fearfully rough ... I suffered heavily ... and there was bad bullying ... " (32)

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30. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, April 6, 1858.
31. "I should desire," he said, "such honesty and openness in our conduct to the boys, that they would have no temptation to distrust us."
32. Quoted by R. Speaight in his biography of Belloc.

and yet the same was true of other schools, even of Rugby.

Newman never forbade corporal punishment though he never used it himself, but he was uneasy about it, because it seemed to him to destroy the individual's dignity. He often wrote to parents and tried to justify "whippings". He wrote to Sir Justin Sheil on one occasion and explained that his son had been given a caning for "an act of rebellion". He tried to justify the punishment by appealing to Sir Justin's military code of conduct but was clearly writing out of loyalty to those concerned rather than conviction.(33)

Given the fact that Newman was unwilling to administer corporal punishment, how then did he establish ethical and moral standards? He did so in two ways: firstly, by dealing swiftly with instances of ill-discipline whenever they occurred in a subtle yet effective manner, and secondly, by preventing instances from arising: he argued that if he and his staff treated the boys fairly and truthfully, they would reciprocate and a mutual trust would build up between them.

On one occasion the school newspaper, the "Weekly Wasp", carried an article "cutting up the authorities about the way the actors had been treated after the play" - they had apparently not been given much to eat - but instead of rebuking the editor for his tactlessness, Newman courteously pointed out that the letter was "in error" because the person who signed it "an indignant actor" was not an actor at all and the letter was therefore a fraud.(34) On

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33. J.H.N. - Sir J. Sheil, April 20, 1863.
34. The diary of an anonymous schoolboy.

another occasion when some windows were broken, Newman directed that all pocket money would be stopped until the culprits owned up and made adequate retribution, which they did. These are two trivial examples of the way in which Newman dealt with failings on the part of his pupils. His methods were certainly different from Arnold's but just as effective and far more humane.

It is not surprising that having advocated a liberal education at undergraduate level, Newman should have stressed the importance of cultural and extra-curricula activities. Of all the arts, he was especially keen on music and drama and long after he had virtually retired, he still involved himself in the boys' musical activities and plays.

So far as music was concerned he encouraged them to write their own set pieces and songs and arranged for them to be publickly performed. He often took part in these public performances. In October 1867, he played second violin to Richard Bellasis whilst another boy, Wild, played cello and Synyer, a tenor, sang. Eventually the quality of performance reached such a high standard that a full orchestra was formed and they performed Mozart overtures, Haydn minuets and Beethoven symphonies.

It was inevitable that a school with a classical bias should encourage classical drama. It was likewise inevitable that Newman's enthusiasm for latin should have involved him in the productions. J. P. Boland, who was at the school for nine years from 1881 to 1890, made the following comments:

> "The latin play was a distinctive feature of (Newman's) educational system. He had not

> only taken Terence and Plautus and adapted four of the plays for the Oratory school stage, but was himself for many years the trainer of the actors and the director of the plays."

There was "a large and high class audience", for example, in 1872. Besides "friends of the pupils", the press noted "invited guests of all creeds, and among others the Duke of Norfolk, Viscount Castlerosse, Sir Adam and Lady Bittlestone and Canon Sullivan".(35) The boys

> "demonstrated to the satisfaction of the large audience present, that long disuse (they had not performed the Phormio for some time) had neither rusted their weapons nor enfeebled their skill."

They were "like giants refreshed".

However, the boys themselves were by no means as certain of their impact.

> "What the audience made of it all we could only guess, even though these plays were so full, as the saying goes, of quotations. Years of experience had taught our superiors that the finer points of the plays would be surely missed. Claquers were therefore planted at strategic points amongst the audience to start the clapping at the right time."

Boland was assured that if he

> "gave sufficient rotundity to (his) famous quot homines tot sententiae and did not gabble through it a round of applause could be guaranteed."

During Boland's schooldays, Newman was unable to play as prominent a role as he had in earlier productions:

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35. A press cutting from E. Bellasis' scrap book.

> " by 1883 when I had my first part - that of a female slave - he could only attend occasional rehearsals",

and yet he recalled that whenever Newman was present, the "latin ... came alive ... (He) got the real feel of the language" and threw himself heart and soul into the character.(36)

Newman also encouraged debating: the subjects ranging from "voluntary versus compulsory education" and "ancient and modern orators" to "the printing press or the steam engine: which has conferred most benefit on mankind?" and allowed his boys considerable scope for initiative and self government. The senior boys elected their own school captain; although he appointed the prefects, they ran the school library, fining masters as well as boys for overdue books,(37) and held their own drama festivals. The newspaper was an important feature of school life. It was written entirely by the boys and contained not only funny stories, poems, articles and the usual bric-a-brac, but also editorials criticising Newman's administration. It complained, for instance, about the lack of equipment in the

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36. An anonymous diarist who acted under Newman's direction from 1862 until 1867 made a similar point: "in repeated rehearsals ... the play was at once an instruction and an amusement".

37. Seniors were charged 2/6 per term and juniors 2/-.
Fines were imposed as follows:

Leaving door open	1d
Talking above a whisper	1d
Putting a book in the wrong place	1d
Moving chairs	1d
Standing in front of the fire	1d
Sitting round the fire	2d
Eating in the library	3d
Taking books out of the library	1/-
Making a disturbance	2d - 1/- at the librarian's discretion.

gymnasium, the lack of proper facilities in the lavatories - there was only one wash basin and that was broken. On both occasions the headmaster acted and met the boys' requests for improvements, but when the editor complained about compulsory attendance at church services: not only should they be voluntary, they should also be much shorter - he ignored their demands.(38)

Life at the Oratory School under Newman was therefore relatively cultured and relaxed. None the less, although he encouraged the boys to engage in the kind of creative pursuits which he had taken up when he was a boy at Ealing, he never wanted them to get involved in cultural activities unless they were genuinely interested. He was opposed, for example, to those parents who forced their boys to take piano lessons even though they showed little ability in this medium. He questioned Hope Scott about his son's piano lessons and pointed out that the boy was not sufficiently interested to practice. As an alternative, Newman suggested elocution lessons, but Hope Scott insisted on the piano and consequently his son's lessons continued.

It is a well known fact that Newman never revealed any ability as a sportsman and yet he encouraged physical exercise as much as music or latin or mathematics. "It is almost as good a thing," he said, "to be a good player as a good classic or anything else."(39)

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38. The Weekly Wasp, which is kept at the Oratory, was very well written (E. Bellasis was the editor). It dealt with the Parliamentary election for East Worcestershire of June 1868, the boat race, theatre productions, and so on - anything which was topical.
39. J.H.N. - Duchess of Norfolk, March, 1862.

Consequently, he provided the school with a rackets court, a tennis court and extensive playing fields at Ravenhurst, some two miles from the school in Harborne. He made a point of attending the annual cricket match with Oscott and invited special guests for the occasion. In his diary for June 9, 1862, he noted that "the school lost ... (but) it seems we have improved a good deal". The cricket XI eventually became good enough to take on a Warwickshire County XI, due chiefly to the expert coaching of an old professional, engaged by Newman to coach athletics as well as cricket. He also arranged riding lessons for those who wanted them with the Colonel of the local Dragoons.(40)

In the Discourses, Newman stated that educators should be gentle, understanding and approachable and as headmaster of the Oratory School he applied this notion to the letter. Old boys remembered him as "kind and tender", one who made them "comfortable" by investigating each and every complaint they made - nothing was "too trivial to be attended to".(41)

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40. They cost 7/- per lesson and about a dozen boys took advantage of them.

41. The 'Weekly Register', October 6, 1890. J. P. Boland recalled that when he and four of his friends were due to leave, they were called to take their leave of Newman: "We lined up in the corridor outside the Cardinal's room and Father William Neville (the headmaster) took us, one by one, into his room ... It was a couple of days before the 'break up' which was to mark the end of my school life. Before he gave us his blessing, the Cardinal handed me a leather-bound copy of his famous 'Dream of Gerontius' in which he had written in his failing hand-writing: 'From J.H.N. 1890', and only a few days later in August 1890 he died."

It was not only the boys, however, who found Newman helpful and considerate: parents did so too. Indeed, he was most anxious to develop the school in accordance with the wishes of parents and involved them in their sons' progress as fully as he possibly could.

> "Parents have a will of their own, and as we should be obliged to follow their decision, did they propose Woolwich for their sons or the London University, or the Catholic University of Ireland, or Louvain, so we should do our best to prepare any youths for Oxford and Cambridge did they wish it ... " (42)

He corresponded with parents regularly and readily listened to their criticisms. He promised Sir Justin Sheil, for example, "to stop the bad practice of smoking"(43) about which he had complained and promised to arrange for swimming lessons as soon as possible. Parents in Newman's opinion had every right to know exactly how their offsprings were doing: "one deficiency has been that we have not let parents know enough how their sons were going on"(44) - but some had problem children. T. W. Allies was one. Allies asked Newman for a report on his son, but although he "liked what little (he had) seen of him"(45), Newman could say virtually nothing in his favour academically. Mathematics was the only subject in which Cyril showed any progress and consequently he proposed "to push him in that line and ... put before him Woolwich".(45) This is revealing firstly, because it shows that Newman was ready to advocate a utilitarian end in order to give the boy incentive, and secondly, because it proves that he

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42. J.H.N. - E. S. Foulkes, March, 1862.
43. J.H.N. - Sir J. Sheil, January 21, 1862.
44. J.H.N. - Allies, January 26, 1862.
45. J.H.N. - Allies, February 10, 1862.

refused to allow his liking for Allies and his family to colour his judgement. T. W. Allies had been a lecturer under Newman in Ireland and as one of the original promoters of the school and secretary of the Catholic poor schools' committee, he was one of the most prominent lay educators in the country. Unfortunately for Cyril, however, this made no difference and his failings were frequently reported to his parents:

> "I really do not know what to say to you about Cyril. At the beginning of term he spoke fair and behaved very well ... And now at the end of it he has shown some seriousness and desire to do his duty but he has not pleased me during the term. All boys are wayward ... Religious principle or duty does not commonly act energetically enough in boys to be the proximate motive of action, and I cannot find the means of acting upon him, for he does not supply the matter. As I told you, I hoped to stimulate him to work for some object, as a Woolwich examination etc., and I wished to take him and a few others in arithmetic, I did form a small class, but I was simply obliged on some excuse to drop him out of it, for he could do little or nothing ... He has been let off Greek, I believe from the first. I hoped he would have done mathematics instead of it, but how can he do algebra unless he can work figures correctly? It is this want of grounding in the various parts of education which makes it so difficult to do anything for him.
>
> "It is not wonderful in consequence his heart is not in his work and his influence in school is not good.
>
> "I do not see that he is gaining anything from us, yet I do not know how to advise you.
>
> "It is hard to send you and Mrs. Allies such an Easter letter. Be assured that I send you and her the true greetings of the sacred season with all my heart and that Cyril with his school fellows is ever in my prayers." (46)

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46. J.H.N. - Allies, April 15, 1862.

As a result of this letter, Allies did not return with the other boys when the new term opened, but Newman wrote inviting him back and as a result the black sheep returned. But, alas, there was no improvement. In his summer report Newman criticised the boy still further:

> "I wish he used influence for good ... (but) I have no confidence he will." (47)

This was the last straw and Allies withdrew Cyril's name from the school register.

This episode shows that Newman saw no point in coercing a boy: "We shall attempt no kind of compulsion with him".(46) He had to make progress of his own volition, aided and abetted by his parents. It could be argued that a taste of the cane would have effected a cure - certainly Newman's kindliness failed to make an impression - but this is uncertain. Many headmasters would have expelled Allies, but Newman never did, nor did he suggest to Mr. Allies that he should withdraw his son; he preferred to involve Cyril's parents in their boy's predicament and leave the decision to them.

Newman was equally solicitous towards other parents. He often wrote to Bellasis about his two sons and replied to the steady flow of letters he received from anxious mothers like Mrs. Ward who worried about her boys' health. Occasionally, parents were critical. Mr. A. de Colyar, for instance, questioned certain items in his son's account, whereupon Newman replied in his usual friendly way, taking

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46. J.H.N. - Allies, April 15, 1862.
47. J.H.N. - Allies, July 26, 1862.

each of the queries in turn and justifying them item by item.(48)

At the end of each term, Newman wrote to parents and reported on their sons' progress. By the summer of 1862, there were seventy boys in the school and these reports therefore involved a great deal of work: "a huge weight of necessary labour".(49) The following are typical reports. Firstly, a report to the Duchess of Norfolk:

> "I suppose Henry has already shown you his prizes. And they show what he can do. He said Wordsworth's 'Happy Warrior', right off very fluently. Another boy did also. They both got a prize. No other boy came near them. His other prize was for writing out passages of Shakespeare on dictation. There was no one came near him, but what made a doubt for a moment, was his spelling 'Thou' several times 'Thow' and another false spelling.
>
> "I hope we shall raise him to exert himself in other things, and these prizes may encourage him. He has fits of negligence, when everything goes wrong and then we are perplexed with the number of impositions which fall on him from every quarter - and we have to release him from the weight of them, as best we may. There are boys who do him harm by encouraging him to make game of these magisterial corrections - and he has sometimes come up for the impositions as if it were good fun. (Pray don't hint this to him).
>
> "He will become more manly in a little time. I think on the whole he is better in getting up - but here too he has fits of dawdling. In spite of all this, he is exact and methodical in his habits - and it is amusing to see how well he keeps his books and clothes. He has a great deal to do in arithmetic and grammar. As to ourselves the only fear is that, from extreme anxiety about him, we should meddle with him too much and make too much of little things ... " (50)

The second example was sent to Bellasis:

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48. See Appendix 'P'.
49. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, April 17, 1862.
50. J.H.N. - Duchess of Norfolk, April 16, 1862.

"You will like to hear about your boys. Richard, as he has doubtless told you, has a prize for good conduct, and though as it is not settled, don't tell him, I suppose he will be moved into the fifth form. Some time ago, you know, he was considered wanting in diligence. There is a great change now, and I hope he will get on well.

"Edward is very much of a boy - and is not so steady as he will be. However, I am glad to tell you that he received honourable mentions for excellence in geography and history ... " (49)

A third letter went to Mr. de Colyar:

"I do not like Henry to go to you without some words from me, more especially so, because they will be pleasant words. He is certainly improving - in Greek he has made a start, and when he has learned to have more confidence in himself than he has at present, he will improve in all his studies. I need scarcely say that his conduct is quite unexceptionable ... " (51)

Sir Justin Sheil also received a favourable report:

"You will like to have a line from me about your son now that term is come to an end. As to the riding, I had great doubts, before I wrote to you of the class that was forming, that he was too young for it, - and on receipt of your letter, I put the idea aside. He has so much exhuberance of spirits that I thought such an exercise might afford an outlet for them, and that put me upon writing to you. He is a promising boy and improves in his studies, after all that has to be said in his disparagement. One of our Fathers, who examined him at the end of the term, thought him the best in his class. But he shows a little insubordination, and gets into a good many scrapes - but then he gets out of them again and we like him so much that we do not care for the trouble he gives us ... I trust and believe there has been no smoking ... but you must not expect yet any great consistency in him." (52)

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49. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, April 17, 1862.
51. J.H.N. - A. de Colyar, April 18, 1862.
52. J.H.N. - Sir J. Sheil, April 18, 1862.

However, this particular saga did not end like the Allies affair. Sheil was just as backward academically as Cyril Allies had been, but on the other hand, morally he went from strength to strength and therefore there was never any question of condemning him or writing him off.

> "We are certainly well satisfied with Edward. He has become much more regular than he was in his school duties. If I understand aright, he has missed Mass not above twice in the term: which is almost too wonderful for me to credit. And I am able to give my own testimony to the increase in his diligence in his lessons. Still, poor boy, his performances do not come up to his resolutions. He has intended greater regularity than he has actually succeeded in. And I am sorry to say, he has great difficulty in getting his catechism by heart - and he answers it (at) random without thinking." (53)

Newman was obviously willing to go to great lengths to satisfy parents. Once a parent asked for her son to be moved because he could not get on with his teacher and Newman agreed: hardly the kind of gesture one would associate with headmasters like Thring of Uppingham or Ridding of Winchester.(54)

On another occasion when a parent asked if her son could study French and German, he agreed provided the school was not put out and left it to Arnold and Pope to make the necessary arrangements.

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53. 1862 was the last occasion Newman wrote the reports unaided. From that date onwards, St. John provided the details, with Newman merely adding brief comments.

54. The boy in question was Norfolk. However, even after he had been moved, he still failed to improve, "putting himself ... against" latin and Greek. Norfolk was fairly bright but lazy - Newman was for ever complaining about his want of briskness and punctuality - and he left in 1864 after spending three years at the school.

It should not be assumed, however, that Newman was a parental pawn. He never accepted boys indiscriminately and took only those whose parents were acquaintances of his special friends. Indeed, when he began to receive applications from parents who were strangers, he made extensive enquiries about their background and lineage.(55) Nor would he agree with those parents who asked for private tuition. When Mr. de Colyar, for instance, asked him to find a tutor for his son, Newman refused on the following grounds:

> " ... I assure you I take a great interest in your son and wish much to push him on. But he, as other boys cannot be <u>forced</u> like a plant - and we must hope that he will flower and bear fruit in his season ...
>
> "When a boy is very backward and needs to be pushed on, a private tutor may be serviceable - but that is not your son's case. He is making progress and will make more - He is up to his form, and will move on with his form - He will

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55. "A lady writes to me about sending a boy here - Miss or Mrs. Cornelia Freeman ... Whether her son or brother or nephew etc. she does not say ... " - J.H.N. - Allies, February 10, 1862. Bellasis had introduced a Mrs. Farquherson and Newman asked: "Shall I have a letter ... What school has the boy hitherto been at. Can you vouch for his character?" - J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, February 10, 1862. Newman was interested in his boys' origins because he wanted to ensure that the school was populated by boys who would fit into the ethos peculiar to this level of education, and secondly, so that he could more easily understand the individual boy and help him over whatever hurdles he might face. He was also worried about the number of foreign boys applying to the school. Linguistic problems made teaching difficult, but except for a few letters to Bellasis and others asking for advice, he did little to prevent this embarrassing influx from growing.

> learn more thoroughly and steadily when he learns with others, than when he has to learn by himself as would be the case with a private tutor. A private tutor would be simply in the way. If he was with him in school hours the masters would complain - if in playtime Henry would complain - There is no time in which he could be wedged in. So I think it best to let things take their course, and to be patient. He has improved - we are well satisfied with him - and you may be sure I will keep my eye on him and inform you when anything has to be said about him." (56)

What of his relations with his staff? He delegated his responsibilities as far as was possible:

> "my rule has ever been to give a generous liberty to those I put in trust with my work," (57)

but this was not always satisfactory. It worked well with those who like Arnold and Pope were highly competent and efficient - "Arnold is throwing himself into his work furiously"(58) - and Pope "quickly got a hold on the boys of his own house"(59) and promised "exceeding well",(59) but with others who were less efficient, it worked badly. Marshall was a "disappointment". He was a "religious man"(60) and Newman noted that they might have done worse by getting "a man who had no devotion in him". However, he was not up to the mark and "couldn't do his work".(60) If only Pope "could take Marshall's place as well as his own".(60)

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56. J.H.N. - A. de Colyar, September 27, 1862.
57. J.H.N. - H. Wilberforce, January 26, 1862.
58. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, January 26, 1862.
59. J.H.N. - Hope Scott, February 2, 1862.
60. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, April 20, 1862.

In view of the latter's incompetence, it is odd that Newman should have tried to get rid of him by suggesting that he go to Dublin. Newman suggested to Dr. Woodlock, who was rector of the Catholic University, that he might become his deputy. Marshall had "a number of very good points ... he makes himself liked with his equals, is a good singer, and is ready at games ... "(61) but these were hardly the kind of qualities required for a vice-Rector and naturally Woodlock was unimpressed.

Shortly after he had approached Woodlock, Newman informed Marshall that his services were no longer required, but Arnold and Pope interceded on their colleague's behalf, and against his better judgment, Newman reversed his decision. However, he insisted that Marshall resign as a tutor, and become a day teacher. Newman made him professor of music so that his salary would not be affected, but he still had reservations:

> " ... he is not a safe man, he is apt to grumble, is a random talker, and these two defects put together lead him somewhat to cabal against his principals." (62)

Happily, however, Newman's worst fears were never realised and Marshall served the school well for the rest of his days.

Rougemont was infinitely more unsatisfactory. Not only was his teaching incompetent, something that Marshall's never was, but he became increasingly hostile:

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61. J.H.N. - Dr. Woodlock, March 28, 1862.
62. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, April 20, 1862.

> "As to the Abbé, he has been certainly black for the last ten days - I don't know quite why except that I should interpret on our side his 'certain choses qui deconcertent mon experience'. He will not throw himself into our views and measures ... I do not think he will last beyond the long vacation. It will be apparently a growing estrangement without definite causes ... " (63)

Indeed, Newman had so many "misgivings whether he (had) taught the boys anything whether in arithmetic or mathematics" that he asked Bellasis to pump his boys: "I wish you could get out of Nicholas what he thinks of the Abbé's teaching". In addition Rougemont's intransigence made matters worse: "he seems unwilling at present to be put under Father St. John". Towards the end of June however, the problem was solved by Rougemont's resignation, after which he suddenly made off. He was discovered wandering about the school house in the middle of the night when he should have been sleeping close to one of the dormitories he was responsible for. He was actually discovered in the secretary's room, searching desk and cupboards and fled the next morning whilst the police were investigating. He left his own belongings but took items belonging to several of the boys: a gold watch belonging to Horace Gaisford, a writing desk, a clock and some shoes. Newman was staggered.

> "Pour Rougemont has gone mad and set off to London apparently without money and wishing to proceed without delay to Belgium." (64)

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63. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, March 6, 1862.
64. J.H.N. -S.Bellasis, April 20, 1862.

At first, he thought that Rougement's inability to teach mathematics had caused this catastrophe, but he soon discovered that the Abbé was in debt, owing bills for clothes and shoes. Once in London Rougemont approached Bellasis asking him to negotiate with Newman on his behalf and in this way Rougemont's account at the Oratory was settled. But this was not all. A coloured necktie and a pin which Richard Bellasis had lost earlier in the term were found in Rougemont's room, together with various disguises. Eventually, after he had gone abroad, it was discovered that Rougemont was an imposter, he was not a priest at all. Probably, his double life had become too much and tired of posing, he had panicked. Newman was naive in the sense that he never realised that Rougemont was a fraud and has been criticised for this,(65) but even so the abbé's dramatic flight seemingly solved one of his most pressing problems. Newman, who had been finding it difficult to unite his staff - "we cannot quite join the new and the old" - had detected signs of another "party movement" and therefore this event gave him the chance to look for a new recruit to restore the equilibrium.

Good Catholic teachers, however, were in short supply. Moreover, Newman was not sure if he wanted a day teacher, "a spelling, writing and a cyphering master", one who was to have no control over school administration and discipline, or a resident teacher who shared in

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65. McGrath wisely observed that Newman sometimes chose the wrong men for important jobs.

both the teaching and the school duties. He had the chance of Richard Ornsby, who was still lecturing at the University of Ireland, but turned him down on the grounds that he was far too talented and expensive for the kind of post that he wished to fill. At last, however, Bellasis discovered a Mr. Scanlon and Newman invited him to teach for a trial period. Alas, Scanlon broke down:

> "He attempted to teach writing today - but did so badly that the boys at once got hold of the fact - and at dinner they were talking of the writing master who could not write." (66)

Even worse, St. John and Pope reported: "he cannot add up a compound addition sum" and is "not quick at his multiplication tables" and consequently he was not retained. In addition, Miss Mitchell, who had settled in as dame very well, decided to leave,[67] whilst teachers of genuine competence refused Newman's overtures to join the staff one after the other.[68] Perhaps the Darnell controversy put them off.

The school also needed financially reforming. There was a real danger of bankruptcy and "everything to do in the way of order".[69] Some parents were slow to pay school fees,[70] whilst others found genuine difficulty in doing so.[71] Over £8,500 had been spent on

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66. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, March 21, 1862.
67. She was replaced by a widow, Mrs. Owen Jones.
68. A Mr. O'Hagan was offered £200 to teach mathematics but refused.
69. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, February 5, 1862.
70. He wrote to Acton on more than one occasion about fees owing by his cousin, Princess di Camporcale whose son Paul was at the school.
71. Richard Stokes, who was a clever boy, left because his father could not afford the fees, but eventually he returned when a benefactor agreed to pay the reduced fees that Newman charged.

the school in four years, but only £1,050 of this sum had been forthcoming from benefactors, proof enough in Newman's opinion that it was impossible to make the school independent of the Oratory as Darnell and his associates had wished.(72) Newman contemplated all manner of economies: closing one of the dames' houses, cutting down on text books,(73) scrutinising orders himself and even calling for the advice of a professional accountant. After spending most of one of his summer vacations putting Darnell's muddle straight, Newman discovered that for the term ending July 1862 he was £210 in pocket, and therefore "had no reason to increase the fees", but within a short space of time he was back in the red, amassing a debt of over £400 between July and December. He attributed this to one factor: "the waste of servants especially in the long vacation"(74) and therefore proposed to look for a housekeeper to regulate the expenditure, one who must not stint the boys, "nor offend the stomachs of a number of middle aged and elderly men." He wanted someone tactful enough to avoid "collisions" with the dames but strong enough to put the "servants and hangers on"(74)

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72. Furniture and carpets for 1859-60 cost £2,065 and for 1860-1 the same item cost £1,112. The new building cost £3,016 and the new frontage £300. The playground cost £2,000, leaving a debt of £7,450. The interest per year on this debt amounted to £527, rents to £360, and staff salaries to "at least" £1,200. The boys paid £80 each for a forty-week year, that is £2 per week for lodging and tuition, but food alone sometimes cost 18/- per head.
73. He told St. John that £200 for text books in two months was far too much.
74. J.H.N. - Hope Scott, February 8, 1863. Newman discovered that during the long vacation over a period of fifty days, six people cost £63. 5. 7. whereas during term, seventy-eight people cost £215.10.8 for the same length of time. In other words, six people cost between a third and a fourth of what seventy-eight people cost in term time.

in their places. However, there was no one to be had and therefore Newman organised things as best he could himself. Within a couple of years, Newman's economies and revised methods of administration had their effect and the school became solvent.

Jealous of the school's image, Newman was keen to preserve good relations with the public and when he received a complaint from neighbours about his boys playing ball games on Sundays, he dealt with the matter sympathetically but firmly:

> "I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter enclosing a petition from the Heads of families overlooking our Green, on the subject of Sunday games of our school boys.
>
> "I wish you to be so kind as to assure them, that it did not require so many of their signatures to command my respectful attention, and that I should gladly have listened to a representation on the subject from any of them.
>
> "We forbid Sunday games; that is any which are of a nature to annoy or distress our neighbours; not indeed as a matter of conscience, but from a sincere wish 'as much as lieth in us', to live peaceably with all men.
>
> "I will give orders to secure an increased strictness in keeping this rule, and hope that by these means shall satisfy the wishes of the persons you represent". (75)

Hostile attitudes still existed. Mrs. Charlton, for example, reported "strange rumours of excommunications and schism". She had heard that Newman was associated with "ideas bordering on German rationalism mooted in the Review" and feared that the school would be

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75. J.H.N. - F. H. Mylius, June 8, 1862.

closed as a result. "A nasty party," she told him,

> " ... is chuckling over the total overthrow of Edgbaston ... Oh, I hope and trust such a calamity will never take place." (76)

Mrs. Charlton, who then had three boys at the school, reckoned she was in "a nervous state of suspense" and claimed that she had received her information from "a very high authority". The Home and Foreign Review to which Mrs. Charlton referred, was edited by Acton who naturally reflected the opinions of Professor Dollinger, the famous German scholar, but Newman had nothing to do with the publication and wrote to Mrs. Charlton to tell her so.

For a time the scandalmongers frightened people off, and a number of parents who had applied to send their sons withdrew them without explanation.(77) Newman's closest friends still stood by him - Bellasis sent the third of his sons and one of the Froude children arrived to swell the numbers - but it was not until 1864 when Newman wrote his Apologia that his orthodoxy was re-established and the school's reputation restored.

Hilaire Belloc believed that Newman's work in founding and maintaining the Oratory School "was amongst the greatest in effect of all those which he undertook". He described the school's spirit as peculiar:

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76. Mrs. Charlton - Mrs. Wootten, October 22, 1862.
77. Lady Dormer was one and Sir Robert Gerard was another - " ... tongues were at work frightening people with the suspicion of our being cryptoheretics ... " - J.H.N. - St. John, October 25, 1862.

"For now-a-days young men who go out into the world fresh from the care and protection which surround the sons of the rich are met by difficulties which in nearly every case kill the ideal and beautiful in their souls. It is not that they find themselves in the midst of the hosts and the small cheating and careless lies of the world; these have always existed. They have read of them a thousand times; they have been warned against them by many older men; they are conscious of the personal temptation that is offered them, and they are determined to resist it. It is not these old world temptations which are the danger. They meet now-a-days a strange doubt and uncertainty on all sides, not indeed as to religion alone (for such doubts have always occurred as to dogma) but as to the most common necessities of civic honour. Courage is doubted, love is doubted, patriotism is doubted, temperance is doubted. The necessity for truth and for vigour, the old virtues due to the family and the state - all these are doubted, and out of this doubt there has arisen a cursed pessimism which taints all the springs of life and by its perpetual whisperings drives young men to all that they had determined to avoid; which forbids them to take any pleasure in the task they had set before themselves. These are the difficulties of young men today - quite other, I think, than those their fathers had to meet.

"And to fight this the boys who were educated under Cardinal Newman were given peculiar weapons. For their independence was not sopped by any system of espionage and prisoning which has unfortunately come to be connected in the minds of many (falsely or truly) with the name of Catholic education. They were taught to be as self reliant and free - as any of the young Englishmen who were growing up around them in the great public schools; but with it all there was an atmosphere of healthy religion, an unconstrained frequency in the approaching of the sacraments, a sincere faith in a high code of morals and honour, which appeared so natural and so native to the place, that it would have been called spontaneous by anyone who did not know that the founding of the school, its influence, and its spirit were due to Cardinal Newman". (78)

78. An article in 'The Lamp', 1890.

Belloc was the kind of Catholic in whom Newman delighted. Faithful and zealous yet forthright and candid, he spent a life time militantly engaged in pursuing truth. Well read and possessing a fine, racy style his career was a fitting epitaph to Newman's role in the school.

Upon what did Newman model the educational system which Belloc described? J. P. Boland thought that he

> "had framed his scheme of education by taking the best points from the English public schools, whilst giving to his own school the distinctive Catholic religious atmosphere which marked it off from Eton or Winchester."

Newman's school certainly possessed a "distinctive Catholic religious atmosphere", but it hardly bore comparison with Eton, Winchester or any other public school. It had prefects, but Newman never gave them the kind of executive power favoured by Arnold and his imitators. There were aesthetic subjects for those who wished to study them and a wide range of out-of-school activities, but Newman never thought of aestheticism and physical prowess in the same way that Thring did. He allowed his staff to administer corporal punishment, but not on the scale which applied elsewhere - Newman was probably the only Victorian headmaster who never caned anyone. Moreover, had he wished "to take the best points from the English public school", Newman would have chosen a different site - there was no room to expand in Edgbaston(79) - and would have relied on housemasters to supervise the boys during out-of-school hours instead of dames.

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79. In the 1860's, public schools were proving to be popular and numbers were increasing everywhere.

It is not surprising that Newman resisted the temptation to ape headmasters like Hawtrey of Eton, Mobberley of Winchester and Vaughan of Harrow.(80) In formulating his educational policies he had always relied upon his own experiences and having no knowledge of the traditions for which these men were responsible, he naturally felt unable to imitate them. Instead, he harked back to his school-days at Ealing and echoed the precepts of Dr. Nicholas, his old headmaster. Boland maintained

> " ... it was from Winchester that he took the Latin play idea though not its text which he remodelled from the original ... "

but this was not the case. Newman did not copy Winchester but Ealing, choosing exactly the same plays which he had acted in as a boy and using the versions translated by Nicholas instead of translating his own. Like Nicholas, Newman encouraged rote learning, befriended parents and bent the rules to suit the convenience of the boys. Furthermore, in marked contrast to the masterful authoritarianism of a man like Thring he was as gently paternal towards his pupils as Nicholas had been to him. Whereas in most public schools, boys were strictly disciplined, in the Oratory School they relaxed in a permissive and happy atmosphere comparable to that which existed at Ealing when Newman was there. Moreover, just like Nicholas, Newman knew every one of his boys intimately: how many other headmasters made extensive

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80. Hawtrey was headmaster of Eton from 1834-1852, Mobberley was headmaster of Winchester from 1835-1866, and Vaughan was headmaster of Harrow from 1845-1859.

inquiries about their boys before accepting them into the school, and how many examined them monthly in the intimate manner in which Newman did? At Ealing School, in marked contrast to the public schools of the first half of the nineteenth century upon which Newman was supposed to have modelled his own, the individual counted; his personal contentment was as important to Dr. Nicholas as his intellectual progress, and likewise at the Oratory School under Newman: the pastoral aspects of education was as vital as the academic.

It would not be true, however, to claim that the Oratory School was a carbon copy of Ealing. The latin play, for instance, was sometimes dropped and an alternative form of entertainment substituted. In 1883 a French play: "Ici on parle Francaise", was acted followed by a pantomime: "The Queen of Hearts". Nevertheless, Newman enthused over drama because he had been brought up in a school where acting and public speaking were taken seriously and it was this principle which he was attempting to preserve.

How did Newman compare with the most illustrious headmasters of Victorian times? Like Thring he believed in the importance of teaching scripture and insisted on keeping his school small in order to create a close rapport with each of his boys. Like Cotton of Marlborough he was keen on games and like Dobson of Cheltenham emphasised the importance of scholarship. More anxious than Hawtrey to cater for the physical comforts of his pupils, more accommodating towards parents than Arnold - the latter would never have written such lengthy and intimate reports at the end of term - and more egalitarian even than

Osborne of Rossall who would not have permitted his boys to criticise him in the way the Oratory boys criticised Newman in their school newspaper, he made less of an impact on English secular education than they.

On the other hand his impact on Catholic education was considerable. Firstly, he proved that it was possible to dispense with authoritarianism without lowering spiritual, moral or intellectual standards. Secondly, by appointing men like Arnold to his staff and by granting him a degree of responsibility - Arnold was senior master, third in order of precedence - Newman pressed the layman's claim for a greater share in the control and organisation of Catholic education. Indeed, as a result of this tradition, the Oratory School became the first school of its kind to appoint a layman as headmaster(81) and gradually other schools have followed in its wake. Thirdly, Newman produced young men who were fitted not only to take their place in the professions with their Protestant counterparts, but to challenge the scepticism and unbelief of the age, men who were as conversant with the theories of humanists and rationalists as they were with the doctrines of the Catholic Church. It was rare at that time for Catholic educators to encourage their pupils to think for themselves and adopt a controversial approach to the scriptures, but Newman did and ultimately the Benedictines and Jesuits pursued the same line.

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81. 'The Catholic Schools of England and Wales', by H. O. Evennett, p.85.

In 1861, when he became headmaster, Newman was prematurely old. Wizened, lined and bent, he appeared to be shrinking towards the grave. He was pitifully overworked. Three of his nine priests had left the order, leaving himself and his Fathers to run the parish and supervise the prison, the workhouses, the asylum and the poor schools. He became a headmaster, therefore, at a difficult time, but he succeeded and by 1890 the school was one of the foremost Catholic schools in the country. Eventually it left Edgbaston for Woodcote in Oxfordshire, where it grew into a thriving school of over two hundred boys before severing its connections with the Oratory in 1930, as Newman had envisaged it would.

CHAPTER TEN

HIS ABORTIVE PLANS TO RETURN TO OXFORD

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Shortly after establishing the Oratory School on a firm footing, Newman was presented with the opportunity of returning to Oxford. At that time orthodox Christianity was under attack from Herbert Spencer, T. H. Huxley and their disciples, but whereas Wiseman, Manning and Vaughan attempted to isolate the laity from the alien philosophies of scientific humanists and intellectual agnostics and insisted that they accepted the rulings of the church passively and obediently, Newman encouraged them to become involved in public controversies and think for themselves.

As a result of the success of the Apologia[1] Newman was a celebrity again: the most eminent Catholic apologist in England, and along with the German scholar Dollinger[2], he questioned the ghetto-like introspection which the princes of the church were encouraging:

> "Your cut and dried answers out of a dogmatic treatise are no weapons with which Catholic reason can hope to vanquish the infidels of the day." (3)

He argued that it was wrong for the church to gag its scholars, for making them "feel the bit in their mouths at every other word they spoke", and pleaded for intellectual licence. "Truth", he said, is "wrought out by many minds working freely together", by thinkers who

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1. It was published in 1864 and was widely read.
2. In 1863 Dollinger issued "The Munich Brief" in which he called for a new approach to all aspects of scholarship and especially theology.
3. J.H.N. - R. Ornsby, 1863 (exact date uncertain).

can "move ... their limbs freely and expiate at will".[3] Newman was in favour of a frontal attack on the heresies of the day, a public confrontation in which he believed the "stronger and true intellect" of Catholicism would "set them down",[3] and when it was suggested in 1864 that he should open a Catholic centre in Oxford, he was therefore elated because it gave him the chance to implement this policy.

In 1864 the bishops of England and Wales issued a pastoral letter in which they advised the laity to withdraw its sons from Oxford and Cambridge, but the laity refused to take their advice and one of their number, Ambrose Smith, having secured an option on fifteen acres of land in Oxford, offered it to Newman in the hope that he would either build a college, a hall or an Oratory.

There was a widespread demand for a Catholic college or hall. Frederick Oakley, a prominent layman, had already published an open letter in which he called for a college or hall in Oxford run by "a religious community versed in education", whilst the authors of anonymous pamphlets and letters to the press reiterated Oakley's plea. Newman accepted Smith's offer, but rejected the idea of a college or a hall in favour of an Oratory. He did so on purely educational grounds, arguing that Catholics were more likely to get a university education at Oxford or Cambridge than they were in a Catholic college, even though it might be affiliated to one or other of these institutions.

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3. J.H.N. - R. Ornsby, 1863 (exact date uncertain).

Smith, however, suddenly died, whereupon Newman stepped in, bought the land from Oratorian funds and appointed an architect to draw up plans.(4) In launching this scheme Newman intended not only to engage in intellectual debates with the most prominent sceptics of the age, but also to establish "a strong ecclesiastical body"(5) towards which Catholic students would be drawn. It never occurred to him that he was "contemplating anything controversial ... What I aim at ... " he wrote

> "is not immediate conversions, but to influence so far as an old man can, the tone of thought in the place with a view to a distant time when I shall no longer be here." (6)

He was obviously thinking into the twentieth century, into the age of universal doubt, and wished to initiate a tradition whereby Catholics entered freely into discussion with agnostics and unbelievers whilst maintaining a contact with the faith of their fathers. The hierarchy, however, was horrified and Wiseman and Manning, aided and abetted by Monseignor Talbot, a diplomat of great influence in Rome, began to conspire in secret to frustrate his plan.

Newman still had no idea that his orthodoxy was suspect or that he had been delated to propaganda for his part in the Rambler controversy. He had written to Wiseman offering to explain his position to Rome, but the latter had assured him that this was unnecessary and promised that he would deal with any misunderstandings on Newman's

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4. The land cost £8,400.
5. J.H.N. - T. Gaisford, October 30, 1864.
6. J.H.N. - W. Wetherall, November 1, 1864.

behalf. Newman, therefore, assumed that the Rambler episode was closed, but in reality, instead of allaying propaganda's suspicions, Wiseman quietly encouraged them and therefore although the Pope, Pius IX, believed in Newman's spiritual integrity, propaganda did not. It was not until 1867 that Newman finally discovered that he was suspected of heresy, but by then Wiseman's cell had scotched his Oxford project and it was too late for him to salvage his mission.

Propaganda intervened twice. On the first occasion in 1864, it confirmed the hierarchy's decision to ban Catholic undergraduates from Oxford and Cambridge, and on the second in 1867, it not only banned students but banned Newman too. In 1864 Newman sold his land as soon as he heard of propaganda's decision, but Bishop Ullathorne persuaded him to buy some more and resurrect the scheme in 1866. Ullathorne was a good friend and was manifestly well intentioned, but he lacked subtlety and was no match for Manning's diplomatic ploys. The ban still stood and yet Ullathorne was confident that Manning, who had succeeded Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster in 1865, would revoke it at his request. However, Manning used Ullathorne's intervention to tie Newman's hands still further and with the help of Talbot persuaded propaganda to agree to the erection of an Oratory in Oxford provided Newman remained in Birmingham and guaranteed that no old boys of the Oratory School would ever enter the university.(7) Newman naturally refused these terms and "a great and noble future"(8) was

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7. See 'Light in Winter' by M. Trevor, p.222, for full details of the intrigue.
8. Sir J. Simeon - J.H.N., 1866 (exact date uncertain).

therefore spoiled, but it is important to note that propaganda took this line not because it questioned Newman's educational philosophy, but rather because it doubted the orthodoxy of his spiritual teaching. Manning followed this victory up by erasing the Oratory School from the official list of Catholic schools and by refusing to allow the Pope's representative to visit Newman when he came to England to enquire into the state of Catholic education, and yet had propaganda known that Newman was faithful to Rome it is doubtful if it would have supported Wiseman and Manning as it did.

On the surface, then, it seems as though Newman was naive: "a simple dove"(9) outflanked by the backstair's machinations of his "enemies".(10) Had he known of his delation to Rome he would have gone there to put his record right, but it was only as a result of propaganda's reaction to his Oxford project that he realised that something was wrong and began to make inquiries. He sent emissaries to Rome in the autumn of 1867 and quickly re-established his reputation with propaganda, but the damage was done(11) and his scheme was abandoned indefinitely.

Newman's attitude to the question of university education for Catholics underwent a change in the 1860's and 1870's. He agreed with Manning that there were "positive dangers to faith and morals in going to Oxford" but thought:

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9. This was how Lytton Strachey described Newman in his "Eminent Victorians".
10. J.H.N. - Fr. Coleridge, April 26, 1867.
11. The ban was not lifted until 1893 after Newman and Manning were dead.

> "there were less and fewer dangers in an Oxford residence ... than at Woolwich, where the standard of moral and social duty is necessarily unChristian, as being simply secular ... " (12)

The dangers were also less than at Sandhurst or London. Moreover, the laity did not want a Catholic university and therefore he came to the conclusion that it was better to establish an unobtrusive mission and "leave things as they had been heretofore".(12)

The laity was just as disappointed by the hierarchy's policy as Newman. Indeed, they presented him with a public address of sympathy - "every blow that touches you inflicts a wound upon the Catholic church in this country"(13) - and yet this kind of display only served to antagonise Newman's enemies still further. Monseignor Talbot described Newman as "the most dangerous man in England",(14) firstly, because he refused to support the papacy in its fight against Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, secondly, because he was encouraging the laity to become presumptuous - "would you be better educated", he asked, "than your priests?" - and finally, because he wanted to involve the laity in the administration and policy making of the church:

> "If a check be not placed on the laity of England they will be the rulers of the Catholic church in England instead of the Holy See and the Episcopate." (14)

Newman, therefore, wanted Catholics to attend Oxford in much the same way as they do today. He wanted them to apply to Oxford's

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12. J.H.N. - Memorandum, 1867.
13. Over two hundred signed it.
14. Talbot - Manning, April 25, 1867.

existing colleges, and take advantage of the education which Oxford alone could give them whilst holding fast to their faith by attending his Oratory whenever they could. The novantianism of men like Wiseman and Manning alarmed him:

> "Instead of aiming at being a world power, we are shrinking into ourselves, narrowing lines of communion, trembling at freedom of thought, and using the language of dismay and despair," (15)

and therefore he doubted if it was possible to establish a truly Catholic university. How could you guarantee to educate your students in an institution which was walled up against hostile doctrines? The cultivation of the intellect, which for Newman was the essence of university education, was impossible unless students were free to run the gauntlet of unbelief, and for this reason he came to the conclusion that denominationalism at this level of education was undesirable.

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15. J.H.N. – Miss Bowles, November, 1866

CHAPTER ELEVEN

HIS REACTION TO MANNING'S KENSINGTON SCHEME

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Newman's attitude is best understood by tracing his reaction to Manning's Kensington scheme. The latter, for all his opposition to an Oxford Oratory, was well aware that something had to be done to meet the demands of those Catholics who required university education, and in 1871 he organised a national conference to discuss the matter. A sub-committee of five was set up by the conference to formulate policy, one member representing the hierarchy, one the secular colleges and three the religious orders, and they drew up a list of questions for circulation to Catholic schools. The most significant of the questions was as follows:

> "Would you be disposed to look favourably on any one or more of the following schemes: A central board of examiners for Catholics, more or less on the model of the University of London; the establishment of prizes for competition open to all our Catholic colleges; the foundation of one or more separate houses of higher study such as might form the nucleus of a future Catholic university, or an attempt to obtain admission, without residence, to the degree examinations of Oxford and Cambridge on terms to which Catholics could agree." (1)

Newman was asked for his views - "no evidence from you would be to have Othello acted with the part of Othello omitted"(2) - but he refused. He had no faith in Manning:

> "I did not go to the meeting and ... the only advice I can give others is not to go either ... I have not trust in the initiative," (3)

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1. Spencer Northcote - J.H.N., (undated)
2. Spencer Northcote - J.H.N., February 17, 1872.
3. J.H.N. - Shitly, November 21, 1871.

and maintained that what was being proposed did not approximate to the idea of a university. How could he support a non-residential course at Oxford or Cambridge or a board of examiners based on the London model when he had always argued that residence was an integral part of a university education?

> "Residence without examinations comes nearer to the idea of a university education than examinations without residence." (4)

The Catholic church, he said, had not yet clarified its position, it failed to understand what a university was and therefore he was unwilling to discuss the matter any further.

J. D. Holmes, in an article on this subject,(5) has shown that the committee reported overwhelmingly in favour of a Catholic college situated either in Oxford or Cambridge, but as this measure was not one of those originally proposed, it was ruled out of order.(6) The committee also discovered widespread opposition to any kind of affiliation with London. The rector of Ratcliffe College, for example, declared that

> "London University is manifestly held in little esteem and is, in general, pronounced a misnomer." (7)

To study for a degree at London, he said, is not university education, however excellent the course might be. The rector of Stonyhurst maintained that Catholics could only take their place in the world by

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4. J.H.N. - Spencer Northcote, February 23, 1872.
5. In 'The Month', for January, 1965.
6. Holmes assumes that this proves that Manning was out of touch with contemporary Catholic opinion.
7. Quoted by Holmes in 'The Month' for January, 1965.

attaining a university education provided "no-where but at the two great universities",(7) whilst T. W. Allies concluded that "a separate university for English Catholics (was) a mere phantom of cloud cuckooland" and like many of his friends pressed for

> "the establishment of a Catholic hall or college at Oxford or Cambridge (as) ... the only plan for which there was any enthusiasm. ..." (7)

Manning ignored his committee's findings and set up a Catholic University in Kensington under clerical control. Newman, however, refused to recognise it, confident that it would fail:

> " ... delay is the best thing for us - though we may suffer it for a whole generation," (8)

and expressed the opinion that Manning considered an ignorant laity as the only kind which was manageable.(8) If he

> " ... was put on the rack, and forced to name some scheme or other for Catholic university education when nothing satisfactory is possible (he would) not propose a Catholic university ... " (9)

because Manning and his bishops had no intention of giving the laity "a real one".(9) He therefore repeated his original argument that the best course was to allow Catholics to attend universities like Oxford and Cambridge and to set up a mission worked by orders like the Jesuits to minister their spiritual needs.

> "I do not know how to avoid the conclusion that mixed education in the higher schools is as much a necessity now in England, as

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7. Quoted by Holmes in 'The Month' for January, 1965.
8. J.H.N. - Spencer Northcote, April 17, 1872.
9. J.H.N. - Spencer Northcote, April 7, 1872.

it was in the East in the days of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom ... In a large university there are good sets and bad sets; and a youth has a chance of choosing between them. In a small exclusive body there is no choice; and one bad member ruins for a time the whole community. Thus the open university ... may be even safer than a close Catholic college." (10)

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10. J.H.N. - Memorandum, 1872.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

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C. S. Dessain has argued that Newman's "life formed a unity based on the same fundamental principles".(1) However, when he came to write his memoirs at the age of seventy-three, Newman found it impossible to recall what he was like when he was young - it was as though he was looking back, he said, "on another person,"(2) and therefore he was unable to trace the origins of his educational ideas in the same way that he had described the origins of his spiritual thought.(3) This might explain why so many biographers and commentators have considered his earliest years irrelevant and why Culler, for instance, concluded that prior to his election as a fellow of Oriel, his philosophy of education was barren: "Newman's idea of a university", he maintained, was "first formed on the model of the Oriel common room."(4)

However, Bishop Gordon Wheeler has stated that

> "from early childhood (Newman) received a host of influences later to express themselves in his character and life." (5)

It is true that Wheeler made no attempt to define these influences or to assess, for example, the relative importance of the roles played by his parents and schoolteachers in fashioning his interest

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1. "The Catholic Historical Review", April, 1960.
2. J.H.N. - A. Mozley, February 28, 1875.
3. In the "Apologia".
4. "The Imperial Intellect", by A. Dwight Culler, p.45.
5. An essay in "Homage to Newman", 1845-1945.

in things educational; nevertheless his testimony is broadly in accord with that of Dessain and also in line with Newman's theory that one acquires one's opinions by a process of adoption, correction and systematisation which begins in the cradle and continues indefinitely.

In the Discourses Newman admitted that over the years his mind had undergone changes of one kind or another, but so far as his educational theories were concerned he claimed that it had "known no variation or vacillation of opinion";(6) his views, he said, had grown into his system of thought and having been professed "at an early period of life",(6) they had been subsequently reinforced by his adult experiences.

In some respects Newman's testimony is difficult to substantiate. It is not easy, for example, to demonstrate how at the age of twenty he professed a belief in the universality and integrity of knowledge. Having ranged across the broad horizons of knowledge of his own volition, and having studied a vast number of different subjects, he was certainly in a position to contemplate the circle of sciences and the relationship between one science and another, but it is doubtful if he was capable of interpreting the philosophies of Aquinas and Bacon, both of whom produced theories on these subjects, with the degree of erudition which he displayed when he compiled his Discourses some thirty years later.

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6. 'Discourses', p.4.

It is equally difficult to show that his contempt for paper logic was rooted in his childhood and adolescent experiences. It was not until he rejected the rationalism of Whately at the age of twenty-five or twenty-six that Newman's theory of the whole man began to assume any kind of definite form. Nevertheless, his dramatic conversion to Calvinism when he was still at school, together with his subsequent attempts to rid himself of subjectivity - he gave up going to the theatre, for instance, because he considered it self indulgent - foreshadowed the objectivity of his eventual position.

In other aspects it is somewhat easier to trace the origin of his thought. Consider, for example, his theory of liberal knowledge. As I have shown, as a child and adolescent at school Newman was involved in a host of creative and cultural pursuits: in music and drama, in reading and writing, in organising clubs, editing magazines and producing operas and burlesques. At university he was caught up in a variety of extra-curricula activities of a similar kind: playing in an orchestra, establishing a debating and literary society, writing poetry, attending lectures on subjects like geology and mineralogy, and venturing anonymously into pamphleteering. These liberalising activities made an impression upon his mental nature - he retained an active interest in most of them all his life - and having been introduced at Oriel to the formalised science of liberal knowledge, he leaned henceforth upon the arguments of Aristotle, Cicero and Copleston to demonstrate the validity of a proposition to which he had already assented.

Newman's concept of the teacher-pupil relationship can also be traced back to his childhood years. When he argued against an ice-bound world in which the personal influence of the teacher was eliminated, and called for educators to behave as though they were alma maters, he was harking back to the relationship which had existed between himself and Dr. Nicholas, and the intimate rapport which he had enjoyed with Mr. Mayers. The compassionate atmosphere of Ealing School contrasted sharply with Trinity's indifference, and therefore, having seen both sides of the coin, no sooner had he been appointed a tutor at Oriel than he began to apply those pastoral methods for which Dr. Nicholas was renowned.

Attracted at an early age by the novels of Walter Scott, captivated by the classics and the antiquity of the ancient world, and in spite of his unhappy experiences at Trinity, impressed by the importance Oxford attached to tradition, Newman took instantly to the doctrines of Coleridge and vindicated those educational institutions which had stood the test of time.

He also made use of his earliest "lessons"(7) in defining his ideal student: his man of imperial intellect and philosophic habit. His father had always pressed him to take his studies seriously, whilst his mother had encouraged him to maintain a high standard of personal responsibility and behave like a gentleman. Newman therefore expected his ideal student to react spontaneously to his teacher's

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7. 'Discourses', p.8.

lead in a high minded fashion, and to act towards all men with gentility, understanding and compassion. Having failed to adopt a proper balance between his studies and his cultural activities at Trinity - Newman declared that his mind at that stage was a "labyrinth" - he recognised the importance of training, and argued that a student should guard against the traps into which he himself had fallen. He should avoid haphazard and indiscriminate judgments and should seek after clarity and truth in a discriminating fashion.

Culler has stated that Newman's ideal student could not have been based upon his own experiences, since it was a facet of his imagination - the image in his mind's eye rather than the image in his glass[8] - but this is unlikely, if only because Newman thought of the imagination as a faculty which was related synthetically to the totality of one's personality and at least in part to one's experiences.

Having outlined the most crucial features of Newman's educational philosophy in my introduction and having set them against a biographical background, I have shown that it is impossible to divorce his theories from his earliest experiences. His idea of a university could not therefore have been "first formed on the model of the Oriel common room". His theories undoubtedly matured as a result of what he learned at Oriel - "they did but take greater hold upon me as I was introduced to the record of antiquity"[9] - but the basic foundations upon which they were built originated

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8. "The Imperial Intellect", by A.Dwight Culler, p.204.
9. 'Discourses', p.4.

earlier. Brought up in relatively refined and civilised Augustan surroundings it was natural that Newman should have set his face against the doctrine of utility, a philosophy which was finally consummated by the millowners and business tycoons who destroyed the tranquility and serenity of the world which he had known when he was young. It was equally natural that having been allowed as a child and adolescent to speak his mind - in her book 'Family Adventures', Harriett recalled that he was never at a loss for words and liked nothing better than an academic argument - he should have stressed the importance of intellectual freedom: elbow-room to prosecute the frontiers of knowledge regardless of the consequences.

If these were the ways in which Newman's adult theories originated, what can be said by way of conclusion about how he applied them?

It has always been recognised that he was involved in the practical as well as the theoretical aspects of education, but all too often it has been assumed that he was interested only in higher education and was acquainted solely with the quadrangles of Oxford and the salons of Dublin. In fact, Newman was more often engaged in elementary education, in founding schools and teaching fundamentals to children and juveniles, than he was in the supervision of undergraduates. He lived to be eighty-nine, but whereas he spent only six years as a tutor at Oriel and less than five as rector of the University of Ireland, in one way or another he was involved in the rudimentary education of boys and occasionally girls for most of his life.

Newman was never slavish in applying his educational theories and sometimes modified them in the light of reality. For example, when he opened the doors of his university in Dublin to the whole range of society by instituting evening courses for the artisans and lower classes as well as undergraduate courses for the gentry, he was drawing upon a wider clientele than he had envisaged in his Discourses. Furthermore, having opposed specialisation in theory he went out of his way in practice to persuade his staff to involve themselves in all manner of research projects, and having claimed that the church was in the best of possible positions to patronise a university since Christianity alone possessed the key to truth, he went back on this and advocated the type of undenominational system which now applies.

Nevertheless, he seldom strayed far from the basic concepts around which his philosophy of education was woven. Sensitive always to tradition - this was particularly marked in Dublin, where he instituted the traditional type of residential university - emphatic upon standards, moral as well as intellectual, hence his confrontations with Hawkins and Darnell, and alive to the dangers of academic discrimination - he refused to allow theology any kind of preference - he applied his theories in a remarkably consistent manner.

Although he made concessions to utilitarian ends - in Dublin he opened schools of medicine, law and applied science, and as headmaster of the Oratory School prepared his boys for Woolwich as well as Oxford and Cambridge - he was conscious, if only because of the hedonism of the age in which he lived, of the overriding importance of preserving

the ancient tradition of liberal education. In Dublin and at Edgbaston he afforded his students and pupils a variety of liberalising opportunities akin to those he had engaged in himself, activities which ranged from classical music and Greek drama to horse riding and cricket, and also insisted upon a relaxed and easy atmosphere in which rules and regulations were cut to a minimum. In other words, he applied the kind of liberal ethos in practice which he had professed in theory, one which approximated more closely to the renaissance ideal of sprezzatura than the Victorian gospel of self-help.

Having argued that a teacher should establish a close and personal relationship with his pupils, at Oriel, Littlemore, Maryvale and Edgbaston, Newman did his best to foster a harmonious rapport with each of his charges, whilst in Ireland he ensured that his tutors did likewise. At Littlemore he was just as interested in keeping the children neat and tidy as he was in teaching them scripture, and at Maryvale he was as equally concerned with the boys' happiness as he was in their studies. In Dublin he insisted on an efficient collegiate system in which his lodging house deans attended to their students' temporal and moral well being, whilst at Edgbaston he supported Mrs. Wootten's maternalistic methods even though he all but destroyed the school by doing so.

Leaving aside the other reasons for his quarrel with Darnell, it is significant that Newman preferred to retain the services of his dame rather than those of his headmaster. Given the changes which

were taking place at that time in the relationship between headmasters and their staffs, Newman's attitude was unconventional, and this incident reveals better than any other the degree of importance which he attached in practice to his notion of pastoral care.

The understanding and help which he showed to his students at Oriel was echoed at Maryvale and Edgbaston by the ways in which he attended to parental whims and fancies and accepted the criticisms of their sons. He joined in musical evenings and end-of-term festivities, and interviewed each boy in the privacy of his own room at the end of term to discuss his progress, and in these ways built up a rapport which was unusual for the time.

As a classroom teacher, Newman was infinitely more effective with responsive pupils than difficult ones, and yet, unlike so many of his Victorian counterparts, he refrained from using coercion. He certainly chastised those who were idle and inattentive - he criticised Cyril Allies for instance - but in line with his paternalistic theories he never adopted punitive measures to bring them to heel. The Ryder brothers were clever and hardworking[10] and Newman enjoyed teaching them the rudiments of the classics and mathematics just as much as he delighted in teaching scripture to the Oratory School sixth form. However, he tended to become irritated by those who were either unresponsive or dull; he complained to his sisters about those of his private pupils at Oxford who wasted his time, and moaned about

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10. They followed Newman to Dublin.

the Littlemore children who sang out of key and seemed slow to pick up the complex cadences of Gregorian chant. It was not that Newman was out of touch with those of his pupils who were "lacking in application"[11] - his advice to his tutors in Dublin proves that he understood the problem better than most - but rather that he felt inadequate as a disciplinarian and sometimes had difficulty in evoking a response.

As an administrator, Newman was infinitely more competent than his critics have allowed. He originally revealed an aptitude for organisation as second in command to Whately, the principal of St. Alban Hall in 1825,[12] but it was not until he got to Ireland that he had occasion to exercise his talent on a grand scale. He could not have chosen to open a university at a worst time. The country was impoverished and depressed. There was hardly any demand for university education, and his hosts had little sympathy with the philosophical ideas which he was trying to implement. None the less he set up the machinery and organisation of government, he gathered together a distinguished staff, built a university church, established a library, opened lodging houses and lecture halls in various parts of the city and published the results of the university's research in learned journals. He advertised the university not only throughout Ireland, but in Europe as well - a number of foreigners enrolled whilst Newman

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11. 'My campaign in Ireland', p.118.
12. He held office for one year, and during that time tightened up on college administration and helped to raise academic standards.

was rector - and in the day to day administration of university affairs he revealed himself to be a sound financier and an astute businessman. He delegated much of his authority to able lieutenants like Sullivan, without relinquishing his over-all control, and kept a fairly tight rein on those of his colleagues whose efficiency was suspect. In other words, he did as much as he intended: he set the venture off and left it to others to continue his work.

In opening the Oratory School, however, Newman was somewhat less successful. He made the mistake firstly, of not trusting sufficiently in the promoters - he only confided in Bellasis and Hope Scott - and secondly, of opting out of the school's affairs: as a result of this he lost control over its policies.

He was in a difficult position in the sense that, whereas the majority of promoters and parents wanted the school to be based on the Protestant public school model, he did not. They also wanted to make the school independent of Oratorian control, and Newman felt that he could hardly lend his name to an enterprise of this magnitude without retaining some degree of control. It is a debatable point whether or not Newman was justified in opposing the public school ideal on the one hand and demanding an absolute control over the school's affairs on the other, but it is possible that had he made his position clear with respect to these issues long before he did, Darnell might not have been tempted to take matters into his own hands. Whatever Darnell's personal failings, he was genuinely anxious to do his best for the school, and was held in high esteem by his staff and

by the majority of promoters, parents and boys; and had he appreciated Newman's position, it is unlikely that he would have been quite as autocratic, especially as he and Newman were friends of long standing.

For one who was genuinely upset by quarrels Newman had more than his fair share. Besides his quarrel with Darnell and Flanaghan, Moody and Oxenham, and Acton and Scott-Murray, he quarrelled with Whately, who was unconscious of those regions of truth which Newman recognised as unfathomable, and Hawkins who was too arrogant to recognise the validity of reforms which he had not originated himself. He quarrelled with Cullen, who was so afraid of apostacy and the refutation of church dogma that he interpreted truth in a narrower and more bigoted fashion than Newman could tolerate; and also with Wiseman, Manning and Talbot, who found Newman's interpretation of truth even more forbidding than Cullen had. All his life Newman argued with the conviction born of certitude and claimed in the Apologia that he had loved honesty better than name and dear friends. And yet he was sometimes deceived by those around him. He had Hawkins elected as provost of Oriel for instance, only to discover after his election that he was too dictatorial and overbearing to make a success of it. He appointed Darnell and Moody to the Oratory School only to discover that one was incompetent and the other was disloyal, and he allowed Rougemont to live under the same roof without realising that he was an imposter and a fraud.

Newman's work as an educator has to be seen therefore in a fairly broad perspective; on the one hand as part of his vocational

attempt to resist the tide of materialism and unbelief, which was characteristic of Victorian England, and in this he was more prosolyte than educators like Jowett or Pattison; and on the other as a professional response to the intellectual, cultural and utilitarian demands of the nineteenth century.

He was unable to halt the swing towards materialism and free thinking, and yet by reawakening the intellectual faculties of English-speaking Catholics, and resisting the attempt to reduce the laity to a state of passive orthodoxy, he managed to show how important it was to design a pattern of education which enabled the individual to cope with the mental and spiritual tensions of the society in which they lived. Education "in the large sense of the word" had been his "line".

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A - "A SHORT HISTORY OF EALING SCHOOL"

The school was privately owned, having been established by a Mr. Pierce, probably in 1698. Pierce's son-in-law, the Rev. R. B. Shury, a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford, had inherited it in 1768 and he in turn passed it on to his son-in-law, the Rev. George Nicholas, of Wadham College, Oxford, in 1789.

After Nicholas' death in 1829, however, the school began to decline, producing only three pupils of ultimate celebrity: T. H. Huxley, the scientific humanist; Hicks Pasha, Gordon's comrade in the Sudan; and W. S. Gilbert, the librettist. Ealing's decline must have been rapid because Huxley told Herbert Spencer:

> "I had two years of a pandemonium of a school. Though my way of life has made me acquainted with all sorts and conditions of men from the highest to the lowest, I deliberately affirm that the society I fell into at school was the worst I have ever known. We boys were average lads, with much the same interest and capacity for good and evil as any others, but the people who were set over us cared about as much for our intellectual and moral welfare as if they were baby farmers. We were left to struggle for existence among ourselves and bullying was the least of all the ill practices current among us."

As a result, "there was not a boy," he claimed, " who could explain the difference between an equilateral and an obtuse triangle." Huxley's experiences were obviously different to Newman's, but had Nicholas' two sons possessed their father's zest and talent, and had they occupied themselves less with riding and shooting and more with teaching and administration, this might not have been the case.

Brother George took orders and retreated to the calm of a Norfolk living in 1837, leaving Francis to carry on alone, but the latter was an absentee headmaster living in a sumptuous house in the village and it was he who sold the school some time in the 1840's.

Leonard Huxley recorded that "the school broke up" about 1835 ("T. H. Huxley", by C. Bibby, p.3), but the collapse was temporary because in 1846 the old buildings were demolished and a new school, called "The Owls", was built in its place. An advertising campaign was undertaken to re-establish the school's reputation:

> "From its spacious and commodius premises rebuilt a few years ago especially for school purposes together with the high scholarship and well known scientific and literary attainments of the principal and assistant masters, this old school is well suited to supply the want of a suburban institution of high character combining the advantages of Eton and Harrow and other great schools of ancient learning with the more practical benefits of the best mixed schools of the metropolis, King's college school, the city of London school and others of a similar standing."

This undated prospectus, preserved by Newman, contained his name along with the names of other celebrated old boys but he recognised that it was not the school he knew as a boy and drew lines across the illustration, adding "this school is a new concern on new ground". The new school survived till 1894 without ever reaching the status it possessed during Nicholas' reign and then closed its doors for ever.

APPENDIX B - "THE KNIFE GRINDER"

First person: "Needy knife grinder wither art thou going. Rough is the road, your wheel is out of order. Bleak blows the blast, your hat has got a hole in it. So have your breeches. Weary knife grinder little think the proud ones who in their turnpike coaches roll along the turnpike road. What hard work 'tis crying all day "knives and scissors to grind". Tell me knife grinder how came you to grind knives? Did some rich man tyrannically use you? Was it some squire for killing his game or covetous parson for his truths restraining or roguish lawyer made you lose your title in a lawsuit? Have you not read the Rights of Man by Thomas Paine. Drops of confusion tremble on my eyelids ready to fall as soon as you have told your pitiful story.

Second person: Story, God Bless you. I have none to tell you. Only last night a-drinking at the Chequers this poor old hat and breeches as you see were torn in the scuffle. Constables came up for to put me into custody. They took me before the Justice. Old Nixon put me in the parish stocks for a vagrant. I should be glad to drink your honour's health in a pot of beer if you will give me sixpence, but for my part I never love to meddle in politics, sir.

First person: I give you sixpence? I'll see thee king first. Wretch whom no sense of wrongs can come to vengeance, sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded spiritless outcast, go."

APPENDIX C - "A BREAKING-UP SONG"

With rapid haste, the hours have past
And all our cares are ended
The golden time now claims my rhyme
When mirth and fun are blended.

Let the young God now deign to nod
And put his purple face on
While schoolboys long with toasts of song
To haste the glad vacation

With jocund laugh now let us quaff
The liquor sweets distilling
While free from pain
With joy our hearts are filling.

Our syntax rules the plague of fools
Let each now cease to stammer
Nor now find cause with dirty paws
To tear his Latin grammar

Of hic haec hoc we more mock
And qui quae quod's declension
Stern á, ć, ĺ, ó his way may go
No longer claims attention

No more the smacks of couching backs
From Huxley's hand befall us
No Heslop's voice subdues the noise
Nor Terry's frown upbraid us

Let Virgil's store of tragic lore
And moralising Flacens
Let Tully's sense be far from hence
And yield to jolly Bacchus

Should Homer seek with zig-zag Greek
To spoil our jovial revel
With Pelian rage a war we'd wage
And kick him to the Devil.

APPENDIX D - "AN EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN IN THE STYLE OF ADDISON" (1816)

"Dear Sir,

I am in a sad condition and should be much gratified for your advice in my case. I mean to state the matter as impartially as possible and when you have read it you will acknowledge the hardship of my situation. I am a young lady just turned eighteen, and I may say without vanity a beauty as most young ladies have (testified). I can play the piano admirably and pretty well on the harp, am reckoned to have a pretty good voice, draw and paint a little and can dance a walse if required. I can converse in French and Italian and have read the best novels and romances of the present day."

Newman went on to have the lady "inquire how she might display these talents", She was in especial difficulty because of her mother's conservatism. What was she to do?

"AN EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN IN THE STYLE OF JOHNSON" (1816)

"Dear Sir,

I am a gentleman turned fifty and have been all my life in the pursuit of pleasure. When a young man, I indulged myself in every kind of intemperances, and found so much delight in such a course of life that I thought the opinions of philosophers chimerical and their precepts nonsensical and therefore as I supposed it the duty of everyone to strive after happiness I determined to pursue that manner of living which seemed to me most likely to procure it."

Newman went on to explain that with his health gone and deserted by all his friends, the gentleman advised that others should learn from his errors and not follow in his wake.

APPENDIX E - "AN EXTRACT FROM A PLAY"

Tityrus: Here as we sit and view the boys at play
rejoicing in their sunbright holiday
While some at fives attack the patient wall
and others glory in the bat and ball
Be our employ in philosophic ease
Calmly to eat the scanty bread and cheese
Which black eyed Johnson of the untidy cap
Cuts off for 2d. to each hungry chap
and to beguile away the hung'ring time
to choose some subject gay or grave for rhyme ...

Melibueous: ... Worthy the subject for we have essayed
To act the classic plays the ( ) made
And we've beheld you with your altered mien
The Pythias, the Syrus, Dams of the scene
and I've attempted Miltio's gentle air
and Simo's anger at his spendthrift heir.

Tityrus: Sweet is the notice that proclaims that all
May be in bed until a later call
Sweet is December's 1st or the 1st of June
That shows the holidays are coming soon
Sweet is the hour which hails the incipient rule
Of the new captain of our numerous school
But far more dear the glad auspicious day
The Dr. tells me we may have a play.

Melibueous: Grievous the quarter bell which makes us rise
And don our clothes and wash our face and eyes
Grievous the day when back to school we go
And leave our homes with hungring steps slow
Grievous the time when with relentless right
The birch descends stern minister of fate
But far more grievous is the burdened hour
That says with savage joy the play is o'er.

Tityrus: Oh say in future days what fate decreed
For you and me and all who skin the mead
Behold the mind intuitively soar
and long to scan the various scenes in store
The thought would wear us out with groundless hope
and mad impatience if we give it scope.

Melibueous: What quick transition have you made
How long had moralising been your trade?
This ends our verse so let the doggerel die
As it began without a reason why.

APPENDIX F - "AN EXTRACT FROM THE POEM ON THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S EVE"

In silent agony she shrank to feel
How fierce his soul, how bigotted his zeal:
For he had been to her from early youth
From vice her guardian and her guide to truth.
Her memory told her that he once was kind,
Ere the mouth's cowl had changed his gentle mind.
But now of late his holy call had thrown
A haughty coldness o'er him, not his own.
Yet still she paid him reverence, tho' no more
She told her bosom secrets as before.
True he was stern, but they who knew him best,
Said fast and penance steeled that holy breast;
She knew him harsh, to avenge heaven's injured laws,
But deemed superior sanctity the cause;
She knew him oft, mysterious wild and strange,
But hoped that heavenly converse wrought the change.

Then low before the shrine in concert bowed
The fierce, the wild, the crafty and the proud.
Infatuate men! shall He who reigns above,
Father of all, the God of peace and love
Shall He be honoured by the murderers blade?
Shall He accept the prayers in vengeance made?
And then, misguided ruler of the land,
Weak to comply, or cruel to command,
Hop'st then in peace to pass a length of days,
Happy in virtue's love and wisdom's praise?
Lo then, success thy scheme of blood may gain,
Remorse and suffering follow in its train,
The sleepless couch, the day of wild affright
And spectres flitting through the shades of night.

APPENDIX G - "A POEM IN PRAISE OF NATURE"

Oh Thou enthroned in strength, in light arrayed
Who madst all, and for whom all are made
Whose power no bound, whose kingdom knows no end,
Whom none hath seen, and none can comprehend,
Who seest each deed, who searchest every breast,
For every blessing, as for ever blest,
May all be done, for such Thy high decree
Lead to Thy glory, and with prayer to Thee.

Now opening nature, constant in Thy praise,
Youth's earliest blush and timid charms displays,
May each returning spring, while breath is given
Still find me journeying to the rest of heaven,
Unmoved and glorying in the sacred flight,
My limbs unwearied and my armour bright ...

... Great God, whose mercy good to man bestows
With Thee my strains began, with Thee close
Not such as he to whom the
His promise, and hailed his patron and his lord
Nor as that poor thing Britain's son addressed
The soul indearment of his gloomy breast -
No broken reed, He hath preserved from ill
My wayward steps, and will defend me still.
He hath rejoiced my every fault to spare,
Indulged each wish, ere moulded into prayer,
Hath made my lot with worldly goods abound
With undeserved success my efforts crowned.
Given health and peace, and made my soul to know
The secret joys of heaven, and whence they flow.

APPENDIX H - "THE ADDRESS PRESENTED TO DR. NICHOLAS BY THE BOYS IN 1813"
- Perhaps Newman had a hand in writing it.

Respected Sir, this day your Jubilee
Presents a reasonable plea
For us in confidence to ask
Remission from our daily task.
Just fifty years upon this stirring scene
Of life, this very day you've been.
May many more pass o'er your head,
E'er you are numbered with the dead.
May your young olive branches rise
And grow before their father's eyes.
In virtue, learning, strength and health,
In mortal honours and in wealth.
May you when wakening age demands
Your worn out body for its prey
Ascend to the celestial lands
And treat the strait and narrow way
These wishes emanate from each
Of those confided to your care,
For though 'tis true you strictly teach,
Love much for us, your Acts declare
Refuse them not our moderate request
For such a day will ne'er again come round,
Then will the gratitude of ev'ry heart
In loud huzzas and cheers resound.

APPENDIX I - "R. SIMPSON - ACTON, DECEMBER 30, 1861"

"Last month a boy named Cholmeley was in the sick room. Oxenham saw him there and learned it was on account of chilblains; he remarked that when he was a boy he went about with chilblains, Mrs. Wootten therefore called in the physician who referred her to the surgeon and the next day she sent a note to Marshall, (Cholmeley's tutor).

"(The surgeon) desired that Cholmeley should be kept strictly to bed, for the cure of his foot. That afternoon Darnell met Cholmeley with one of the fathers at the bazaar, Darnell thought that this might be accidental, and without Mrs. Wootten's knowledge, so he said nothing. The next day Marshall who was in charge of Norfolk and other boys at the dog show, met Mrs. Wootten and Cholmeley in the thick of the crush - Norfolk said to Marshall 'Won't Father Darnell be in a wax?' showing that the boys knew the dispute well. Darnell however did nothing that day but the next morning he put forth two rules (1) no boy to go to the dame's room without permission of the tutors, (2) no boy on the sick list to leave the premises without the permission of the headmaster. Mrs. Wootten appealed to Newman; Newman asked Darnell to modify the rules. The reply to this was a demand of all the masters to be delivered from Mrs. Wootten.

"There followed a Congregation. Newman proposed that the school should be divided into an upper and lower. Darnell, Moody and Oxenham to be the masters of the upper with Miss French not as dame but as the headmaster's servant, Newman (perhaps) to be master of the lower with Mrs. Wootten as dame.

"Darnell replied after two or three days that the division was impossible, both schools remaining under the same roofs and the boys being arbitrarily divided by age, or the wish of their directors.

"In the meantime the masters, seeing that Mrs. Wootten was preferred to all of them collectively made their resignation to Darnell; in a Congregation held last Saturday (28 December) he let out that he had them in his pocket and was therefore obliged to read them. At the same time he proposed 'Mrs. Wootten should be held in solution' for three months. Newman demanded a week to decide; to pray over it and say Masses. Darnell went from the Congregation to lunch at Moody's; while he was there a note came from Newman accepting Moody's resignation. (None of the others received such notes) ...

"The next day he wrote that he had slept over Darnell's proposal 'the suspense of Mrs. Wootten in solution', but that it was impossible now that Darnell had spoken of his dismissal to persons outside the walls - and to the Moody's - this was the end - the scandal had already been given etc. Newman in the meantime had telegraphed to Hope Scott to meet him in London, and then convinced Scott, Allies and Bellasis of a conspiracy to take the school out of his hands. So the matter stands in a hopeless irremediable mess, unless Newman proposes once more his double school and offers the second mastership of it to Moody, with whom Darnell's honour is clearly bound up."

APPENDIX J - "NEWMAN'S LECTURE NOTES TO ORATORY SCHOOL SIXTH FORM"

"Our Lord chose twelve out of his disciples to be representatives even during His earthly ministry. The Apostles are often called simply 'The Twelve'. St. Paul, though not one of the twelve, was in all respects their equal as an Apostle. 'Am I not' he says 'an Apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?' (I Cor., IXI). To be an eye witness one who had seen Our Lord after His resurrection was an essential qualification for the office of an Apostle. Thus St. Peter, before the election of St. Matthias to fill the vacant place of Judas, said 'of these men who have companied with us, all the time that the Lord Jesus came in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John until the day wherein He was taken up from us, one of these must be made a witness with us of His resurrection.' (Acts 1, 21-22).

"The witness of the Apostles introduces us to Paley's celebrated 'Evidence of Christianity' a book which cannot be answered. Its argument is that in the history of the world there never has been another instance of a number of men like the Apostles beginning a new life and facing toils, privations, every manner of ill-treatment and persecution even unto death to testify to miraculous events of which they declared themselves, to have been the witnesses. What the Apostles testified to was that they had the evidence of their own senses to the bodily resurrection of our Lord from the dead. St. Peter says 'Our Lord was made manifest not to all the people, but to witnesses pre-ordained of God, even to us who did eat and drink with Him, after He arose again from forty days appearing to them and speaking of the Kingdom of God.

By the Kingdom of God, as we learn from many of the parables, we mean the Church upon earth. The Holy Ghost ratified and developed the teaching of Our Lord; the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost ... will teach you all things and bring all things to your mind whatsoever I have taught you.' (John. XIV, 26).

"St. Paul calls the Church 'the Church of the living God, the pillar and foundation of the truth'. (I Timothy, iii, 15). For the primacy of St. Peter there is the great text 'Thou art Peter'. The concluding words 'To thee I will give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven' signify St. Peter's universal jurisdiction. This universal jurisdiction was participated in by all the Apostles, but with the exception of St. Peter it died with them. The successor of St. Peter alone possesses it."

APPENDIX K - "ANOTHER LECTURE TO THE SIXTH FORM"

"The Greek name for the Holy Land was Palestine. It is found in Herodotus. The Hebrew equivalent is Philistia. Our Lord preached chiefly in Galilee. 'Galilee of the Gentiles' it was called to designate its position. Sumaria in the time of our Lord was inhabited by a mixed race, sprung from heathen colonists, settled there when the Israelites were carried into captivity and from a remnant of Israelites left behind and exiles afterwards allowed to return. The Sumarians observed the Mosaic Law and set up a temple of their own. They were abhored by the Jews as an unclean people. It is significant that Our Lord always spoke kindly to them.

"There were originally four great partriarchal sects, Jerusalem of which St. James was the first bishop, Antioch and Rome founded by St. Peter and Alexandria founded by St. Mark, the disciple of St. Peter.

"To these a fifth, Constantinople which became the second capital of the Empire, was added. (The original patriarchs were permanently apostolic sees and the addition of Constantinople was an innovation reluctantly acquiesced in by the Popes). (Byzantium was the original name of Constantinople). It has become almost a synonym for Erastianism, i.e. the subjection of the church to the state.

"The Apostles were of course bishops. The bishops who came after them have been called bishops under restraint because their jurisdiction is confined to their own dioceses. St. Ignatius is the great witness to episcopacy in the early church. He lived so close to the time of Our Lord that it was possible to suppose that he was the

very child whom our Lord took into his arms. He was the Bishop of Antioch and was taken thence in person to Rome to be devoured by wild beasts in the amphitheatre. On his journey thither he wrote letters to different Churches in which he insisted on the duty of obedience to Bishops. To cite one passage out of many: 'Jesus Christ our true life is the mind of the Father and so the Bishops appointed even to the utmost bounds of the earth are after the mind of Jesus Christ. Wherefore it will become you to concur in the mind of your Bishop as also you do.'"

APPENDIX L - "ANOTHER LECTURE TO THE SIXTH FORM"

"St. Andrew is said to have preached in Scythia. There is a great tradition about the introduction of Christianity into Gaul which however will not stand. St. Dinysius the Areopagitic who was converted by St. Paul in Athens was said to have been the founder of the Gaulish and the French Church. The two chief centres in Africa were Alexandria and Carthage. The language of the Alexandrians' church was Greek. The native Egyptians spoke Coptic. Carthage was a latin Church. The descendants of the old Carthaginians spoke Puric, a language almost the same as Hebrew. In one of the plays of Plautus a Carthaginian is instructed who speaks Purice. We do not know how Christianity found its way to Carthage. The notes of the Church are exterior marks whereby all the unlearned as well as the learned can recognise her. The Greek schismatised Church in the East, has almost all the marks of apostolicity when she broke away from the west she made no changes in doctrine, ritual etc. Where she has chiefly lacked the note of apostolicity has been in the Erastian spirit. To this may be added her indifference to unity, which perhaps more than any other cause frustrated all efforts on the part of the Catholic Church to heal the schism."

APPENDIX M - "ANOTHER LECTURE TO THE SIXTH FORM"

"Visibility is itself a note of the church ... The Christian Revelation is a 'Revelatio revelutu', i.e. it not only comes from God but comes in his name, and bears with its credentials and evidences of its coming from Him. ... It is very possible that heathen sages and poets were to a certain extent divinely illuminated and thus became instruments through which moral and religious truths were conveyed to their countrymen. Plato and Socrates might have taught things which without them being aware of it, did not really come out of their own minds. Only the first kind of revelation can be the object of theological acts of Faith. The ordinary acts of Faith in our own prayer books will remind us of this. 'I believe ... because God who can neither deceive nor be deceived has revealed it'. This presupposes that we know he has revealed it. The very idea of Christianity is that of a Revelation to be published abroad so that all men may hear of it. But, 'how shall they hear without a preacher' says St. Peter and again 'Faith cometh by hearing'. In as much then as the mission of the Church is external and public to its character, she must from the nature of things be herself, i.e. visible reality. In the sermon on the mount our Lord said to his disciples 'You are the light of the world. A city seated upon a mountain cannot be hid'.

(In later lectures Newman examined the nature of belief still further.)

"Besides an authenticated revelation or a 'revelatio revelutu' there may be Revelation through secret grace, or again traditions of

some ancient revelation. No people (to speak in general terms) has ever been denied a revelation from God though but a portion of the world has enjoyed an authenticated revelation."

APPENDIX N - "ANOTHER SET OF LECTURE NOTES"

"The Church is not Catholic in the sense that she actually is everywhere. But she has the right and is calculated to be everywhere. Her right comes from her universal mission: 'Go teach all nations'. She has given proof of her capability to be a universal religion by the great variety of peoples who have been included in her fold." Later Newman developed this theme: "The Church spread very rapidly almost at the first burst went beyond the whole boundaries of the Roman Empire, penetrating for example into Arabia and the lands beyond the Euphrates where Edessa became a great Christian centre. But in spite of her rapid spread she did not and never has occupied the whole world neither does she remain stationary in the same countries. She disappears in one and springs up in another, reminding us in this way of the great doctrine of divine election upon which St. Paul enlarges so much ... " He then went on to distinguish between the Jewish Church "hedged in with rites and regulations such as preserved its local and racial character", and using St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians he showed how the Catholic Church by comparison "is suited to all ranks and conditions of men".

APPENDIX O - "A COPY OF THE EXAMINATION PAPER FOR JUNE 1877"

It consisted of three parts:

1. A translation into latin and Greek.
2. A translation from latin and Greek.
3. A list of grammatical questions such as:
   (1) define an adverb.
   (2) Give the plural of vortex, fish, phenomenon, virtuoso, cherub, and the feminine of hart, ram, stag, fox, executor.
   (3) Give the past tense and past participle of the following: bird, crow, dare, eat, knit, mow, shear, shred, slink, saw, strew, shoe.
   (4) Distinguish between the completion and the expansion of the predicate and give an instance of each.

- There were six other questions.

APPENDIX P

"As to the two charges ... we do not make a charge for sittings in Church before because the enlargement and alterations in it were going on and we thought it unfair to make a charge till they were finished. That enlargement with its accompaniments were made strictly because of the school and would not otherwise have been made - and that at the expense of £2,000 or £3,000. Moreover, the boys have some of the best sittings in Church, better than some others which bring in as much as £2.2.0 a year instead of £1.1.0, the sum charged upon the boys. In England as you know, there are no endowments, and a Church is supported by such payments as for sittings etc. - moreover, it was built and enlarged on borrowed money, for which interest is paid. And I believe, that other schools charge upon the parents' price of their children's sittings, as if it is a personal expense, which they would have to pay, were their children with them and went to their own church. Also the Bass's ale is a personal expense, such as medicine is. We provide a beer which is perfectly wholesome and good. Some parents require on their sons a more expensive beverage. When the subject was first mentioned to me about a year since, I said, 'Don't charge anything additional for it' - but we find that Bass's ale is so much dearer than common beer and that so many boys have it that the whole amount becomes considerable expenditure and we cannot afford to allow it to the boys."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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NOTES ON PRIMARY SOURCES

Through the kindness of Fr. C. S. Dessain, it has been possible to study many of Newman's unpublished papers. They are kept in Edgbaston, Birmingham, at the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. There are over twenty thousand of Newman's letters still extant together with thousands he received from friends and acquaintances. Those letters written after 1845 - the year in which Newman became a Catholic - are being edited by Fr. Dessain and published by Nelson's of Edinburgh, but so far, only eight of the projected volumes have appeared: those covering the years 1845 to 1857. A further twenty-two have still to be published.

Amongst those sources which can be studied at Edgbaston, are his schoolboy diaries, exercise books, text books, prizes, jotters, magazines and letters. It is also possible to scrutinize those of his unpublished letters which date from 1816 until 1820 when he was an undergraduate at Trinity, together with his diaries, essays, examination papers and autobiographical memoranda referring to this period (i.e. an impression of his tutor, Thomas Short). Some of his lecture notes from Oriel remain together with memoranda on the teaching of undergraduates. There are very few references, however, to his work at Littlemore - they are limited to his correspondence with his family, his curate and E. B. Pusey - but his work in establishing the little school at Maryvale is fairly well documented in those letters which cover the period 1849 to 1851. Many of the letters dealing with

Newman's Irish crusade have now been published by C. S. Dessain (i.e. up to 1857) but those referring to his role as patron of the Oratory School and later as its headmaster have yet to be edited. The collection of data relevant to the Oratory School is fairly extensive. There are a number of old boys' diaries and scrap books together with Newman's teaching notes and a collection of mementos which give an accurate impression of life at the school in its early years. Those unpublished letters dealing with Newman's controversy over an Oxford Oratory with Wiseman and Manning have already been studied by J. Holmes in 'The Month' for January, 1965.

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The thesis has two chief ends. By scrutinising John Henry Newman's educational experiences from his earliest years onwards, it is intended firstly, to discover the origins of his educational thought, and secondly, by analysing the diverse ways in which he attempted to put it into operation, to estimate his competence as a practical educator. Of these two themes, the second will be especially emphasised and in particular, attention will be focused on the part Newman played in establishing and maintaining the Oratory School, a "public school such as Eton or Winchester for Catholic boys".(1)

Those aspects of Newman's work adequately covered by the researches of others will not be re-examined but simply referred to in passing.

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1. J.H.N. - S. Bellasis, October 28, 1857.