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I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by Sister Mary Kevin Kavanagh, O.S.F.

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be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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A Textual and Critical Study of Newman's *Idea of a University*, Part I

A dissertation submitted to the

Graduate School

of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1943

by

Sister Mary Kevin Kavanagh, O.S.F.

B.S. of Ed. Athenaeum of Ohio 1938
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Introduction

With the ascendancy of the naturalistic and materialistic attitudes during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, liberal education receded before the force of demands for training that would bring "practical" returns. A lust for an immediate yield from educational investments unbalanced the order of developing mental discipline and the fulfilment of human faculties. Recent years have seen a reaction against these false ideals. Scholars and educators alike have enunciated their warnings against the disastrous results of overlooking the higher nature of man and its needs. The people themselves are awakening, amid the ruins of their economic program, to the eternal desire of human beings for something infinitely more satisfying than material resources. Such conditions call forth the remembrance of a man who in his own day anticipated the flooding of the schools with a multitudinous variety of "useful" courses that would leave the student quite uneducated. He raised his melodic voice against what he considered one of the gravest of human ills; he set down in his superb style a unique treatise on liberal training, a treatise which had no specific forerunner and has hardly been surpassed. This was Cardinal Newman's Idea of a University.

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The purpose of the present essay is to reveal the educational ideas of John Henry Cardinal Newman, as contained in his Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education, through an examination of their sources and their development, together with their textual history.

Among the few studies of Newman as an educator, the one which is most complete is an excellent biographical treatment: J. H. Newman, Educateur, by Fernande Tardivel, of the University of Paris. Franz de Hovre has devoted a considerable section of his work, Le Catholicisme: Ses Pedagogues; sa Pedagogie (tr. by E. B. Jordan as Catholicism in Education, 1934), to a critical analysis and just interpretation of the educational philosophy and practice of the Cardinal. Timothy Corcoran, S.J. has seen fit to present an adverse criticism of Newman's philosophy in his Newman: Selected Discourses on Liberal Education. The present study extends the scope of these works by its treatment of the text and of the sources of the Discourses on University Teaching.

This work is limited to the named discourses and will serve, it is hoped, as a nucleus for a later analysis of all the writings on education which Newman produced. Chapter One consists of a history of the text under consideration, based on a careful collation of the separate editions and printings. Chapter Two is an exposition of the educational theories derived from the discourses. Chapter Three is devoted to a comparative study of the influences,

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positive and negative, on Cardinal Newman's work. Chapter Four concludes the study with an attempt at critical evaluation. The notes of the collation are presented in an appendix.

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Chapter One

History of the Text

The Idea of a University,[1] now in its last decade towards a century of vital existence, has made a place for itself in Colleges of Liberal Arts and of Education, as well as among cultured readers in general. The work has inevitably called forth the praise of critics for its pellucid prose style, but neither has its real worth as an expression of the essence of liberal education gone unappreciated. Humanists from his day to this have quoted Newman as an authority. Mr. Alexander Whyte has described the first reading of The Idea as "an epoch in every university man's life,"[2] and the late Charles Franklin Thwing, one-time president of Western Reserve University, in commending it wrote that Newman's "whole conception of the nature and functions of the purpose and results, of that educational process is pregnant with lasting lessons to the mind and the conscience of man."[3]

---

1 J.H. Newman, The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated, London, 1923. This book will be referred to in the footnotes hereafter as The Idea. Unless special mention is made, the page references will be to the 1923 printing.

2 Alexander Whyte, Newman, An Appreciation, London, 1901., p. 122.

3 C.F. Thwing, Education According to Some Modern Masters, New York, 1916, p. 250.

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Like the other works from the Cardinal's pen,[1] the collection of discourses which comprise The Idea of a University was the result of a specific request. The discourses were fired by the same motive power which animated Newman from his earliest Anglican sermons through his career as a Catholic priest, namely, his passionate zeal for "the preservation of religion against the incoming tide of rationalism and infidelity."[2] The occasion which gave rise to the essays on University Teaching had its source in the educational problems of Ireland. In the first half of the nineteenth century there was no opportunity for higher education for Catholic youths except in the seminaries or in the schools on the Continent. Religious tests in places of higher learning in Ireland, as in England, still debarred non-members of the Established Church. In 1845 the government of Sir Robert Peel had established the Queen's Colleges at Cork, Galway, and Belfast, which united in 1850 as Queen's University.[3] In imitation of the College of London, no chair of theology was founded, on the assumption that if no religion were offered, no religion favored,

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1 The works of J.H. Newman have been collected (though not completely) into some thirty-five octavo volumes.

2 Wilfrid Ward, Last Lectures, New York, 1918. p. 7.

3 J.W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, Cambridge, 1930. p. 145.

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then people of all creeds would be satisfied. Catholics as well as Protestants were invited to attend. Such a plan of "godless" training, however, was not acceptable to the Catholics. They had fought for centuries to preserve the faith, and they were determined not needlessly to expose their youth to a danger of loss now. They were suspicious of all liberalism as being allied to the free-thinking Universities of France and Belgium. Plans were presented for a kind of compromise, whereby separate halls would house the Catholic boys, and the dean appointed would be of their own confession. Further proposals asked for a share of Catholic teachers. Although, as a measure of expediency, this plan did meet with the approval of some members of the Irish Episcopacy, it was condemned by the majority.

In a Synod or National Council at Thurles, in 1850, the Bishops formally rejected the "Mixed Education" of the Queen's Colleges, and, following the Papal recommendations that had come from Rome, they resolved to establish a Catholic University in Dublin.[1] On April 15, 1851, Newman received a request from

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1 J.H. Newman, My Campaign in Ireland, Aberdeen, 1896. pp. x-xiii. It may be said that the authorities in Rome were guided by Dr. Paul Cullen, then Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, but formerly a long-time resident of Rome and president of the Irish College there. Dr. Cullen, as Chancellor, continued to exert a powerful influence in all the details connected with the founding of the University.

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Dr. Cullen to aid in the work of foundation.[1] The Bishops of Ireland were hopeful that he would use his talent as an orator to render the project popular by means of some conferences on education. Later in the summer of the same year Dr. Cullen asked Newman to assume the Rectorship of the institution. After hesitation and counsel Newman accepted, and his formal appointment was made on November 12, 1851.[2]

The question arises (and it is pertinent to the history of the text): What was it that induced Newman, whose love of England was so impelling, to leave his Oratory in Birmingham and devote himself to the Irish University? Newman, whose psychological aptitude was at times uncanny, had a special faculty of foreseeing objections to his statements and to his actions. He forestalled these by setting forth the difficulties and himself providing the solution. He has done just this with the present question in a "mythical" dialogue between himself and a friend.[3]

---

1 Wilfrid Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman, London, 1921. Vol. 1, p. 311.

2 Ibid., p. 312

3 This dialogue appeared originally in the article "Discipline and Influence" in the Catholic University Gazette, 1854; later in Historical Sketches, Vol. 3.

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> "... what had you to do with an Irish undertaking? do you think they have not clever men enough there to work it, but you must meddle?"
>
> "Well," I said, "I do not think it is an Irish undertaking, that is, in such a sense that it is not a Catholic undertaking, and one which intimately and directly interests other countries besides Ireland."
>
> "Say, England," he interposed.
>
> "Well, I say and mean England: I think it most intimately concerns England; unless it was an affair of England, as well as of Ireland, I should have sympathized in so grand a conception, I should have done what I could to aid it, but I should have had no call, as you well say, I should have considered it presumption in me, to take an active part in its execution."[1]

This "myth" explains clearly the exact position of Newman. He had always three dominant interests in his life. The first and primary one was his devotion to religion and truth. It is difficult to set either of the other two in a precedent position -- his love of England and his zeal for education. In the offer made by the Irish Bishops he saw an opportunity, God-sent, to do something for the Church,[2] for English Catholics as well as Irish, in the field of education -- the training of enlightened and cultured leaders among the laity. This idea had been expressed even

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1 J.H. Newman, Historical Sketches, Vol. 3, p. 66.

2 Ward wrote: "To do a great work as a Catholic, as a knight-errant for the Church or the See of Peter, was his highest aspiration." (Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman, Vol. 1, p. 323.)

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before his official appointment. In a letter to Mrs. William Froude, written in the autumn, 1851, Newman said:

> It is a most daring attempt, but first it is a religious one, ... Curious it will be if Oxford is imported into Ireland, not in its members only, but in its principles, methods, ways and arguments. The battle there will be what it was in Oxford twenty years ago.[1]

With astounding prevision Newman saw the future advance of Liberalism, of "infidelity," and he was ready to devote his best and latest efforts to prepare the young Catholic laity of England -- and of Ireland -- to face competently the dangers they were bound to encounter in their secular life.

Such was the task which Newman set before himself as he began work on the discourses which he himself declared had caused him "no one knows how much thought and anxiety."[2] He feared that because he had no acquaintance with his prospective audience his lectures might be "from beginning to end a failure."[3] He went to Dublin early in May.

The first discourse, delivered on Monday, May 10, was introductory. It was followed on the three successive Mondays

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1 Ibid., p. 312.

2 Letter to Dr. Newsham, of Ushaw, cited by Ward, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 316.

3 Letter to Ornsby, March 14, 1852, cited in My Campaign in Ireland, p. lxii.

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(May 17, 24, and 31) by lectures on the relation of theology and secular knowledge. The fifth lecture, on June 7th, was entitled "General Knowledge Viewed as One Philosophy." The meetings were held in the Exhibition Room of the Rotunda at four o'clock in the afternoon. Newman's letter to his Birmingham confrère, Father Ambrose St. John, reported the gratifying circumstances of the first lecture.

> The room was very good for my purpose, being very small. It is just the room I like, barring want of light. I cannot make myself heard when I speak to many, nor do the many care to hear me; paucorum hominum sum. The room holds (say)400, and was nearly full. ... It was just the room I have ever coveted and never have had.[1]

The audience, it would appear, was worthy to appreciate the extraordinary discourses. In a note of boyish enthusiasm Newman wrote:

> The Lecture, I suppose, has been a hit ... Mr. Duffy [his publisher] ... said he had never seen so literary an assemblage; all the intellect, almost, of Dublin was there. There were thirteen Trinity fellows, etc., eight Jesuits, a great many clergy, and most intense attention.[2]

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1 Ibid., pp. lxiii-lxiv

2 Ibid.

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A newspaper account of the second discourse reported that

> As before, the spacious room was crowded by a learned assemblage, lay and clerical, and there were present, besides, several distinguished ladies. A number of gentlemen connected with the university and other learned bodies also attended ... [1]

From the first, Newman planned publication of his lectures. They appeared in extenso in The Tablet of Dublin and were also reprinted in American Catholic newspapers.[2]

After June 7 Newman returned to Birmingham and continued the work on his discourses. He wrote five more, dealing principally with knowledge, or the philosophical habit, as the aim of a liberal education. For a reason never explained to him, no word came from Ireland authorizing him to resume his lecture series. He determined, however, to execute his original plan of a "Library Edition."[3] In December, 1852, the book was published by Duffy in Dublin under the title: Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education, Addressed to the Catholics

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1 Catholic Telegraph and Advocate, Cincinnati, Vol. 21, No. 25 (June 19, 1852), p. 2.

2 See excerpts in Catholic Telegraph and Advocate, Vol. 21, Nos. 25 and 46 (June 19, 1852 and November 9, 1852).

3 J.H. Newman, My Campaign in Ireland, p. lxiv.

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of Dublin. It contained the five lectures delivered in Dublin, the five prepared at Birmingham, a long preface and an extensive appendix (seventy-eight pages) consisting of "illustrations of the main principles laid down in the foregoing Discourses ..."[1] The work was dedicated to the countless friends in countries of Europe and America, whose generous offerings helped to defray the expenses of the Achilli trial, "the stress of a great anxiety" of which he speaks. The fact that the lectures were composed while the author was under such a burden elicits a deeper appreciation of his great work.

In the years following, Newman published other treatises on university education: The Office and Work of Universities, 1856, and Lectures and Essays on University Subjects, 1859. At the time when the latter appeared he also prepared a careful revision of his 1852 edition. This was published in London, 1859, as The Scope and Nature of University Education. It was somewhat shorter than the original, containing only eight of the ten discourses, with several of these abbreviated.

In 1873 the discourses appeared again in a new form. They became the first section of the work entitled The Idea of a

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1 J.H. Newman, Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education, Dublin, 1852. p. 371.

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University Defined and Illustrated. I. In Nine Discourses Delivered to the Catholics of Dublin II. In Occasional Lectures and Essays Addressed to the Members of the Catholic University. The first section was labeled "University Teaching." The second part, "University Subjects," was composed of the lectures Newman had given at the Catholic University between 1854 and 1858, and had published as Lectures and Essays on University Subjects in 1859. In this work, designated as the Third Edition, some of the material which had been removed from the second edition was restored, and a number of verbal changes occurred. The Fourth Edition was printed in 1875 under the title used in 1873.

In 1885 the works of Newman were given over to Longmans for publication and in that year came the Fifth Edition, the Sixth in 1886, the Seventh in 1887, the Eighth in 1888. There were two printings in 1888. The Ninth Edition, 1889, the last in Newman's lifetime, was in reality a reprint of the Eighth, as was the issue of 1891, indicated as New Edition. Further printings appeared. Those of 1893, 1896, 1899, and 1905 were marked New Edition. Copies of 1901, 1902, 1907, 1910, 1912, 1917, 1919, 1923, 1925, 1931, and 1935 contained the notation New Impression. The publisher's records indicate that from the time of Newman's death the demand for the book rose steadily until about 1930.[1]

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1 Letter from Longmans, Green, and Company, Ltd., London, December 17, 1942, to the writer.

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In 1927 an American edition for College use was prepared by Daniel M. O'Connell, S.J.[1] There was an Everyman's Library edition of The Scope and Nature of University Education in 1915.[2] The popularity of these issues probably accounts for the recent drop in the demand for the standard English copies.

Newman's discourses on University Teaching were first published in pamphlet form, as has been said. It has been impossible to secure these for the present collation, but a comparison of the excerpts reprinted in American newspapers[3] indicates that the first edition was copied from the separate pamphlets. The greatest alterations of the text are those made from the first to the second editions. In general, Newman seemed intent on reducing the size of his book, as he stated in the short preface written

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1 J.H. Newman, The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated, edited for College Use and Private Study by Daniel M. O'Connell, Loyola Press, Chicago, 1927. The America Press, New York, 1941. The edition is not complete; it omits Lectures VII, IX, and X of "University Subjects" in order to make room for some chapters from Historical Sketches, Vol. 3.

2 J.H. Newman, The Scope and Nature of University Education, Everyman's Library Edition, Dent, 1903, 1915; Dutton, 1915, 1928.

3 Catholic Telegraph and Advocate, Cincinnati, Vol. 21, Nos. 25 and 46 (June 19, 1852 and November 9, 1852).

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for this publication.

> He [the author] has removed from the text much temporary, collateral, or superfluous matter, and has thus reduced it to the size of his two other volumes on University Teaching, and that with advantage, as he conceives, both to the force and to the clearness of his argument.[1]

In the first place, the long title was reduced to The Scope and Nature of University Education, with a significant sub-title: "or University Teaching Considered in Its Abstract Scope and Nature." The headings of the separate discourses were also changed. This second edition contained only eight discourses. The original first and second were telescoped into one; the fifth was omitted as a separate treatise. The eighth was reduced and rearranged. The long appendix was permanently excised.

The sub-title of the edition of 1859 has been designated as significant: "University Teaching Considered in Its Abstract Scope and Nature." The term "abstract" conditions the point of view from which the subject was to be handled. Liberal education, cultivation of mind, were to be discussed in themselves as entities separate from religious or professional training. Newman had declared this position in 1852, but it was with more

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1 J.H. Newman, The Scope and Nature of University Education, London, 1859, p. vii.

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deliberation that he emphasized it in 1859. It has been pointed out that Newman had assumed an official status in the University at Dublin because he hoped to make a University "which should be to the Catholics of the Kingdom what Louvain was to the Belgian Catholics -- the home of a liberal education enabling them to be a real power in the country in proportion to their numerical strength."[1] He had looked upon England and Ireland as "sister isles" which had, in the early ages of the Church, aided and emulated each other for the glory of religion and learning. They had produced a roster of saints and scholars whose names are prominent in the pages of history. It was no small ambition that Newman fostered in hoping to re-establish a connection which had been severed for four hundred years.

Newman had had no intercourse with Ireland before he was called upon to work in the University. He admitted, "I was a poor innocent as regards the actual state of things in Ireland when I went there."[2] He had simply presumed that, since the authorities had invited him to head nominally the institution, they desired the kind of education to which he had devoted so much of his early

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1 Ward, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 355.

2 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 388.

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life. He had confidently expected that any racial discrepancies between the English and Irish would be obviated by the unity of religious belief. He had said, "... first it is a religious [attempt],"[1] not a national one. Newman had been encouraged by what he thought was the attitude of the Holy Father in the letter of March 25, 1852, to the Bishops of Ireland.

> We greet with merited praise your wise and provident decision to establish in Ireland ... a Catholic University in which young men may without peril to the Catholic faith, be trained in humane Studies and in the more exacting Faculties. We encourage you to bring about this wished-for result with all convenient speed.[2]

He interpreted this to signify "humane studies" as he understood them. He wrote that the establishment of a University by the Holy See seemed to suggest that a change of policy was in progress in Rome on the subject of methods of education.[3]

It is a matter of history that the aim of the Church in her educational work has never altered. The ancient truths have been restated and reemphasized in the encyclical of Pius XI:

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1 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 312.

2 Translation in T. Corcoran, S.J., Newman: Selected Discourses on Liberal Education, Dublin, 1929. p. 129.

3 Catholic University Gazette, Dublin, November 9, 1854. Cited in My Campaign in Ireland, pp. xiv, xv.

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> Education consists essentially in preparing man for what he must do here below in order to attain the sublime end for which he was created. ...
>
> It must never be forgotten that the subject of Christian education is man whole and entire, soul united to body in unity of nature, with all his faculties, natural and supernatural, such as right reason and revelation show him to be.[1]

Although, then, the ultimate end and underlying principles are unchanging, the Church has never pronounced dogmatically on the subject of educational method. There have been at various periods of history vehement controversies within the Church as to what should be taught in the schools. It was into just such a conflict that Newman found himself precipitated in 1854 when he became resident rector in Dublin. All the powers of his great soul were intent on uplifting the Catholic youth to the cultural level of their Protestant neighbors, at the same time fostering the peculiar benefits they were already deriving from their precious heritage of faith. In this hope he had composed the discourses in 1852; in this hope he took up his official work. To his amazement, even to his chagrin, almost to his despair, he found that those in authority did not want the University they had asked for. Dr. Cullen, who had the actual control of affairs, was intent

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1 Pius XI, Encyclical on Christian Education of Youth, Washington, D.C., 1930.

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on the seminary type of institute. Others had, perhaps unconsciously, acquiesced in the spreading enthusiasm for utilitarian and popular professional training. As Rector, Newman attempted to secure professors and officers who he knew would give prestige as well as power to the new undertaking. His efforts to place Englishmen (Manning, Wiseman, Wilberforce, and others) in the positions failed. On the whole, the Catholics in England proved quite indifferent to his cherished plan. Only a few of his personal convert friends, who shared his Oxford background and understood his cultural aims, supported him. The dual apathy or opposition of the "sister isles" he combatted vigorously, albeit with his characteristic tact and suavity; but he met with small success. In 1857 he sorrowfully submitted to the fact that a University, in the sense in which he understood that term, was not to be realized in the Dublin undertaking. He tendered his resignation and severed connections finally on November 12, 1858.

The plan of Newman had been an ideal one. His University teaching was to have supplied the cultural and intellectual needs of the student, while the personal influence of the carefully chosen "deans" or "tutors" was to have fostered the more important religious and moral development of the character. Newman laid great stress on the importance of personal influence for the formation of the spirit after the pattern of the Christ life.

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Ideal was his hope of uniting the islands of the Kingdom for the mutual benefits of his great project; ideal -- but not practicable; not "expedient," he might have said.

All this had direct bearing on the redaction of the discourses in 1859. Newman was well aware now that not all Catholics who sought higher education were looking for what he understood by University training. Not all were willing to accept the distinctions he made between natural and supernatural development. In the second edition of his work, therefore, he set himself to a task of revising the statement of his principles, to give "force and clearness to his arguments." He had not altered his own views, but he was unwilling to commit himself further to controversy as to what the University should be in the hands of the Church. He decided to reduce his discussion of a university to its existence in the "abstract." The development of the mind is operative in the natural order and can be legitimately considered as an independent faculty. Although in his personal life the natural and supernatural were inextricably united, in his philosophizing Newman treated the operations of the natural and of the supernatural as "formally distinct."[1]

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1 Newman was of a mind with Etienne Gilson who calls Christian "every philosophy which although keeping the two orders [i.e., the natural and the supernatural] formally distinct, nevertheless considers the Christian revelation as an indispensable auxiliary to reason." E.Gilson, The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy, New York, 1936, p. 37.

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A glance at the alterations of the text of the second edition shows at once that the two bulkiest excisions are the appendix and the original fifth discourse. It can be safely said that the appendix was omitted simply to reduce the size of the volume. The material contained therein is serviceable in throwing light on the sources of and influences on Newman's theories, but it is not immediately pertinent to the exposition of the theories. Hence, it is dispensed with. The question of the fifth discourse, however, cannot be disposed of so summarily.

Discourse V of the first edition was entitled "General Knowledge Viewed As One Philosophy." It was the last of the discourses given publicly in Dublin in 1852. As a conclusion to the series this essay presented first a résumé of Newman's arguments against Mixed Education, set forth in the previous discourses. It went on to show that whereas the secular schools omitted Religion from their curriculum on the score that it lay beyond their dominion, there is in Catholic education a unity effected by the interpenetration of the truths of reason and those of revelation. It set down in forthright terms the conviction that the "Catholic Church is one whole, and Philosophy again is one whole"; ... and "A University, so called, which refuses to profess the Catholic Creed, is, from the nature of the case, hostile to the Church

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and to Philosophy."[1]

The two elements composing this discourse, then, were, first, the summary on "Mixed Education"; and, secondly, the Catholic view of the unity of truth and therefore of education. With regard to the summary, it is obvious that if a revision of the lectures were to be made, a résumé (which served as a refresher at the beginning of an oral discourse) would be better placed at the end of the discourses dealing with the given subject. That is where Newman put it. He appended his summary of Mixed Education, much abbreviated by reason of the omission of his lively illustrations, to the preceding discourse. The rest of this admirable lecture had to be sacrificed to the restricted scope of the revision. Newman, in whom zeal for the truth was a burning passion, made the sacrifice disinterestedly. Although any one who knows at all the character of the Cardinal -- his intrepid searching and defence of truth, which was one with his attachment to the Church as custodian of the truth -- would readily comprehend that this omission in no way indicated a

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1 J.H. Newman, Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education ..., Dublin, 1852. pp. 165-166.

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surrendering in the least iota of his Catholic principles,[1] but rather a disinterested sacrifice for the sake of logic and order in his work as a whole, it is gratifying to find documentary evidence of his intentions. In the Introduction to My Campaign in Ireland, Father William P. Neville, who arranged the edition, recalled that the suppression of the fifth discourse was due in part to the fact that some of Newman's friends felt that he was not making himself understood by the clergy. In recasting the work, adjusting part to part, he was obliged to omit this discourse entirely, because it seemed to have lost its cohesion. The editor hastens to assure the reader, however, that

> This was not done as condemning the Discourse, for he purposed including it, after corrections, in an intended volume of Pamphlets and Papers.[2]

The omission of the fifth essay may be looked upon, then, as a deliberate part of a redaction for the sake of a well-balanced composition.

Further alterations in the original discourses, though smaller, are yet significant. The greatest portion of the material removed from the first discourse was a beautiful encomium

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1 Corcoran (op. cit., pp. vii-viii) implies that the "silent omission" of this discourse is a significant indication that Newman rejected the principles of Catholic education for those of his "abnormal" Oxford.

2 J.H. Newman, My Campaign in Ireland, Aberdeen, 1896. p. lxi.

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of St. Peter and his successors in the Holy See. Newman introduced the passage by way of mentioning the part which the Holy Father played in the establishment of the Catholic University, and his devotion to the Supreme Pontiff found exuberant expression in these lines. He later declared that in composing this discourse he had written "with great devotion to St. Peter and with exceeding pains to do his uttermost in the Saint's honor; ... try how he would he could do no better, ..."[1] In setting to work for the University, Newman let his complete submission to and confidence in the Roman decree overcome all the objections which his own practical mind saw to be obstructing the success of the undertaking. He felt that because the Pope had established the University its success was insured. Is it likely that the failure which he saw ahead in 1859 caused him to repent of his enthusiasm? Was the fact of his own withdrawal from the University in 1858 in any way connected with the suppression in the second edition of the passage on St. Peter and the Popes? Wilfrid Ward included in his biography a memorandum from Newman's Retrospective Notes which throws light on these questions. Newman wrote that he had been accustomed to believe that by a peculiar gift of sagacity the Pope always set forth the

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1 Ibid., p. ix.

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measure or policy that was "expedient for the Church at the time when he determined." He continued,

> I am obliged to say that a sentiment which history impressed on me, and impresses still, has been very considerably weakened as far as the present Pope Pius IX., is concerned, by the experience of the result of the policy which his chosen councillors had led him to pursue. ...[1]

Newman knew that the Pope had no infallible powers in secular administration, yet he experienced a painful disappointment to find that the later decrees from Rome supported Cullen's plans rather than his own. No doubt these circumstances did bear on his decision to remove the passage in question. The fact, however, that Newman later presented these lines, under the title "Cathedra Sempiterna," as a contribution to Fr. Cardella's book Omaggio Catholico ai Principi degli Apostoli Pietro a Paolo in honor of Pope Pius IX's Jubilee in 1871, confirms his attitude of filial faith toward the Holy Father.

Another considerable passage of the first edition which was withdrawn from the introduction in the second edition was a criticism of Mixed Education so trenchant that one of the first auditors of the lecture was brought to declare that "the days of Mixed Education were numbered."[2] When Newman revised his work he

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1 W. Ward, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 388.

2 J.H. Newman, My Campaign in Ireland, Aberdeen, 1896, p. lxiii.

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eliminated the controversial elements, as has been said, leaving his arguments in suave academic style.

The sixth discourse was shortened, becoming the fourth in the second edition. There was a long defence of the harmony of faith and reason which was not included after the edition of 1852. Here again it can be stated that Newman considered the material irrelevant, but not unimportant. He has discussed the idea of the compatibility of faith and reason elsewhere in his sermons.[1] When Newman prepared his manuscript for pamphlet publication he wrote a special preface for the sixth discourse, intended to make clear the idea that his essay was to define the essence of a university, and not the concrete life and practice of a specific institution. When the discourses were collected he directed that this preface was to be omitted, but by some accident it did appear in one copy, with the note "To the binder of this volume. Cancel this Introduction." However, its suppression should not cause any suspicious conjecturing;[2] for what is said therein is really contained in the longer preface to the volume.[3]

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1 J.H. Newman, Oxford University Sermons, London, 1892. He later dealt more fully with the subject in Grammar of Assent, 1870.

2 See T. Corcoran, op. cit., pp. vii, lxxix ff.

3 Preface to Discourse VI: "As misconception may arise with regard to some of the points treated in the following pages, in consequence of the impossibility of introducing at once all the

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The seventh discourse contained a satirical thrust at the sermons of the English divines of the seventeenth century, as "mere repertories of miscellaneous and officious learning."[1] The first edition included a minute description of the style of Jeremy Taylor, as found in his "House of Feasting." The array of quotations in a single sermon included pickings from no less than thirty-six authors of classical or ecclesiastical fame. Newman used this as an example of "acquirement without philosophy" -- that such learning should be necessary for a practical sermon on temperate eating and drinking. It is readily seen that such an illustration which would be effective in a spoken discourse would lose some of its pungency on the printed page. Neither does it accord fully with the dignified formal tone of the rest of the treatise. In the

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safeguards and explanations which they respectively require, the Author would observe 1) That he is treating here of the object of a University in the abstract and in its idea; 2) that, as such, its object is knowledge, as such; 3) but that a Catholic University will, in all its regulations and appointments, and in its routine, distinctly recognize Catholicism; and 4) that, for its integrity, though not for its essence, it ought to be invested with a coercive power; enforcing order, discipline, and religious and moral behaviour on its subjects. (To the binder of this volume. Cancel this Introduction.)" Cited in F. Tardivel, J.H. Newman, Educateur, Paris, 1937, p. 89.

1 The Idea, p. 140.

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second edition Newman made his general statements on the subject without the particularized references. He likewise omitted a quotation from Dr. Channing in praise of "universality of education" with similar reason and effect.

The material in the eighth discourse was rearranged and abbreviated in the second edition. Quotations from other authors were cut considerably, with advantage to the reading of the text. A few eliminations were also made from the ninth and tenth discourses.

Besides the special alterations mentioned above, there were a number of others. There were some changes in wording and punctuation. Some instances show an acceptance of a more specific term, others reveal the statement of a principle in a more general expression. One minor change was made throughout the second edition: the term of address, Gentlemen, which recurs frequently, was reprinted with a small initial letter. In the next edition, however, the capital was replaced.

When the Discourses were prepared for the third edition, the revision was almost completely a technical one. A new format was adopted. The lectures of 1852, as has been said, became the first section of the book, under the heading "University Teaching." The discourses were divided into sections, with inter-section spacing. Each division was introduced by a consecutive Arabic number. This served to emphasize the firm structural pattern of

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the essays in their formal and academic style. The new title for this volume -- The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated -- was not exactly new. Newman had used the name, The Idea of a University, for the second, third, and fourth editions of the essays originally published as The Office and Work of Universities. In 1872 these were included in volume three of Historical Sketches, so Newman altered and transferred the title for his 1873 edition of the Dublin discourses. There were nine lectures included in this volume, the first and second having been separated again, although the original first was not completely restored.[1] New headings were also given to some of the separate discourses.

In the matter of punctuation in the third edition, there were approximately one hundred and twenty-five commas removed, presumably oratorical stops which were without grammatical sanction. On the other hand, about half as many new ones were inserted. These were mostly in series and with parenthetical words and phrases. In several places colons were replaced by semi-colons, in further conformity with conventional usage. The alterations in wording were mostly made for stylistic reasons, to secure an improved rhythm or to avoid repetition. Some of the changes consist in the substitution of a more specific word or phrase for a

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1 Because Newman had used the material for his "Cathedra Sempiterna" he did not feel free to replace it in the discourse. See above, p. 25.

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less specific, or in some instances the opposite. A number of misprints in the text were corrected by a page of Errata, but a few were overlooked. A useful index was also appended at this time.

The publications which appeared in 1875 and 1885, as the fourth and fifth editions, proved to be mere reprints of the third edition, except for the correction in the body of the text of the mistakes which had been in the third, fourth, and fifth editions, and one sentence was recast. The seventh edition, 1887, was not available for this collation, but it seems just to infer (subject to correction) that no alterations occurred, unless they were either or both of the two verbal alterations which were first noted in this study in the eighth edition. The ninth edition, 1889, and the new, 1891, were reprints of the eighth. The publication of 1893 had one verbal change, and that of 1898 was a reprint. The 1905 edition showed two changes in punctuation and one in spelling. All copies bearing later dates were reprints. The format of the third edition was followed in all the later editions.

In summarizing the findings of the collation, it should be noted that the first edition contained ten discourses, the second eight, and all later ones nine, of which only the first four were given publicly in Dublin. The ninth edition, 1889, was the last to appear in Newman's lifetime. As it is a mere reprint of the eighth

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edition published during the year previous, it can be said that the eighth edition represents Newman's final judgment and is therefore the authentic text. Changes made thereafter are probably proofreaders' corrections, but they are, nevertheless, illegitimate.

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Chapter Two

Newman's Theory of Liberal Education

The original discourses on the scope and nature of a University which Newman delivered in Dublin during May and June, 1852, contain his classic exposition of a liberal education, which Walter Pater could describe as "the perfect handling of a theory."[1] Any attempt to set down this theory anew can only be justified by reason of the occasional nature of the discourses themselves. They were written to be given as separate lectures to audiences which varied somewhat from week to week. There was, therefore, a necessary recapitulation of principles, as well as a division of the material itself. Such an arrangement gives a "fragmentary"[2] character to the work and to some extent warrants the summing up necessary for its further consideration.

Newman came to the platform with a long collegiate career behind him.[3] Sound philosopher that he was, his educational ideas

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1 Walter Pater, Appreciations, London, 1889. p. 14.

2 Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch uses the word in describing the Idea of a University in his On the Art of Writing, New York, 1928. p. 37.

3 It was precisely because of his Oxford experience as tutor and preacher that Newman was appointed by Dr. Cullen (at the suggestion of James Hope-Scott, a college friend) to the Rectorship of the new Catholic University. See W. Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman, Vol. 1, p. 305.

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had taken root in his experience and had evolved with the years. He frankly avowed that his philosophy of education dated from his Oxford days and was held just as firmly in his present status.[1] Liberal education, to him, meant the cultivation of the intellect, a purely natural faculty of man, and it could therefore be treated from a strictly philosophical point of view.[2]

It is well to keep in mind that Newman was trying to achieve the difficult task of harmonizing two extreme attitudes toward higher learning. He was, on the one hand, zealously eager for a university that would give free scope to the legitimate development of arts and sciences. He hoped to convert to his way of thinking some members of the clergy whose constricted view in this regard would confine learning to narrow limits. On the other hand, Newman was just as intent on his mission against the secularization of education. This was no more a new conviction than was his attitude toward intellectual culture, for even as a preacher in Oxford days he had declared:

> Although, then, Christianity seems to have been the first to give to the world the pattern of the true spirit of philosophical investigation, yet, as the principles of science are, in process of time, more

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1 The Idea, p. 4

2 Ibid., p. 5

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> fully developed, and become more independent of the religious system, there is much danger lest the philosophical school should be found to separate from the Christian Church, and at length to disown the parent to whom it has been so greatly indebted. And this evil has in a measure befallen us; that it does not increase, we must look to that early religious training, to which there can be no doubt all persons -- those in the higher as well as in the poorer classes of the community -- should be submitted.[1]

While he proceeds in his exposition of liberal education on strictly speculative grounds, Newman never leaves the reader in doubt as to his practical position in regard to the education of the "whole man."

Liberal education has its home in the university -- "a place of teaching universal knowledge."[2] This simple definition implies the whole of Newman's idea. The university is a place of teaching; it requires professors and students, a passing on from the learned to the learner of the facts and culture of civilization. It is a coöperative enterprise in which the capacities of the educand are developed or stimulated by the instruction of one already in possession of knowledge. The teaching element being essential, one accepts the implication that the purpose of the university is the diffusion of knowledge rather than its advancement. If a man is

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1 J.H. Newman, Oxford University Sermons, London, 1892. pp. 14-15.

2 The Idea, p. ix. Newman was not ignorant of the etymological definition of a university. He referred to it in the Appendix, p. 381; but he chose to use and develop a popular conception of the term. See the Appendix of this study, p. 256 j.

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occupied in dispensing knowledge to others, he is likely to have neither leisure nor energy sufficient to discover new.[1] The scholars of England had recognized this "division of labor" in education, and special Academies and Societies, such as the Royal Society, the Royal Academy for the Fine Arts, and the British Association, were devoted exclusively to the advancement of the arts and sciences.[2] Newman was in favor of not disturbing this arrangement. His school would confine itself to teaching, and the teaching must be "of universal knowledge." The main task of the discourses lies in the unfolding of the conception of "knowledge" in the precise terms of intellectual culture, of the "philosophical habit of mind."

The demand for the "philosophical habit of mind" points directly to the all-important task of formation -- intellectual formation, which is one with liberal education in the mind of Newman.

> Liberal Education, viewed in itself, is simply the cultivation of the intellect, as such, and its object is nothing more or less than intellectual excellence.[3]

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1 The Idea, p. xiii.

2 The activity of such institutions corresponds to the research work of the Graduate School in our Universities today, whereas the University of which Newman spoke is comparable to the ideal of a Liberal Arts College, which seems to be now fast disappearing.

3 The Idea, p. 121.

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Thus does Newman set forth the end to which the university work is directed. The native intellect of man is richly endowed with capacities; it is the scope of liberal teaching to develop these. The intellect has for its object truth; it is the business of the university to lead it to the truth. The mind must be trained "to reason well in all matters, to reach out towards the truth, and to grasp it."[1]

With lucid metaphysical precision Newman reveals the connections existing between the formal truth to be sought and the intellect which seeks it. Truth is the aggregate of universal facts and their relations, and knowledge is the apprehension of these facts and relations.

> All that exists, as contemplated by the human mind, forms one large system or complex fact, and this of course resolves itself into an indefinite number of particular facts, which, as being portions of a whole, have countless relations of every kind, one towards another. Knowledge is the apprehension of these facts, whether in themselves, or in their mutual positions and bearings. And, ... all taken together they form one integral subject for contemplation, ...[2]

The finite mind of man cannot comprehend this whole vast fact at once, however; so it is constrained to consider first one aspect, then another. These several partial views are called the sciences.

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1 The Idea, p. 126.

2 Ibid., p. 45.

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The division into "parts" is not a real one; it is simply an abstraction, all the sciences being related to one another and necessary for the integrity of the universal knowledge. Specifically, physiology studies man in relation to the material elements of his body, economics deals with his household and his community. Anatomy, chemistry, geology, each has its own field of investigation. They arrange and classify facts, they reduce separate phenomena under definite laws. Yet the findings of one science are conditioned by the findings of another, and all contribute to the whole. The general knowledge which thus comprehends the relations of one science to another, their limits and locations, is a "science of sciences," "a philosophical habit of mind."[1]

The intellectual culture which Newman advocates is not to be accomplished in the persons of genius, but rather in persons of talent. It is generally the result of a laborious discipline, of a careful training of the man's capacity to attain the standards presented by the University. It is, as has been said, a coöperative undertaking. The human mind naturally tends to learn, but the intellectual faculty must actively participate in the acquisition and disposition of facts if a true mental expansion is to be effected. There must be "the action of a formative power, reducing to order and meaning the matter of our acquirements."[2]

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1 The Idea, p. 51.

2 Ibid., p. 134.

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As a special fruit of University education, philosophical knowledge is quite distinct from the acquisition of any amount of factual information. To be sure, knowledge of facts is indispensable to the enlargement of the intellect, but only in an instrumental way. The actual training takes place when the faculty exercises itself upon the material of its experience (whether personal or vicarious), and by practice acquires the ability to view many things at once as one whole, to relegate each to its proper place in the universal system, to understand their respective values, and to determine their relations to one another.[1] The process of philosophical habit formation is analytical, the intellect thinks while it knows; it harmonizes the ideas which come to it, referring them to what is already known.

When Newman demands more than "acquirements" for knowledge he is not disparaging any of the particular sciences as such. A well-stocked memory is a great advantage to the educand, but that equipment alone does not make intellectual culture. There is, in fact, a danger (which was present in Newman's day as well as in our own) that students exaggerate the matter of learning many subjects. The result is that with an accumulation of unconnected ideas the mind remains weakly shallow and hopelessly dissipated. The same is true of a "man of one Science." The specialist who lacks a

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1 The Idea, p. 137.

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general expansion of mind labors under a great handicap. He sees everything from the narrow point of view of his own field and lacks the ability to understand or appreciate the universal scope of truth.

To the objection that a Liberal Education produces no useful effects Newman replies that philosophy or mental culture, as a perfection of the intellect, is a good in itself and, therefore, has its use in itself. He fortifies his claims by a remarkable catalogue of its objects:

> To open the mind, to correct it, to refine it,
> to enable it to know, and to digest,
> master, rule, and use its knowledge,
> to give it power over its faculties,
> application, flexibility, method, critical exactness,
> sagacity, resource, address, eloquent expression...[1]

Such a cultivation of the intellect is to him a distinctly intelligible purpose. Liberal teaching confines its work to the perfecting of the powers of the mind. This interpretation of "liberal" activity is based directly on the teaching of Aristotle, whose disciples we are, Newman says, "whether we will or no."

> ... that alone is liberal knowledge, which stands
> on its own pretensions, which is independent of
> sequel, expects no complement, refuses to be informed
> by an end, or absorbed into any art, in order duly
> to present itself to our contemplation.[2]

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1 The Idea, p. 122

2 Ibid., p. 108.

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He leaves the utilitarian accomplishments to other agencies. He does not contemn these; he merely distinguishes kind from kind.

Time and again Newman repeats with variations, with new illustrations, new descriptions and sidelights, his definition of the university.[1] The simple contingency of university residence gives rise to peculiar advantages for acquiring the philosophical habit of mind. Within the confines of the institution are assembled learned men, zealous for their own sciences and emulous of their confreres. Their familiar association keeps them alert to the legitimate claims of the several sciences, and makes for a spirit of coöperation and intellectual peace.[2] The student, living in this exclusive environment, is the inheritor of a tradition, a "genius loci," which guides him in the formation of attitudes and principles that will serve him during all his life. Although each student cannot (and must not) follow every subject presented by the university, he will profit by his fellowship with those who represent the whole circle of universal knowledge. Newman goes so far as to give precedence to the stimulus which is thus provided for intellectual growth and culture, in the event of a necessary choice between it and a set of teachers "with no mutual sympathies and no intercommunion."[3] The warmth and vivacity which Newman

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1 Mlle. Tardivel (J.H. Newman, Educateur) has enumerated the passages in The Idea which are pertinent to this: pp. 100-101; 109-114; 137-139; 145-148; 166-167; 177-178; 229-233.

2 The Idea, p. 101.

3 Ibid., pp. 147-148.

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communicates to his description of the university, in which he steps aside from his strict philosophizing, creates the picture of a real institution. He is undoubtedly recalling his own Oxford experiences with fellow-students like Hurrell Froude and John William Bowen, under intellectual men like Keble, Whately, and Copleston. It was not the "atrophied" university which Corcoran represents,[1] but a vital segment of that organization wherein young men of talent were nurtured in and stimulated to the acquisition of the philosophical habit of mind. The requisite personal adjustments, the sharing of youthful ambitions and ideas, the perception of the breadth of knowledge and its fundamental principles tend toward a cultivation hardly attainable in any save a a university milieu.

The means advocated in the discourses for the imparting of a philosophical training is traditional. There is to be a systematic curriculum to include mathematics and the natural sciences, the classics, history, logic, metaphysics and religion. The first two subjects, in addition to providing indispensable and fundamental information, have the particular faculty of establishing certain valuable habits of mind. They impress the student with the idea of method, order, principle and system, of rule and exception, of

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1 T. Corcoran, S.J., Newman: Selected Discourses on Liberal Education, Dublin, 1929, p. xxii.

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richness and harmony. Mathematics is especially suited to give a conception of development and arrangement from and around a common centre.[1]

The physical sciences, which at this time were just beginning to make bold claims for themselves, are given due consideration. Newman recognizes them as contributing factors to universal truth. He assumed that the university, which ought to aim at teaching all truth, would be prepared to give instruction in these subjects. In the Catholic University at Dublin, which was opened two years after these discourses were delivered, Newman was most zealous for the School of Medicine and for the School of Science. He saw with keen foresight the important rôle which science was to play in coming generations. He was also well aware of the fact that most of the boys who would come into his school would be obliged to use their education to obtain a livelihood, that they would become physicians, engineers, lawyers, and so on. Yet he was confident that the only secure foundation for concentrated effort in one field of study was the philosophical training which he designated as liberal.

> The man who has learned to think and to reason and to compare and to discriminate and to analyze, who has refined his taste, and formed his judgment and sharpened his mental vision, will not indeed at once be a lawyer, physician, engineer, etc., but he will be ready to take up any of these callings.[2]

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1 The Idea, p. xix.

2 Ibid., p. 165-166.

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What Newman denies to the professional and scientific subjects is the "foremost" place in his University; that place he reserves for intellectual training, as such, for its own sake.

Newman looked upon the humanities as the most potent element in the curriculum for fostering intellectual expansion. Literature is a study of human nature, the "history, partly and at best of the natural man, partly of man in rebellion."[1] The extended range of reading in the world classics brings a knowledge of man with his powers of passion, intelligence and conscience. Newman considers this as a direct preparation for adult life. If the student becomes familiar with the masters of thought through literature at the university, he will acquire the ability to judge and evaluate in kind the social, political, intellectual and moral influences which he must encounter as a man in the world. The study of historical works creates for him a communion with his predecessors, from whom he can learn much. By analyzing the lessons of history and distinguishing the more valuable from the less valuable ones he is working directly on a means of mental enlargement. All the humanities give cognizance to the fact that there are reasons which cannot be analyzed by scientific measurements and experiments; metaphysics is a real and important factor in the university curriculum.

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1 The Idea, p. 228.

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Newman takes great pains to defend the place of theology in university teaching. He devotes the three discourses after the Introductory to showing that religion has a legitimate and essential place in the curriculum, making a definite stand against those who have been disputing this right. The College of London and the Queen's Colleges of Ireland were comparatively new secular institutions. They had refused to establish chairs of Theology because their educators claimed that religion was outside the field of their work. It was in direct protest against the "Mixed Education" of the Queen's Colleges at Cork, Galway, and Belfast, that the Irish Bishops had launched their plans for the Catholic University at Dublin. Confining himself to philosophical principles, Newman pursues the idea that a university must teach all knowledge and that each branch of science must be allowed to follow its own methods to develop the truths within its scope. In logical order he first proves that Theology is a branch of knowledge. Theology comprises what can be known by reason of the Supreme Being.

> I cannot so construct my definition of the subject-matter of University Knowledge, and so draw my boundary lines around it, as to include therein the other sciences commonly studied at Universities, and to exclude the science of Religion. For instance, are we to limit our idea of University Knowledge by the evidence of our senses? then we exclude ethics; by intuition? we exclude history; by testimony? we exclude metaphysics; by abstract reasoning? we exclude physics. Is not the being of a God reported to us by testimony, handed down by history, inferred by an inductive process, brought home to us by

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> metaphysical necessity, urged on us by the suggestions of our conscience? It is a truth in the natural order, as well as in the supernatural.[1]

Newman refutes the modern error that religion is a matter of sentiment, and he establishes on the grounds of reason the fact of the existence of the Creator and His works. If theology be considered only as a branch of knowledge, its omission from a curriculum which purports to be universal would be "simply unphilosophical."[2]

Truth depends not only on facts, but on the relation and bearing of various facts to one another on account of their individual incompleteness. For example, if we proceeded on the abstract theory of forces, we should assign a much more ample range to a projectile than the resistance of air allows it. Thus the knowledge of the latter assists and completes to a certain point the science of projection.[3] This principle has a direct bearing on the issue of refusing a place to any given subject in the university program of teaching. Viewed altogether, the sciences approximate to a representation of the objective truth. But the systematic omission of any one science prejudices the accuracy and completeness of the aggregate knowledge. If any one were dropped

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1 The Idea, p. 25.

2 Ibid., p. 42.

3 Ibid., p. 49.

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from the circle its place would not remain open; it would soon be absorbed by other branches which have neither the right nor the adequacy to assume it. A disorder in the realm of truth would be the inevitable result. Consequently, if theology be accepted as a real science occupied with truth (and Newman is convinced of it), it cannot be omitted from the curriculum without great prejudice to others.

It is transparent that the relation of theology and the other subjects will create a problem not easily solved, once the scene is removed from the university in abstract to a particular foundation. If religion is to influence every subject of the curriculum, there can be no question of religious "liberty" for the students. They will learn to view facts in the light of the truths (natural and supernatural) of theology. Hence, no kind of "conscience clause" will make a Mixed Education acceptable to a staunch adherent of any creed. If a man's religious belief is essential to him, he can accept no compromise in its regard. Newman repeatedly refers to this distinction,[1] and in the final discourse he explains the rôle of the Church in relation to knowledge. She must act as a steadying force while the intellect is being freely exercised and knowledge acquired.

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1 The Idea, pp. ix, 125, 180, 214.

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> ... though it had ever so many theological Chairs, that would not suffice to make it a Catholic University; for theology would be included in its teaching only as a branch of knowledge, only as one out of many constituent portions, however important a one, of what I have called Philosophy. Hence a direct and active jurisdiction of the Church over it and in it is necessary, lest it should become the rival of the Church with the community at large in those theological matters which to the Church are exclusively committed, -- acting as the representative of the intellect, as the Church is the representative of the religious principle.[1]

It is quite evident that Newman put first things first, and that he intended to make clear the philosophy of Catholic education as well as to expound the nature of liberal education.

In a letter contemporary with the publication of these discourses on theology, Newman implies that the topics were suggested by the University authorities,[2] yet they proved quite congenial to his manner of treatment, and the vigor of their form and substance identifies them with his own firmest convictions. He is not content with abstract statements of his views; he multiplies illustrations to authenticate and clarify them, adding vitality and interest to his academic arguments.

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1 The Idea, pp. 214-215.

2 Letter to Ornsby, April 18, 1852, cited by F. Tardivel, op. cit., p. 80.

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Newman offers no advice to the practitioner for details of the curriculum, but his given program comprises studies in the field of knowledge as a whole, leading to an understanding and appreciation of its separate departments and to the general illumination or enlargement of mind at which the University aims.

The beau-ideal of English education had long been the formation of "gentlemen," and Newman was himself an outstanding example of the type, in the best sense of the word. It is therefore quite natural that he describes the personal product of intellectual maturation as "the gentleman," characterized by "a cultivated intellect, a delicate taste, a candid, equitable, dispassionate mind, a noble and courteous bearing in the conduct of life."[1] His training gives him

> ... a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgments, a truth in developing them, an eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them. It teaches 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 disregard what is irrelevant. It prepares him to fill any post with credit, and to master any subject with facility. It shows him how to accommodate himself to others, throw himself into their state of mind, how to bring before them his own, how to influence them, how to come to an understanding with them, how to bear with them. He is at home in any society, he has common ground with every class; he knows when to speak and when to be silent; he is able to converse, he is able to listen; he can ask a question

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1 The Idea, p. 120.

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> pertinently, and gain a lesson seasonably, when he has nothing to impart himself; he is ever ready, yet never in the way; he is a pleasant companion, and a comrade you can depend upon; he knows when to be serious and when to trifle, and he has a sure tact which enables him to trifle with gracefulness and to be serious with effect. He has the repose of a mind which lives in the world, and which has resources for its happiness at home when it cannot go abroad. He has a gift which serves him in public, and supports him in retirement, without which good fortune is but vulgar, and with which failure and disappointment have a charm.[1]

Such qualities of excellence are, first of all, the results of the perfecting of the intellect for its own sake and to the benefit of the individual. Yet these very effects are so closely bound up with social relations that Newman declares that if a practical end must be assigned to a University course, it is that of training good members of society. "Its art is the art of social life, and its end is fitness for the world."[2] He denies that social advantage arises from only specialized training and research for utilitarian purposes, upholding tenaciously his opinion that great ultimate good must come to a society whose leaders have been the subjects of a liberal education.

While Newman discusses the benefits of intellectual culture and the philosophical habit of mind, he makes a very sharp distinction between intellectual and moral excellence. He insists that

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1 The Idea, p. 178.

2 Ibid., p. 177.

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it is as unreasonable to charge liberal education with the task of moral training as with the imparting of skill in the mechanical arts. This verdict has been the source of some adverse criticism of the Cardinal's idea. He has been accused of a "philosophy of segregation,"[1] of non-Catholic opinion,[1] of un-English principles in regard to the aim of the University.[2] A complete and unprejudiced analysis of the works of Newman, however, precludes such a judgment. It must be remembered that Newman promised an academic and philosophical treatment of his subject. He was, furthermore, presenting only the general principles of the scope of University teaching, with specific stipulation that his arguments were for the "essence" of a university and independent of other institutions of education or character training.[3] In a work written previous to his conversion[4] Newman speaks plainly and more fully on this question, showing that although he could view them separately in the abstract, they are not exclusive. Literature and science are not sufficient for a man's education.

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1 See T. Corcoran, op. cit., p. lxxi, and his adherents.

2 See J.W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, Cambridge, 1930. p. 201.

3 The Idea, p. ix.

4 "The Tamworth Reading Room," a paper addressed to the Editor of the Times, by Catholicus, February, 1841, was reprinted in Discourses and Arguments, 1872.

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> Christianity and nothing short of it, must be made the element and principle of all education. Where it has been laid as the first stone, and acknowledged as the governing spirit, it will take up into itself, assimilate, and give character to literature and science.[1]

In the first edition of the discourses, the fifth one, entitled "General Knowledge Viewed As One Philosophy,"[2] contains another clear statement of his position.

> Not Science only, not Literature only, not Theology only, neither abstract knowledge simply nor experimental, neither moral nor material, neither metaphysical nor historical, but all knowledge whatever, is taken into account in a University, as being the special seat of that large Philosophy, which embraces and locates truth of every kind, and every method of attaining it.[3]

Subsequent to the publication of the Dublin lectures, Newman spoke even more explicitly on the same point.

> It will not satisfy me, what satisfies so many, to have two independent systems, intellectual and religious, going at once side by side, by a sort of division of labour, and only accidentally brought together. ... I want the same roof to contain both the intellectual and moral discipline. ... I want the intellectual layman to be religious, and the devout ecclesiastic to be intellectual.[4]

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1 J.H. Newman, Discourses and Arguments, London, 1891. p. 274.

2 See the discussion of the omission of this discourse from later editions, supra, pp. 21-23.

3 J.H. Newman, Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education, Dublin, 1852. p. 153.

4 J.H. Newman, Sermons Preached on Various Occasions, London, 1921, p. 13.

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The fact that the essays on University Teaching appear mediately to these cogent passages, coupled with the circumstance that Newman never altered the statement about the separation of the intellectual and moral training in later editions of The Idea, proves that he, whose powers of clear thinking and precise expression are to be envied, considered his treatment of a university in the abstract not at all discordant to the policies he maintained for practical education, but rather only a partial view for which his idea of Unity would demand its complements in reality.[1] His opponents are free to dispute Newman's definition of a university, if they will; but it is unfair to use isolated statements as evidence of the author's philosophy.

From the discourses themselves can be gleaned Newman's contrast of the English "gentleman" and the Christian ideal. There is a great difference between the effect of intellectual training and that of moral training. Cultivation of the mind has for its end the perfection of the faculty, but it is no guarantee for the development of moral character. In fact, it is a matter of human experience that a person highly gifted with secular knowledge, but deficient in moral character, may be simply an educated blackguard. However, the usual product of a liberal education is the "gentleman"

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1 Cf. also F. Tardivel, op. cit., p. 92, and F. de Hovre, Catholicism in Education, tr. E. Jordan, New York, 1934. p. 251 ff.

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who exhibits social virtues which give the impression of a well-formed character. Newman speaks of the norms of this way of life as the "ethics of philosophy" founded in the culture of civilization.[1] The discipline by which knowledge is gained and the tastes which it forms have a natural tendency to refine the mind, generating a kind of fastidiousness that revolts against vulgarity and sensual excesses and diverts the mind to rational exercises. But the attractive qualities which make the gentleman so congenial to society have their motivating power in human expediency and are, therefore, quite distinct from moral principles. The famous passage "Hence it is almost the definition of a gentleman ..." with its catalogue of amiable, gentle, and charming attributes may well be, as H.A. Reinhold has suggested, a "caricature of the 'gentleman', ..."[2] The "virtues" themselves are assets to any personality, but one can feel trenchant wit in the ironic way in which Newman injects the impelling motives for these characteristics. "He is patient, forbearing, and resigned, on philosophical principles, ... He is a friend of religious toleration ... from the gentleness and effeminacy of feeling, which is the attendant on civilization."[3] The

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1 The Idea, p. 206.

2 H.A. Reinhold, "Inroads of the Bourgeois Spirit," The Commonweal, Vol. 35, No. 19 (February 27, 1942), p. 459.

3 The Idea, p. 210.

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training of the intellect is indeed no guarantee for moral rectitude; human reason and human knowledge are impotent to contend against the giants of passion and pride.[1] Newman admits that very often the man of culture seems to conform in detail to St. Paul's exemplar of Christian perfection.[2] It is, however, only a shallow, a superficial resemblance that breaks down under examination. The "humility" of the followers of the Gospel is "an abdication, as far as their own thoughts are concerned, of those prerogatives or privileges to which others deem them entitled."[3] The "humility" of the man of the world, on the other hand, is a condescension, "a stooping indeed of the person, but a bending forward, unattended with even the slightest effort to leave by a single inch the seat in which it is so firmly established."[4] This is the act of the superior who may serve with a grace but who never yields place in his mind to those he considers his inferiors. Pride is utilized and made respectable under the name of "self-respect"; modesty serves as a charming substitute for humility. Newman explains that, if true Christians often fail to attain to the polished attainments of the man of the world, it is because the Church aims at the interior

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1 The Idea, p. 121.

2 Ibid., p. 203.

3 Ibid., p. 205.

4 Ibid., pp. 205-206.

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transformation of the whole man. This is a much more difficult task than the superficial change made by the "exterior embellishment" which is "almost the beginning and end of" the philosophical code of ethics. In it taste replaces conscience, contrition disappears and shame may take its place, consideration of God is lost for human respect. While Newman sees clearly the defects of the trained gentleman, he is not at all blind to the possibilities of his real worth. Many of the qualities marking the man of culture are apparently identical with those of Christian virtue, but their real difference lies in the underlying motives -- expediency and self-satisfaction for the gentleman; imitation of Christ in the Christian.

The aim of university teaching lies, then, according to Newman, in the intellectual formation of the students. By the cooperation of competent, cultured teachers and active-minded learners the "philosophical habit" with its polite virtues will be acquired. The student will develop the faculty of "entering into any subject of thought, and of taking up with aptitude any science or profession." The university in its idea is directed toward the development and perfection of the intellect; yet, because nothing in this world is entirely isolated from every other thing, the university in the concrete mutually influences and is conditioned by society and by the Church.

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Chapter Three

Sources of and Influences on the Educational Ideas of Cardinal Newman

The explicit statement in the first of the discourses of 1852 regarding the origin of Newman's idea of the scope and nature of a university deserves full inquiry. In that essay Newman declared that the principles of University Education which he had acquired at Oxford "have grown into my whole system of thought, and are, as it were, part of myself. ... and my sense of their correctness has been increased with the events of every year since ..."[1] The question arises -- what were the principles of his Oxford?

During the first half of the nineteenth century, life in the English Universities was centered in the separate colleges, each of which was a private corporation, headed by a Provost, or President, or Master, elected by the fellows of that college. The fellows were recruited usually from among University men who had some social connection with the College; in a few, men were chosen who had proved outstanding for their talent and personal worth. The tenure of the fellowship was seven years with pension. The functions of the fellows (when they had any) were

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1 The Idea, p. 4.

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of three types. Some were obliged to give private conferences in their own college; these were the lecturers. Others had the responsibility of the direction of particular students; these were the tutors. The third group gave the university courses; they were the professors. Normally, the fellows were unmarried clerics of the Anglican Church. To most of them the period of fellowship was a transient one, bridging the gap between graduation and their marriage and settlement in a cure whose benefice belonged to their college. The University, a distinct corporation composed of the colleges incorporated, had its own corps of administrators. The chancellor's superior position was practically confined to an honorary status. The vice-chancellor was the real head of the University. There were three advisory groups, the Hebdomadal Board, the Convocation, and the Congregation. Two fellows, appointed as proctors, had the duty of supervising the extra-collegiate discipline.

The beginning of the nineteenth century had witnessed a revival in Oxford, a reawakening to "a sense of the responsibilities which its profession and its station involved." This was effected by means of internal reform initiated by some of its leaders, as well as by the spirited controversies in the Reviews. These conflicts did but "afford fuller development and more exact delineation to the principles of which the University was the

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representative."[1] They occurred in the years just prior to Newman's stay in Oxford; and because they form the immediate historical background of his own formation, they must be given careful consideration.

The internal reform at Oxford was effected by means of a new system of examinations which was evolved, the Public Examination Statute of 1800. The medieval custom, which was still nominally employed, required the candidate for a degree to appear for oral test in the form of open defence or dispute of a thesis in Latin. The old statutes enjoining the exercises remained in force, but by the end of the eighteenth century they had become empty formalities. John Eveleigh, Provost of Oriel College, was largely responsible for the institution of the reform. He practically forced upon the University a system of public examinations for the B.A. degree, which, while exacting from all candidates a certain evidence of efficiency, distinguished superior men by certificates of especial merit. His proposal for a new University Examination Statute was met with strong opposition, but he persisted with such enthusiasm, tact, and personal benevolence that the Statute was carried. The new system combined oral and written examinations, embodying the idea that examinations were valuable as instruments of education as well as tests for instruction. That belief

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1 The Idea, p. 2.

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exercised its influence upon subsequent policy, administration and daily practice.[1] "The examination for the B.A. degree covered a wide range within the two classical literatures; it also ostensibly included grammar, rhetoric, logic, moral philosophy and the elements of mathematics; but classics formed the essential subject, with mathematics in the second place."[2] The Statute became compulsory in 1807, with the Honour men arranged in First and Second Classes. A Third Class was added in 1825, and in 1830 the Four Class arrangement was adopted.[3] The new system at first served to stimulate intellectual activity, but within three decades it suffered abuse. Private tutors were priming students in the narrow interests of acquiring such information as would be serviceable in the examination.

Provost Eveleigh directed his remedial efforts to the teachers as well as to methods. He succeeded in changing the standard for the election of fellows to his College. He persuaded his confrères to bestow the fellowship on men who showed literary attainment, rather than "clubbable geniality." Eveleigh's successor in 1814 was Edward Copleston, who kept the system in force in Oriel. He refused claims not only of nepotism and friendship but even of previous academic distinction. Admission was accorded to

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1 J.W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, Cambridge, 1930. p. 30.

2 Ibid., p. 77.

3 W. Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, London, 1909. p. 3.

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evidence of power and originality. It is notable that neither Whately, Newman, Thomas Mozley, nor Hurrell Froude had gained a First Class in his academic work. The fellow was chosen for what he was as a man, not for what he had read.[1] Although these two measures of reform were indeed commendable and showed a desire for improvement, they scarcely disturbed the general scholastic torpidity in the University, which aroused the censures of the Scotch Reviewers.

The opposition which came from the North made its first appearance in an article in the Edinburgh Review, January, 1808. John Playfair, writing anonymously, presented a comprehensive analysis of La Place's Traité de Méchanique Céleste. In his personal evaluation of the work, the Reviewer praised the scientific acumen of La Place and others on the Continent, and then asked why Great Britain had made no notable contributions to physical science since the time of Newton. He ventured to answer his own query.

> We believe, however, that it is chiefly in the public institutions of England that we are to seek for the cause of the deficiency here referred to, and particularly to the two great centers from which knowledge is supposed to radiate over all the rest of the island.[2]

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1 Ibid., pp. 21-22.

2 The Edinburgh Review, Vol. 11 (January, 1808), p. 283.

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He went on to stigmatize Oxford specifically as a place where "the dictates of Aristotle are still listened to as infallible decrees" and where "the scholar has no means of advancing beyond the mere elements of geometry."

In the issue of July, 1809, a second attack, by Payne Knight, was ensconced in a criticism of Thomas Falconer's Oxford edition of Strabo. The critic satirized acrimoniously the emolument and ease and indolence of the fellows' position at Oxford. He ridiculed the language of the introduction to the Strabo volume as "barbarous Latin," calling it "a new dialect of Latin" which he would designate as "Oxonian." All his lampooning he declared should serve as a stimulus to the competent men in the colleges; he concluded with this admonition:

> ... let those of British Universities be employed for students and scholars -- to instruct the industrious, not to amuse the idle.[1]

Sydney Smith was the next to take up the cudgel. In his review of R.L. Edgeworth's Essays on Professional Education[2] he inveighed against the "excessive abuse of classical learning in England." He carried his accusation so far as to say that the object of the young Englishmen in the Universities is "not to

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1 The Edinburgh Review, Vol. 14 (July, 1809), p. 441.

2 Ibid., Vol. 15 (October, 1809), p. 40.

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reason, to imagine, or to invent, but to conjugate, decline and derive."[1] The principle of Utility loomed large in his evaluation of educational goods. "If all liberal arts and sciences useful to human life had been taught there [at Oxford] -- and if every attainment had been honored in the mixt ratio of its difficulty and utility, -- the system of such an University would have been much more valuable, but the splendor of its name something less." Yet "what other measure is there of dignity of intellectual labor but usefulness?"[2] After a quantity of abusive denunciation the Reviewer concluded that "in a place of education, we would give all knowledge an equal chance for distinction; and would trust to the varieties of human disposition, that every science worth cultivation would be cultivated."[3]

These three articles, appearing in a periodical which was powerful in directing the current opinions of a wide reading public, aroused the Oxford men to defence, and Edward Copleston came forward as their spokesman in his Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review against Oxford. His book, like the articles it refuted, was published anonymously, in 1810. He set down first his defence of the study of Aristotle and the place of mathematics in the Oxford

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1 Ibid., p. 46.

2 Ibid., p. 51.

3 Ibid., p. 53.

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curriculum. This was followed by a scholarly defence of the Oxford edition of Strabo. The last section was a discussion of the English system of classical education in general. Copleston protested that the Edinburgh Review was quite mistaken in saying that mathematics at Oxford was confined to the elements of geometry. On the contrary, in 1810 the mathematics school included "plane and spherical trigonometry, the conic sections, conchoids, cycloids, quadratrix, spirals, ... natural philosophy in all its branches and astronomy."[1] At that date the examinations were given in two divisions, literae humaniores and mathematics, and Copleston said that a "double honour" was "very frequent."

The Reviewers came back three-strong against their adversary. Professor Playfair, Lord Jeffrey, and Sydney Smith united in a "Rejoinder to A Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review against Oxford."[2] The attack on Aristotle was renewed, with specific criticism of the inadequacy of Aristotelian logic for pursuit of timely interests. The study of Bacon and of modern discoveries should displace it. Oxford, they declared, had made no use of the progress of science in the past three hundred years. Or if the University had, as Copleston claimed, revised her program, that was of such recent date that it could be reckoned with

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1 Edward Copleston, Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review against Oxford, London, 1810. p. 18.

2 The Edinburgh Review, Vol. 16 (April, 1810), p. 158.

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only as an experiment. Not until the experiment had proven itself would Oxford get another reputation. Again the Reviewers insisted, "We do not oppose science to literature; we do not wish to exclude either the one or the other from our Universities, but to cultivate them both."[1]

Copleston responded with a Second Reply (1810) and a Third Reply (1811). In August, 1810, the Quarterly Review[2] entered the controversy by a review of the First Reply and of the Second Reply. The anonymous reviewer pointed out the mistake of trying to judge Aristotle and Bacon by the same criteria. He said that Bacon did not design his organon to replace Aristotle's; in fact, his work is in the province of natural philosophy, with which the logic of Aristotle "has no necessary or natural connection."[3]

The following year the Quarterly carried another review[4] touching again the vital question in the controversy. It was set down as a critique of Edgeworth's Essays on Professional Education, yet it was directed not only against Edgeworth, but against all who would make Utility the be-all of education. "The useful is

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1 Ibid., p. 183.

2 The Quarterly Review, Vol. 4 (August, 1810), p. 177.

3 Ibid., p. 187.

4 The Quarterly Review, Vol. 6 (August, 1811), p. 166.

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the divinity of Mr. Edgeworth's mind."[1] He would direct every educational effort to the future profession of the child; only what is useful for that should be promoted. The Quarterly Reviewer contended that a liberal education was an essential foundation for competency in any profession.

When Newman took up the question of Knowledge and Professional Skill in his Dublin discourses he discussed at length the idea of utility as an end of university education. He looked back to Dr. Copleston and the Quarterly Reviewer (whom he identified as Mr. Davison) as his predecessors at Oriel College. He felt that they had competently and adequately defended Oxford against "the charge of three giants of the North."[2] It seemed to him that Davison handled his part in the controversy with more method and distinctness, and with greater force and beauty than Copleston, whom he supported. Davison attacked the problem of usefulness in regard to liberal education. He contended that liberal education is something far higher, even in the scale of utility, than the advocated "useful education," and that it is really necessary for the usefulness of professional education. Instead of allowing the man to be usurped by his profession for the good of society (as Edgeworth's Essays implied), Davison declared that

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1 Ibid., p. 187.

2 The Idea, p. 157.

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the benefits of intellectual cultivation accrued first to the individual and then through him to society. The range of studies presented a varied exercise of the faculties and prevented the narrowness of mind resulting from too early concentration on one line of work. Davison was convinced that the literae humaniores were the best means for the desired cultivation of the faculties. He ignored the mathematics and the physical sciences, which omission was one of the bones of contention among the Edinburgh group. Newman side-stepped this issue of means, pressing on to the ultimate goal of liberal education -- "cultivation of the intellect as an end in itself." He was convinced that a man can be of small use either to himself or to society if he has not developed his intellectual tastes and faculties. This final issue he felt was really the mutual goal of the controvertists of both parties, whatever might be their attitudes toward the classical or professional education as the better means to effect the cultivation desired. Newman drew the philosopher Locke into his discussion, as the original advocate of Utility in education and bitter opponent of classical training. Locke had witnessed the flagrant abuses in the Universities of the eighteenth century and was utterly contemptuous of the existing systems. He was ready to scrap everything in the schools except whatever would directly benefit the future profession or trade of the pupil, scorning the

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idea of any education of the intellect for its own sake. Newman was, of course, definitely opposed to such a one-sided practical instruction.

After Davison's telling article, the controversy subsided for another score of years. In the publication of June, 1831,[1] the Edinburgh Review renewed the attacks, this time directly against Oxford. The Reviewer, Sir William Hamilton, Edinburgh professor, formerly of Balliol College, alleged that the system prevailing at the University of Oxford was not only "the most imperfect," but also "illegal." He launched into a violent attack on the Colleges which had usurped the functions and privileges of the University. The University in Scotland had adopted the German system of professorial lectures, and the leaders of the Review resented the idea that the English Universities clung so tenaciously to the tutorial system in the Colleges. The critic declared that the original purpose of Oxford University was "the education of youth in the faculties of arts, theology, law and medicine by means of public lectures."[2] But that system was now in abeyance. The academical instruction, he insisted, had been usurped by tutors from the professors, and the fellows of the Colleges had arrogated

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1 The Edinburgh Review, Vol. 53 (June, 1831), p. 384.

2 Ibid., p. 393.

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to themselves all the tutorial positions, excluding all other graduates. Keeping the education in the hands of the tutors implied that each teacher should be a "Universal Doctor" to teach all academic instruction. But the Reviewer was ready to say that most of them "have not ordinary competence."[1]

This article met with a reply in a pamphlet published by a "Member of the Convocation" [V. Thomas][2], which, in turn, was answered in the December issue of the Edinburgh Review.[3]

The subject of College Tutors was one which was immensely important to Newman. Although he did not enter into the open controversy, he exercised no small influence in the matter in his own circle. The Northern critics were correct in saying that education was in the hands of the tutors at Oxford, even, in many cases, in the hands of private tutors who had no official connection with the University, so that their pupils' sole relation with the University proper might be that of their Public Examinations. It was also true that many of the fellows of the Colleges were enjoying their pensions with much pleasure and no labor. It has been

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1 Ibid., p. 394.

2 Member of Convocation [V. Thomas], The Legality of the Present Academical System of the University of Oxford Asserted against the New Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review, Oxford, 1831.

3 The Edinburgh Review, Vol. 54. (December, 1831), p. 472.

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observed, however, that Oriel College had experienced a reform in this matter early in the century. Efforts for amendment had also been made at Christ Church under Cyril Jackson, and at Balliol by John Parsons.

Newman was appointed to a fellowship at Oriel in 1822, an event to which he referred as "the turning point of my life."[1] He received orders in 1824, and the duties of his ministry absorbed him almost completely. At first, doubts plagued him as to whether or not he could fulfill his ministerial vocation as a fellow in the College. He considered seriously the idea of devoting himself to the foreign missions. In 1826, however, he was named a tutor by the Provost of Oriel, and he saw in his appointment a fertile opportunity for fostering the spiritual as well as the intellectual growth of the young men placed under his care. He assumed a pastoral attitude towards his special pupils. This view was not the general one; others, including the heads of colleges, regarded the duties of a tutor rather as disciplinary. In 1828 Robert Wilberforce and Hurrell Froude became tutors in Oriel. As disciples of John Keble, they were quite in agreement with Newman as to the nature of their office.

It has been noted that the generality of the University

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1 W. Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman, London, 1921. Vol. 1, p. 36.

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tutors were not conscientious about studious work, nor were themselves capable of scholarly teaching. This deplorable condition led students who were eager for true intellectual formation to have recourse to private tutors. Newman felt that this was an injustice to the parents of the pupils and a disgrace to the college tutors. He assumed a personal responsibility in the matter, which was soon adopted by his fellow-tutors; to those of his students who wished to present themselves as candidates for honors, he devoted additional time, outside the hours of regular conferences. This was his first step in amending the Table of Lectures.

Only in the light of passages which Newman wrote for his Autobiographical Memoirs but which were omitted from the published work and reserved as "elbow-room" for the editor of his memoirs[1] can this situation be rightly appreciated. It had been the custom for the tutors to draw up at the beginning of the term the Table of Lectures and to prepare a program for each of the students. Hitherto the lists had been made without any regard for the existing relation between each tutor and his own pupils, all the tutors becoming lecturers for all the undergraduates, whether their pupils or not. Newman, with his fellow-tutors, felt that such a plan left

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1 Newman omitted three fragments from his Autobiographical Memoirs, as being "too severe in regard to Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel." They have been included as documents in the Appendix of Tardivel's J.H. Newman, Educateur.

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them as mere lecturers, without personal intercourse with the students. They therefore introduced a system in which each tutor would in the first place be responsible and plan for his own pupils. He would determine in what subjects they ought to have lectures, and he would have a right, if he chose to do so, to give their lectures himself. He would, in a secondary way, act as consultant for other pupils. In 1829 the Oriel Tutors began to work according to their own plan. They had no intention of interfering with any recognized principles of the college discipline. They considered the changes which they were making as within the discretionary powers of the tutors. They were aware that the Provost would, in his spirit of opposition to them, veto any plans presented by them to him. Therefore, they decided to let the matter take its course, justifying themselves by the consideration that the Tutorship was a University office in which they were responsible to the Vice-Chancellor for the performance of their duties, and not to the Provost who delegated pupils to them.

The new Table of Lectures made a distinction between Public and Private lectures. The Public were to continue as always. The Private were those which each tutor gave his own pupils -- in moral subjects (divinity and ethics), or in books continued term after term, or in work preparatory to the Public lectures. Although the instruction of each pupil was supposed to be committed to his own

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tutor, yet this rule was modified, first, by the Public lectures, which were required of all, or which might be elected, and, secondly, in the private lectures by other tutors when exchange of pupils had been arranged. Newman and his friends were convinced that it was only by this personal contact that they could exercise a pastoral influence on students. They wanted the College tutor to assume the private tuition which might be necessary for his pupils, dispensing with the private instructors who were active at the University. This, of course, imposed more work on the tutors, but they were willing to accept it. Comparing the effective action of the new system with the old, Newman noted that in the four years, 1825-1829, only two First Classes were obtained by Oriel men. During the four years in which the new system was in force -- 1829-1833 -- there were eleven gained. In the next four years, after Newman, Wilberforce, and Froude were removed, the old system was partially restored and the First Classes in Oriel dropped back to five. The congenial spirit between tutor and students was missed, and Mark Pattison is among those who testified that from the time of the change of tutors at Oriel "the College began to go downhill, both in the calibre of men who obtained Fellowships and in the style and tone of the undergraduates."[1]

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1 W. Tuckwell, op. cit., p. 156

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The "suppressed passages" of the Memoirs shed direct light on Newman's position in the University reform. In the first place, he refused to be swept off his feet by the demands of utilitarians. Maybe Oxford should enlarge her curriculum, but her aim was still sound. She must seek to foster her sons in intellectual culture -- that aim had been her heritage from the beginning and Oriel College had been outstanding in sustaining that goal. As an appointed tutor, he recognized a personal responsibility in effecting a reform. He set about doing it by trying to establish a pastoral relationship between the pupils and tutors, working with his own charges. He rejected the denouncement of College Tutors by the Reviewers. He pleaded that under the Laudian statutes the tutors carried an elevated and sacred responsibility to their own pupils. Although the University proper had only to aim at providing intellectual culture for the undergraduates, the tutor would be a medium of integrating the intellectual, the moral, and the religious growth of the young men in his care.

Subsequent to Newman's tutorship the question of University reformation loomed large again. This time the Edinburgh Review was urging once more the question of subjects in the curriculum, particularly favoring philosophy as professed in the German Universities. In 1835 William Whewell of Cambridge wrote a treatise entitled Some Thoughts on Mathematics, recommending

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mathematics in general as a means of liberal education. He described the mathematical teaching of Cambridge as defective in that it was too strictly limited to pure mathematics. This work was reviewed in the January, 1836, number of the Edinburgh Review.[1] The book was praised, but the critic suggested that the author should pursue a question which he had mentioned in his introductory remarks -- a question whether mathematics or logic was more effective for mental discipline. The April issue carried a letter from Whewell acknowledging the review of his book.[2] He stressed the idea of his work, namely, to point out that university courses in mathematics should not be confined to pure mathematics. His promise to consider at a later date the constituents of a liberal education was fulfilled in his On the Principles of English University Education[3], and in "Additional Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics" which was appended to the second edition of the Principles.[3] In the Principles Whewell recommended that a liberal education should combine the study of the classics with that of mathematics. While mathematics would serve to develop the analytical powers of the mind, familiarity with the classical models would provide a

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1 The Edinburgh Review, Vol. 62 (January, 1836), p. 409.

2 Ibid., Vol. 63 (April, 1836) p. 270.

3 W. Whewell, On the Principles of English University Education, London, 1837. Second edition, London, 1838.

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discipline of distinct ideas.[1] He recognized the value of broader scientific acquisitions, particularly in the light of modern achievements; but, however valuable, they still could not constitute culture. He answered Hamilton's suggestion of substituting philosophy for the classics and mathematics by a careful distinction between practical and speculative teaching, showing that the "practical" instruction was necessary as a foundation. He did not use the word "practical" in the sense of utilitarian, but to distinguish the kind of teaching done by a tutor in contrast to the "speculative" teaching of a professor. Advocates of "scientific education" were condemning methods of deductive reasoning. But Whewell said there could be no inductive reasoning except by cultivation of the deductive faculty.[2] He also attacked the problem of college examinations. He strongly advocated using them as instruments of teaching, which should be ancillary to the regular lectures in the colleges. He admitted that professorial lectures were not popular in English Universities, and considered that they would hardly assume the position which was theirs on the Continent. He felt it was the business of the Colleges to develop proficiency in the students. He stressed the importance of the influence which students have on one another and recommended as the ideal state

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1 Ibid., p. 39.

2 Ibid., p. 41.

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the coöperative use of College and University methods. Newman looked upon Whewell as a "learned and well-principled writer" when he cited him as an authority on liberal education in the Appendix to the first edition of his Discourses.

The whole problem of University reform lay in the immediate background of Newman's own conception of what a University should be. The literary fray of the Edinburgh Reviewers was a fine testing ground for his own convictions. He followed the strictures against Oxford and recognized her weaknesses. The defences made by Oxford men were in the spirit of his own mind. In his article on "Professors and Tutors" which appeared in the Catholic University Gazette in 1854, Newman frankly stated his position in regard to the dispute about the English Universities -- whether the professorial system advocated by the Edinburgh men, or the collegiate system, defended at Oxford, should prevail. He wrote:

> ... I am for both views at once, and think neither of them complete without the other. I admire the Professor, I venerate the College. The Professorial system fulfils the strict idea of a University, and is sufficient for its being, but it is not sufficient for its well-being. Colleges constitute the integrity of a University.[1]

He lamented the fact that in England the colleges had usurped the

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J.H. Newman, Historical Sketches, Vol. 3, London, 1894. p. 182.

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rights of the Universities and looked forward to the reëstablishment of the primacy of the University. He drew his distinctions carefully.

> A University embodies the principle of progress, and a College that of stability; the one is the sail, and the other the ballast; each is insufficient in itself for the pursuit, extension, and inculcation of knowledge; each is useful to the other. ... It would seem as if an University seated and living in Colleges, would be a perfect institution, as possessing excellences of opposite kinds.[1]

Outstanding in the sources of influences on Newman's idea, then, were the leaders of Oriel who attempted to raise the scholastic standard of their College by means of select tutors and personal relations between the tutors and their pupils. Newman's limited success with his own plan for tutorial duties, according to the University statutes, was really the basis of his designs for an Oxford in Dublin. Indeed, it was not the religion of Oxford that he would import into Ireland, nor was it the "truncated" curriculum that he valued so highly (for he did make a place, if somewhat restricted, for all sciences in his university); it was rather the spirit, the "genius loci" which he himself had enjoyed in his associations at Oxford, both with

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1 Ibid., pp. 228-229.

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his teachers when himself a student, and with his own pupils while he was tutor. The intellectual milieu, the powerful influence of personality on personality in that milieu, were the ideal circumstances for enlargement of the mind. It already has been said, and is here reiterated: Newman was not blind to the need of certain reforms in the English universities. Yet he believed in the universities. His great wish was to perpetuate the vital segment of Oxford of which he had formed so integral a part. Above all, he wanted to safeguard the principles of preparing young men for a full life by providing them with a solid foundation of culture.

Besides the immediate historical influence on Newman's theory of liberal education there were other remote influences. He was the recipient of a tradition of learning and himself made acknowledgement especially to Aristotle, Cicero, and Francis Bacon.

Newman was predominantly Aristotelian in his philosophy of liberal knowledge. He believed that the Stagirite had said the final word on this subject.

> While we are men, we cannot help, to a great extent, being Aristotelians, for the great Master does but analyze the thoughts, feelings, views, and opinions of human kind. He has told us the meaning of our own words and ideas, before we were born. In many subject-matters, to think correctly, is to think like Aristotle.[1]

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1 The Idea, pp. 109-110.

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Aristotle's plan in The Politics for a tri-part discussion of education -- of the body, of the character, and of the mind -- was never brought to completion, or else has not survived. Of the education of the mind, which would correspond to Newman's treatment, nothing appears except by way of introduction. Aristotle explained that the other two kinds of education are not ends in themselves, but rather means to the highest end -- the life of reason.[1] The training of the body should precede instruction, not accompany it, "for the two kinds of labor are opposed to one another, the labor of the body impedes the mind, and the labor of the mind the body."[2]

Newman based his distinction between liberal knowledge and that which is useful directly on a passage in The Rhetoric. Quoting from the "great Philosopher" he wrote:

> "Of possessions, those rather are useful, which bear fruit; those liberal, which tend to enjoyment. By fruitful, I mean, which yield revenue; by enjoyable, where nothing accrues of consequence beyond the using."[3]

Newman thus adopted Aristotle's distinction between the theoretical activities that have their end in the activity itself, and the

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1 Aristotle, The Politics and Economics of Aristotle, tr. E. Walford, London, 1876. Bk. VII, chs. 14 and 15, ppl 262, 265.

2 Ibid., Bk. VIII, ch. 4, p. 276.

3 The Idea, p. 109. See also The Rhetoric of Aristotle, tr. Lane Cooper, New York, 1932. p. 26.

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practical activities which have their end in some result beyond the activity itself.

In The Ethics Aristotle formulated the Greek idea of a liberal education -- the training for a life which is an ultimate good and, withal, in itself the highest end -- the life of intellectual activity, which constitutes the highest virtue and produces the greatest happiness.[1] There is much here that Newman carried into his theory. The liberal education, for Newman, although "a temporal object and a transitory possession," is also a great good, desirable in itself.[2] He only stops short of calling it the "highest good" and producer of "the greatest happiness." It is hardly feasible to carry the comparison of these two great teachers into the realm of subject-matter, for Newman had chosen to ignore, for the most part, the content of the curriculum in the discourses under consideration. Suffice it to say, Aristotle gave much more attention to physical education than Newman ever would have. The broader influence of Aristotelian Logic, however, is noticeable everywhere in the clear, orderly thinking and exposition for which Newman is conspicuous.

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1 Aristotle, The Moral Philosophy of Aristotle, tr. W.M. Heath, London, 1879. p. 36.

2 The Idea, pp. 123, 164.

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It was of his style that Newman was speaking when he called Cicero his master. "I think I owe a great deal to him, and as far as I know to no one else."[1] There are, however, many connections between Cicero's ideas of education and those of his disciple in style. Outstanding is their understanding of philosophy and the relation of a liberal education to a man's lifework. Newman described philosophy as a "comprehensive view of truth in all its branches."[2] Cicero referred to philosophers as those who "by an indefatigable pursuit of first principles, or the clearness of their reasoning, have mastered the whole compass of knowledge."[3] To both, philosophy was the science of sciences. They also agreed that this philosophy, this liberal acquisition of the arts and sciences, must serve as a foundation for the special work which a man chooses to pursue. Newman was convinced that a man who has learned "to think and to reason and to compare and to discriminate and to analyze, who has refined his taste, and formed his judgment, and sharpened his mental vision, ... will be placed

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1 Letter to Rev. John Hayes, April 13, 1869, Letters and Correspondence, Vol. 2, p. 427.

2 The Idea, p. 103.

3 Cicero on Oratory and Orators, London, 1808. Vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 7.

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in that state of intellect in which he can take up any one of the sciences or callings ..."[4] He would be a better physician, statesman, soldier, or chemist, by reason of his liberal education. Cicero was writing specifically of eloquence when he remarked that no one could excel

> ... without a perfect knowledge of all the arts, and everything that is great, for it is from this acquaintance with the world that eloquence must receive its flow and its embellishments.[1]

He observes later that

> ... though the speaker does not make any immediate application of those arts, yet it is easily discerned whether he is a pedantic declaimer, or trained to eloquence by all the arts that belong to a liberal education.[2]

Newman cited Cicero as an authority for his claim that knowledge is its own end.[3] He referred to passages in De Officiis in which the Roman, in enumerating the various heads of mental excellence, lays down the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, as the first.

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1 Cicero on Oratory and Orators, op. cit., ch. 6, p. 15.

2 Ibid., ch. 16, pp. 38-39.

3 The Idea, p. 104.

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> ... The knowledge of truth touches human nature most closely. For we are all attracted and drawn to a zeal for learning and knowing; and we think it glorious to excel therein, while we count it base and immoral to fall into error, to wander from the truth, to be ignorant, to be led astray.[1]

He considered knowledge to be the first object sought by man after the demands of his physical wants are supplied. Accordingly, as soon as man has leisure he is "eager to see, to hear, to learn," and "esteems his desire to know the secrets or wonders of creation as indispensable to a happy life."[2]

Newman placed a high value on the philosophy which came to posterity through Cicero.

> Cicero professed merely to reproduce the philosophy of Greece. But, granting its truth ever so far, I do but take it as a proof of the sort of instinct which has guided the course of Civilization. The world was to have certain intellectual teachers, and no others; Homer and Aristotle, with the poets and philosophers who circle round them, were to be the schoolmasters of all generations, and therefore the Latins, falling into the law on which the world's education was to be carried on, so added to the classical library as not to reverse or interfere with what had already been determined. And there was the more meaning in this arrangement, when it

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1 Cicero, De Officiis, tr. W. Miller, London, 1913. Bk. I,p. 19.

2 Ibid., Bk. I, p. 15.

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> is considered that Greek was to be forgotten during many centuries, and the tradition of intellectual training to be conveyed through Latin; for thus the world was secured against the consequences of a loss which would have changed the character of its civilization.[1]

The relationship between two such characters seems to lift itself from mere tradition into a kind of personal bond.

Those who look upon Bacon as the patron and the father of scientific method, who consider him as a rebel from Aristotelian method, may experience surprise that Newman should have been influenced by him. Newman did definitely set himself apart from the Baconian influence when he explained that the Elizabethan philosopher transferred the physical sciences from the order of Liberal Pursuits to the class of the Useful by setting as his end for science the service of man.[2] Apart from this important difference, however, Newman esteemed Bacon as "the most orthodox of Protestant philosophers,"[3] in spite of the tendencies of his writings to trample on Theology. Newman had studied well the Advancement of Learning and found therein many ideas which he was glad to accept. Bacon had looked upon all branches of knowledge

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1 The Idea, p. 260.

2 Ibid., p. 109.

3 Ibid., p. 319.

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as a whole and regretted that too much stress was being given to particular arts and sciences to the neglect of the whole.

> Amongst so many great foundations of colleges in Europe, I find strange that they are all dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large. For if men judge that learning should be referred to action, they judge well; but in this they fall into the error described in the ancient fable, in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do, nor of sense, as the head doth; but yet notwithstanding it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest. So if any man think philosophy and universality to be idle studies, he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied. And this I take to be a great cause that hath hindered the progression of learning, because these fundamental knowledges have been studied but in passage.[1]

He employed a simple figure to convey the notion that all the branches of knowledge are complements of one another. The strength of all the sciences is as the strength of the old man's faggot, in the band. "For the harmony of a science, supporting each part the other, is and ought to be, the true and brief confutation and suppression of all the smaller sorts of objects."[2] Newman quotes both these passages in the Appendix to his first edition of the discourses.[3]

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1 Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning, Oxford, 1900. p. 78.

2 Ibid., p. 32.

3 J.H. Newman, Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education, Dublin, 1852. pp. 391, 392.

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Although Bacon's great contribution was toward scientific method, he declared in the Novum Organum that he had no intention of disregarding philosophy, arts, and sciences as they were then practiced. "So far from that, I am most glad to see them used, cultivated, and honoured."[1] He distinguished between two streams and two dispensations of knowledge, desiring one for the method of cultivation, the other for the method of invention of knowledge.[2] Newman agreed with Bacon that knowledge as philosophy is liberal. "Of knowledge there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable; and therefore appeareth to be good in itself simply, without fallacy or accident."[3] Bacon could hardly have foreseen the extent to which his disciples in the scientific method would carry his plan; whereas, Newman, viewing the theory contemporarily as well as in retrospect, could sound the warning with all the more forcefulness --that all special training will be most fruitful if it is founded on a broad intellectual enlargement.

The sources of any great idea are never to be identified completely, yet it can be seen that Newman was not far wrong when

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1 F. Bacon, Selections, ed. M.T. McClure, New York, 1928. p. 368.

2 Ibid., p. 275.

3 F. Bacon, The Advancement of Learning, p. 71.

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he declared that his idea of the scope and nature of a university was that which he had long since formed at Oxford. That idea had been influenced by cultured men within the University, by critics without, and by a long tradition which had its source in the teachings of Aristotle. However, Newman did not tell quite the whole story when he spoke of the sources of his Dublin lectures. May Yardley finished it briefly when she wrote: "If as has been said the Discourses spring from two sources, Oxford and Catholicism, it is Catholicism that has the final word."[1] Enough has already been said here on this point to authenticate her simple statement.

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1 J.H. Newman, Selected Discourses from The Idea of a University, ed. May Yardley, Cambridge, 1931. p. xxi.

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Chapter Four

Summary and Conclusions

When Cardinal Newman said, "I write for the future," he could hardly have conceived the fullness into which his prophetic words would fructify. Out of the apparent failure of his Dublin undertaking came a great piece of literature which remains as a classic of its kind. It has marked its author as an authority on questions of university education and as a leading advocate of the philosophical habit of mind in the cultivation of the intellect.

The Discourses on the scope and nature of a university were primarily concerned with the ideal which a university as such must set before it; with a definition of the object and nature of a university in the abstract. The university which Newman desiderated consisted of a corps of teachers equipped to transmit and interpret to their students the body of knowledge and ideas and values that constitute the classical, medieval, and modern culture. The University was to provide for all branches of knowledge, including theology. All the sciences contribute to the unity of truth, and therefore none may be omitted without maladjustment of the others. The gathering into one place and under

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one government of the various faculties tends to the advantage of all by causing each study to round out and correct the others and thus unify and harmonize knowledge. To this end the utmost possible freedom of investigation and discussion should be encouraged. All this unified effort is directed toward the formation of the individual student. By means of the association with teachers and fellow-students, together with the studies he has chosen to follow, a young man in the university is led along the way to an intellectual enlargement. He acquires, not only the polite virtues of the gentleman, but also the more substantial qualities of sound judgment, sobriety of thought, and steadiness of view, and this, not by a passive reception into the mind of ideas not previously known, but by the mind's energetic and simultaneous action upon what is presented to it. It is a digestion into the substance of the previous state of thought. Newman denied the principle of material utility as the true end of education. He considered intellectual culture, the development and perfection of the faculty, as an end in itself, a good, and therefore of use. Whatever the student is taught depends on the fact whether his studies tend to mental culture. Newman did not ignore the need of professional instruction. He believed, however, that it should be preceded by a liberal training for the general culture of the mind, and that it is the business of the university to give the liberal training, but not its duty to provide the professional work.

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Although the liberal education aims first at the development of the individual, it works indirectly to the benefit of society. Through the capable members, leaders, which it provides for the world, a university training serves to raise the intellectual tone of society, to cultivate the public mind, and to purify the national taste.

Newman was militant against the principles of Liberalism, on the one hand, and against too early scientific specialization, on the other. By the principle of organic unity he was able to propose a means of achieving the harmonization of the discoveries of modern science with the teaching of Theology without sacrificing the least iota of truth in either. He would have the scientist continue to explore according to the best modern technique his chosen field, keeping in mind that his researches, limited as they are to one or other aspect of reality, will never qualify him to speak authoritatively on life as a whole or the nature and destiny of man. On the other hand, he would have the theologian adhere to his traditional modes of thought, philosophical and theological, while keeping abreast of scientific progress in order that all truth may be claimed for God.[1] Although in the discourses Newman confined himself rather closely to a discussion of the

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1 Cf. DeHovre-Jordan, Catholicism in Education, New York, 1934, p. 310.

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university in the abstract, he made it clear that the university is specifically for the intellectual training of its students and therefore must be supplemented by other agencies for the complete education of the whole man. The University has need of the disciplinary power of the Church if it is to maintain order in the realm of truth.

The fact that Newman restricted his treatment of the university to the abstract has placed limitations on the work that should not go unobserved. They have been the occasion of criticism which he himself seemed to foresee when he wrote the Preface for his volume of discourses. It has already been pointed out that Newman's fondest hope was for the establishment of a seat of liberal education under the auspices of the Catholic Church. The opportunity seemed imminent when he was invited to aid in the founding of the University at Dublin. He eagerly seized the occasion of his public lectures to present his ideas of what the university should be. In emphasizing the principle that it must not be a seminary or convent, Newman may be said to have stretched his arguments to the uncomfortable point of bending backwards. He has even been so unjust to himself as to leave some of his illustrations in a singularly isolated condition which reminds one of the work of the "man of one idea" whom Newman himself so roundly condemned. The point is that his immediate purpose intercepted the

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integration necessary for a complete view of his philosophy of education. In these discourses Newman was interested mainly in the intellectual training to be given by the University, because he knew full well that the moral and religious instruction of the students would be amply provided for. He therefore devoted all his powers to explaining and pleading for the intellectual, which was necessary with the others for the completely integrated education of the whole man. That Newman succeeded in giving his conception of the man of philosophical habit as the appropriate product of the university has been amply attested and lauded by many. But the discourses alone do not present his full philosophy; they must be supplemented by his other lectures and writings. He has gingerly outlined the complementary elements of education in the various parts of The Idea, but these are hardly satisfactory explanations of some of the radical assertions that he makes about liberal education. For example, while insisting that intellectual development is an end in itself, Newman asserts that this is true to the absolute exclusion of all other considerations; that "it contemplates neither moral impression nor mechanical production; it professes to exercise the mind neither in art nor in duty; its function is intellectual culture; here it may leave its scholars and it has done its work when it has done as much as this";[1]

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1 The Idea, p. 125.

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that "it is a real mistake to burden it with virtue or religion";[1] and that the university may attain its end by providing intellectual culture for one who is otherwise a profligate and heartless man of the world.[2] Such downright statements segregate this university from the institutions of integrated education. It is true that the specific end of an academic school is to train for the intellectual virtues. Yet the specific end is not enough; it must also assist other agencies -- the family and the church -- in other functions that are common to it and to them. Since the students are not disembodied intellects, the university may not ignore the need of fostering the development of the moral and physical virtues as well. A good school will use its intellectual training as a means to the well-rounded development of the characters of its pupils.[3] Now, in the passages cited above, Newman, stressing the essential element of the university, does ignore, or rather denies, the obligation in regard to these other functions. His critics,[4] in the light of this evidence, have excluded his university from a place among the

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1 The Idea, p. 120.

2 Ibid., p. 121.

3 William J. McGucken, S.J., "Intelligence and Character," The National Catholic Educational Association Bulletin, Vol. 36 (May, 1940), pp. 10-12.

4 See Adamson, English Education, 1789-1902, p. 201; T. Corcoran, Newman, Selected Discourses, p. lxi ff.

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institutions of traditional education. Although these passages are really incriminating, it is only fair to Newman to do what he has not done for himself here -- to present a full picture of the case.

First of all, it must be remembered that Newman himself emphasized and reiterated the statement that he was discussing the university in the abstract. Such a treatment, as has already been said,[1] is a valid procedure; in fact, to make a scientific study of any object or idea, it is necessary thus to isolate it and examine it in detail as it is in itself. To make a legitimate and conclusive evaluation, however, the object or idea must be put back into its relation with the other objects and ideas with which it forms a part of the universitas. While Newman maintained the independence of intellectual training, he really did no violence to the fixed hierarchy of values. In no place did he allow it a precedence among the various life-values. The central place is given to religion, and all other human interests must be subordinate to it. Now in the first edition of the discourses Newman provided an integration of the contributing factors of education. His fifth lecture, the last to be delivered publicly, "General Knowledge Viewed

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1 Supra, p. 29.

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As One Philosophy," showed how all knowledge is one body or one system, and that religion is the vivifying soul of that body. When the discourses were re-edited, however, Newman omitted this section, apparently because he felt that it would not fit into the setting of the abstract university. This left his discussion, as he said, in a preliminary condition, having investigated only the object and nature of University Education. One need not go far, however, to find a specific statement of his full view. In one of his University Sermons, which has already been quoted in part above, he said that the object of setting up the university was

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

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> men eat and drink and sleep in one place, and think in another: I want the same roof to contain both the intellectual and moral discipline.[1] Devotion is not a sort of finish given to the sciences; nor is science a sort of feather in the cap, if I may so express myself, an ornament and set-off to devotion. I want the intellectual layman to be religious, and the devout ecclesiastic to be intellectual.
>
> This is no matter of terms, nor of subtle distinctions. Sanctity has its influence; intellect has its influence; the influence of sanctity is the greater on the long run; the influence of intellect is greater at the moment. Therefore, in the case of the young, whose education lasts a few years, where the intellect is, there is the influence. Their literary, scientific teachers, really have the forming of them. Let both influences act freely, and then, as a general rule, no system of mere religious guardianship which neglects Reason, will in matter of fact succeed against the School. Youths need a masculine religion, if it is to carry captive their restless imaginations, and their wild intellects, as well as to touch their susceptible hearts.[2]

This is undoubtedly a more complete expression of Newman's theory of university education. The exclusive tone of the discourses on Liberal Education must be censured, then, as over-zealous adherence to his "abstract" treatment of the subject, under the stimulus of an impelling desire to advance the cause which he espoused.

Sometimes Newman's selection of authority for his statements was ill-chosen. He considered it "a matter of history" that it was the business of the university to make intellectual culture its

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1 The italics are mine.

2 J.H. Newman, Sermons Preached on Various Occasions, London, 1921, pp. 13-14.

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direct scope. As a matter of fact, although the methods of training employed in the earliest universities were largely liberal, the faculties of art were really directed toward one of the three professions. Even Newman's definition of a University, based on popular attitudes rather than on historical or etymological grounds, makes his whole argument for its teaching "all sciences" to pivot on a somewhat dubious axis.

Newman drew some sharp distinctions to show just what he meant by a liberal education and the duties of the university in regard to it. At times, however, he failed to observe his own distinctions. He repeated with variations his definition: "The process of training by which the Intellect, instead of being formed or sacrificed to some particular or accidental purpose, some specific trade or profession, or study or science, is disciplined for its own sake, for the perfection of its own proper object and for its own highest culture, is called Liberal Education."[1] He also identified the term Education with Liberal Education. Occasionally, however, he employed the word in a more general way, as if to include not only the intellectual training, but also character formation, religious discipline, or even professional training. He admitted that a student might acquire useful

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1 The Idea, p. 152.

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knowledge and liberal knowledge simultaneously, from one and the same subject-matter, but, dismissing that as "foreign to my subject," he said that those who study with the one aim are not "likely" to achieve the other. He believed that it was the business of a University to "set forth the right standard, and to train according to it, and to help forward all students towards it according to their various capacities." It is, furthermore, also very clear that the training should produce "gentlemen," with certain admirable characteristics. But as to the exact nature of the standard, and how the training to achieve it is to be carried out, Newman remained silent. He required that the University teach all sciences, and he touched briefly on the influences of Physical Science and Literature, "the main constituent portions of the subject-matter of Liberal Education,"[1] but it is to be regretted that nothing more definite can be said. At a point when he might easily have expressed himself on the subject -- when presenting the disparate views of others as to what a University should teach -- Newman gracefully eased out of the situation by saying that whatever was taught would depend on whether or not the subject tended to mental culture.[2]

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1 The Idea, p. 227.

2 To find an explicit statement of his opinions in this regard it is necessary to go to his plan of studies for the Catholic University, as preserved in My Campaign in Ireland.

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The way in which Newman meticulously avoided any controversial questions is disappointing, to say the least, to one who is seeking an answer to just such questions. He stays indeed within the confines of his expressed purpose for the discourses, but one wishes that he had here ignored that purpose as he did in a few other instances. It is at such a point that a weakness in the plan itself is apparent. He has laid down the right principles and set forth ideal aims with an excellence that has hardly been surpassed, but he missed the opportunity of clarifying his principles by their application to facts. This is the more conspicuous by contrast with his other works; for Newman was, after all, a man of action, rather than of speculation.[1] He was interested in the personal rather than in the abstract, and the limitations which his chosen plan (chosen, it will be remembered, as a means of reconciling the opposing views of his mixed audiences) of exposition placed on him must have been a torturing restraint. It is not surprising to read that the discourses caused him much pain in the making and were finally the least satisfying of all his works.

Although Newman had worked out carefully his plan for the ideal university in the abstract, he was so much a realist that

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1 Cronin, J.F., Cardinal Newman: His Theory of Knowledge, Washington, D.C., 1935. p. 33 ff.

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he understood that it is not always possible, or even advisable, to materialize the ideal. In his introductory discourse he conceded that

> It is no principle with sensible men, of whatever cast of opinion, to do always what is abstractedly best. Where no direct duty forbids, we may be obliged to do, as being best under circumstances, what we murmur and rise against, while we do it, We see that to attempt more is to effect less; that we must accept so much, or gain nothing; and so perforce we reconcile ourselves to what we would have far otherwise, if we could.[1]

Events have a potency in shaping the course of action in education as well as in the exigencies of public life. Newman was witness to the scientific advancement through a half-century of startling discoveries. By his continued intimacy with his old friend, William Froude, scientist and member of the Royal Society, he followed closely all the important movements of the day. He saw in the increase of specialization and of secularization the impending destruction of culture and the decline of religion. Against these he exerted all his dynamic energies, even to his old age. Begun in his time, the tide has swept on and has carried higher education further and further away from the ideals of liberal culture. Not only have there sprung up and flourished countless institutions prepared to produce within a specified

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1 The Idea, pp. 8-9.

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number of days or months an individual fully equipped to do some specific job, but the fact is that those very places of learning which through the ages have been the custodians of the culture of civilization have been drawn into the flood and are impotent before the force of events and demands. They, too, are losing the means of educating the whole man; they are satisfied to train an engineer, an accountant, a librarian, or a chemist. They shut their eyes to the fact that the persons trained lack the very essence of true learning and to the fact that they are wanting in the power of integrating their knowledge and their experience. In Newman's words, they have no "philosophy." Ignoring some of the vital phases of existence, their life lacks fullness and fruitfulness. Educators are not unaware of these conditions. Those who are sincere in their vocation lament the situation but feel that their hands are tied. They recognize a factor which Newman pointed out nearly a century ago. Religion and philosophy are bound up so closely that what a man believes will color his whole view of knowledge and education. If religion is banned, the principle of integration is destroyed. The whole system of knowledge begins to unravel and nothing remains but the separate parts. That is practically all that is left in the houses of learning today. An example of the dire consequences of this kind of training was cited in a recent address on education.

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> When Hitler came into power in 1933, the first to capitulate were the professors, and the one force which has never capitulated is religion, as the Catholic bishops and pastor Niemoeller bear witness. It was the professors who allowed the independent administration of the universities to be abolished, offering no objections to State-elected "Rektoren" and "Dekane" who were forced upon them. It was a bitter disappointment for all who considered the German universities the defenders of right and justice; but when one considers that specialization had been carried so far, and a unified philosophy of life so universally abandoned, there was no one idea around which they could rally.[1]

The application of these same consequences to the American scene is by no means a fantastic impossibility.

The liberal education which Newman dreamed of and planned for has not been completely lost sight of, however. From out the pandemonium of modern institutions of higher learning two groups have struggled to keep alive the means of intellectual culture -- the Catholic Church and the new Humanists. (This does not, of course, exclude individuals in the teaching profession who, though members of neither of the groups mentioned, are still striving to transmit to their students the culture which they received in the old schools.) Although the Catholic institutions have not withstood completely the demand for premature specialization and utilitarian courses, their unified philosophy has saved their students from the one-sidedness that so many other university

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1 Fulton J. Sheen, The Christian Order and Education, Washington, D.C., 1943.

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graduates manifest. "Catholic education has, generally speaking -- it is impossible to speak with more precision -- been sympathetic to the humanist theory of a liberal education. ... Most Catholics believe that humanities and those disciplines that prepare for the understanding and appreciation of the humanities must always be basic to any adequate theory of a liberal education. ... Philosophy and science give only partial answers to the world riddle. Religion is needed to secure a complete view of life. ... Classical culture, Christian culture, the medieval synthesis of Thomas Aquinas, and modern science and modern thought -- these are the strands that the Catholic believes must be combined somehow into unity to provide a liberal education for the youth of our day, to place him in contact with truth, and beauty, and goodness. How can integration be secured for these divergent and sometimes clashing forces? ... The humanism of Christ, who is also God, as the Catholic confidently believes, this is Christian humanism that will make a marvelous synthesis of old and new."[1]

From the other group there have come, during the past decade, several notable works challenging the conditions and problems of liberal education in America today. Norman Foerster made a study of American State Universities and presented his findings

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1 William McGucken, S.J., "The Philosophy of Catholic Education," The Forty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I, Bloomington, Ill., 1942.

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and conclusions in a book, The American State University (1937). The following year he continued his discussion in The Future of the Liberal College (1938). He has shown that present education is failing to produce intellectually cultured men, and he has ventured to describe what he would put in its place if he had the power. He aims at "the development of free human beings, with all that that implies, through thoughtful assimilation of 'what is best in the past and present,' both in the sciences and in the humanities."[1] The best is composed of the great human persons, and the great human works of literature, art, science, history, philosophy and religion, by which the knowledge and beauty and wisdom of the past are transmitted to the future. He recommends the curriculum proposed by Robert Shafer in a series of articles in The Bookman,[2] referring to them as "one of the weightiest contributions to educational discussion in recent years." By a study of selected "best books" in conjunction with the usual academic courses, Foerster believes that the students would begin to think and to know soundly. Robert Maynard Hutchins presented similar views in The Higher Learning in America (1936). He also represents a swing away

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1 Norman Foerster, The American State University, Chapel Hill, 1937. p. 255.

2 Robert Shafer, "University and College," The Bookman, Vol. lxxiii, No. 3 (May, 1931), p. 225; No. 4 (June, 1931), p. 387; No. 5 (July, 1931), p. 503.

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from the practical and the material towards the intellectual. Mortimer Adler, who has contributed to the subject in current periodicals, is another of this group. They are seeking a way to restore liberal education to a respectable place in the aims and activities of the university, and they look to Newman as their model and authority. With them, however, metaphysics is the science which, in place of religion, they hope will serve as the integrating force of all knowledge. The exigencies of our warring nation may be said to have literally suspended the program of liberal education for the immediate future, but it must be hoped that this is only a temporary suspension. Man is human, his faculties are capable of development, and his will tends to the accomplishment of that development. The bitter experiences of the vacuity of material aspirations serve to awaken in men a realization of their higher powers. If those who have been trained in Newman's tradition persevere, they will be ready to transmit their "supply" when the "demand" is made of them. Time has already proved that Newman's legacy of The Idea of a University is a gift not to a single generation, but to all men.

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APPENDIX

NOTE:-- The following collation notes are based on a comparison of earlier editions of *The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated*, Part One, with the New Impression of 1923, indicated in the notes as New Edition. Each numbered page represents a page of the new edition, and under that heading are cited all words or passages which are variants of earlier versions. The notes are arranged according to consecutive lines of the new edition, but not all are applicable to each division below; e.g., some may refer only to First Edition, some only to Second Edition, some to both, or to later editions. The sections headed First Edition, Second Edition, etc. contain the reading of the text, in the respective editions, which corresponds to the citations under New Edition.

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New Edition

Title page

The Idea of a University
Defined and Illustrated

I. In Nine Discourses Delivered to the Catholics of Dublin

II. In Occasional Lectures and Essays Addressed to the Members of the Catholic University

London, 1923

First Edition

Title page

Discourses on the Scope and Nature of
University Education, addressed to the
Catholics of Dublin

Dublin, 1852

Second Edition

Title page

The Scope and Nature of University Education
or
University Teaching considered in its
Abstract Scope and Nature

London, 1859

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New Edition

Dedication page

l. 6 in Great Britain, Ireland, France,

First Edition

Dedication page

l. 6 in Ireland, Great Britain, France,

Second Edition

Inserted after
Dedication page

Advertisement

The following Discourses were written for delivery before Catholic audiences in Dublin in the year 1852, preparatory to the Author's taking upon himself the honorable and responsible office of Rector of the new Irish Catholic University. They belong to a time, when he was tried both by sorrow and by anxiety, and by indisposition also, and required a greater effort to write, and gave him less satisfaction when written than any of his Volumes. He has in this new Edition attempted in some respects to remedy what he feels to be their imperfection. He has removed from the text much temporary, collateral, or superfluous matter, and has thus reduced it to the size of his two other volumes on University Teaching, and that with advantage, as he conceives, both to the force, and to the clearness of his argument.

Nov. 9, 1859.

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New Edition

p. ix
l. 1 The view taken of a University in these Discourses is the following: That

l. 20 expect

First Edition

p. v
l. 1 the Dis-
courses which form this Volume, is of the following kind: that

p. vi
l. 10 expect,

Second Edition

p. viii
l. 1 The view which these Discourses take of a University is of the following kind: -- that

p. ix
l. 5 expect,

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5 relations in
6 those
8 schools
12 Knowledge
17 feudalism, as they consider
18 it, called "a gentleman."*
21 Volume
24 Hierarchy
27 and not
28 subjects,

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6 Knowledge,
12 feudalism, called "a gentleman".*
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20 Church

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Second Edition

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15 relations of
those,
18 schools,
23 Knowledge,

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Second Edition

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l. 1 feudalism, called "a gentleman[1]."
5 volume
12 or

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l. 1 sake? Is the Vicar of Christ bound
2 vow
4 him
6 useful? Or rather,
does he not contemplate such achievements of the intellect, as far as he contemplates them, solely and simply in their relation to the interests of Revealed Truth? Surely what
19 plain
23 other, to accrue, by

First Edition

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l. 7 sake? or, on
the other hand, does the Vicar of Christ contemplate such achievements of the intellect, as far as he contemplates them, solely and simply in their relation to the interests of Revealed Truth? Has he any more direct jurisdiction over the wisdom than over the civil power of this world? Is he bound
21 useful? What

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l. 8 plain,

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22 him,

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l. 13 plain,
17 other, by

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12 Science, and, under a pretence of fulfilling the duties of her mission, perverts a University to ends not its own,
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15 institutions
16 inquiry,
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26 Such, too,
33 This, then, is

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12 welfare,
18 Science, and perverts a Univer-
sity from its proper end, under a pretence of fulfilling the duties of her mission,
22 institutions,
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20 Such is

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11 welfare,
17 Science, and perverts a University from its proper end, under a pretence of fulfilling the duties of her mission,

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19 comers
27 cave.
32 Isis. Newton indulged in
Footnote: t. iii

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22 comers,

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15 Isis; Newton
in
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Second Edition

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20 cave:

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19 If, then,
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26 Here,
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21 home. Assuming (as the Rescripts from Propaganda allow me to do) that Protestant education is inexpedient for our youth, -- we see here an additional reason why
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29 intellect. Robbed,
31 education
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21 Protestantism,
25 intellect. Insulted, robbed,

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3 great proprietor,

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18 education,

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18 poet
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24 nerve,

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9 about"
19 and, after
they have been driven from their opinions, return to them
the next moment without
22 intractable
25 mentioned
26 drawing, not from
Catholics, but from the world at large;
28 to an evil which is forced upon us
30 company, an evil, however, to which Catholics are
not less exposed than the rest of mankind.

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l. 24 things,

p. xix
l. 7 about",
21 and return the next moment to
their old opinions, after they have been driven
from them, without

p. xx
l. 1 intractable,
4 mentioned,
6 drawing from Protestantism and Protestants;
7 to what meets us
9 company. Nay it
is wonderful, that, with all their advantages, so
many Protestants leave the University, with
so little of real liberality and refinement of
mind, in consequence of the discipline to which
they have been subjected. Much allowance
must be made here for original nature; much,
for the detestable narrowness and (I cannot
find a better word) the priggishness of their
religion. Catholics, on the other hand, are,
compared with them, almost born gentlemen.
Take the same ranks in the two Religions,
and the fact is undeniable. The simplicity,

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p. xx
l. 22 courtesy, and intelligence, for instance, of the peasants in Ireland and France have often been remarked upon. Still, after all, in this

p. xxi
l. 1 province, which is not of a distinctly religious nature, Catholicism does little more than create instincts and impulses, which it requires a steady training to mould into definite and permanent habits. They may begin well, and end ill. The want of training, in Catholics, so far as there is a want, is a positive loss to them; and the existence of it among Protestants, as far as it exists, is to a positive gain.

Second Edition

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l. 15 about,"

p. xx
l. 1 and return the next moment to their old opinions after they have been driven from them, without
4 intractable;
7 mentioned,

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l. 1 capacity
2 In the case of most men it makes itself felt
4 view, which characterizes it.
12 and will do
16 no views
19 heresiarch,
21 is unable to do any thing.
27 "viewiness,"

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l.15 measure ... In
16 the generality it is visible
18 view.

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l. 4 and do
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15 is able to do nothing.
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l.12 bigot,
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3 would demand my
8 it, then,
13 by making him begin with
16 purpose.
18 him
25 Hence, too,
26 Poetry
28 which in that case are likely to pass
33 does not know, and

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10 would deserve and would gain my
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24 by beginning with

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l. 3 view.
5 him,
14 Hence too
15 poetry
18 which may else pass
23 does not, and

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l. 3 This indeed would be a most serious objection, if well founded,
5 would deserve and would gain my
12 it then

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22 him,

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29 involves the habit of
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24 specific,

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14 that,
15 guarantee for
15 principles
19 a matter for their own consideration; but
20 us
22 Prelates
24 institutions
29 November 21, 1852.

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22 alluding.

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6 that
7 guarantee of
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we are not called upon to thrust upon them
remonstrances which they would stigmatize
as narrowminded. But
16 us,
19 Prelates,
21 institutions,

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24 guarantee of

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Corrigenda

Discourse 8, p. 259
for from among themselves,
read for themselves.

" 9, p. 322
for bouquet, read banquet.

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Second Edition

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New Edition

p. 1

Discourse I.
Introductory
I.

l. 1 myself, Gentlemen, to
6 it, that
15 both domestic and
17 English
22 involved,

First Edition

p. 3

Discourses on University Education
Discourse I.
Introduction.

l. 1 myself to
6 it
in both countries, that

p. 4
l. 1 among its own people and
3 Protestant
9 involved;

Second Edition

p. 1
l. 1 gentlemen,

p. 2
l. 6 among its inmates and
8 Protestant
15 involved;

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New Edition

p. 2
l. 7 which,
10 apprehension
19 arose against it, and the system of education which it had established was a second time assailed;
27 In the former of these two controversies the charge brought against its studies was their remoteness from the occupations and duties of life, to which they are the formal introduction, or, in other words, their inutility; in the latter, it was their connexion with a particular form of belief, or, in other words, their religious exclusiveness.

34 able

First Edition

p. 4
l. 17 which
19 apprehension,
28 arose,
and a political contest was waged;

p. 5
after l. 7 Paragraph of New Edition, l. 27, not there.

10 able, Gentlemen,

Second Edition

p. 4
l. 5 able, gentlemen,

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New Edition

p. 3
l. 7 here
After l. 17 (Division mark 2.)
l.19 There are several reasons why I should open the discussion with a reference to the lessons with which past years have supplied me.
22 Gentlemen
31 witness,
32 and, though it might
be said to evidence

First Edition

p. 5
l. 16 just now
27 (No division mark.)
28.What must be the general character of those views of University Education to which I have alluded, and
p. 6
l. 1 of which I shall avail myself, can hardly be doubtful, Gentlemen, considering the circumstances under which I am addressing you. I should not propose to avail myself of a philosophy which I myself had gained from an heretical seat of learning, unless I felt that that philosophy was Catholic in its ultimate source, and befitting the mouth of one who is taking part in a great Catholic work; nor, indeed, should I refer at all to the views of men who, however distinguished in this world, were not and are not blessed with the light of true doctrine, except for one or two special reasons, which will form, I trust, my sufficient justification in so doing.
24 witness
25 and while it undoubtedly exemplified

Second Edition

p. 4
l. 25 (No division mark.)

p. 5
l. 3 gentlemen
25 and while it

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New Edition

p. 4
l. 9 never, after all,
16 through:
18 truth of my principles,
18 conviction
19 Those
24 me,
30 referring, on this occasion, to the conclusion at which Protestants have arrived on the subject of Liberal Education;
32 follows: Let it be observed, then, that the principles on which I would conduct the inquiry are attainable, as I have already implied, by

---

First Edition

p. 7
l. 6 never
13 through;
15 truth,
16 conviction,
17 The
22 me
28 introducing what I have to say on the subject of Liberal Education with this refer-
p. 8
l. 1 ence to my personal testimony concerning it;
2 follows: In proposing to treat of so grave a matter, I have felt vividly that some apology was due from me for introducing the lucubration of Protestants into what many men might consider almost a question of dogma, and I have said to myself about myself: "You think it, then, worth while to come all this way, in order, from your past experience, to recommend principles which had better be left to the decision of the theological schools!" The force of this objection you will see more clearly by considering the answer I proceed to give to it.

Let it be observed, then, that the principles I would maintain on the subject of Liberal Education, although those as I believe of the Catholic Church, are such as may be gained by

---

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Second Edition

p. 6
l. 2 never
9 through;
12 truth,
12 conviction,
13 The
19 me

p. 7
l. 4 it (Corresponds to New Edition, l. 34)

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New Edition

p. 5
l. 2 theology;
2 discernment;
3 they
almost arise
5 dictated even ... wisdom, though a
6 divine illumination be absent, and they are recognized
by common sense,
8 quicken
9 imply nothing whatever as to
the religious profession of
12 nay, there is reason to anticipate that in certain times
and places they will be more thoroughly investigated,
and better understood, and held more firmly by Protest-
ants than by ourselves.
It is natural to expect this from the very circumstance
that the philosophy of Education is founded on truths
in the natural order.

28 depending
28 mainly,
are led
29 them: their
32 inheritance. This
is apt to cause us -- I do not mean to rely too much on

First Edition

p. 8
l. 17 theology --
18 discernment --
19 they will be
found to be almost self-evident when stated, and to arise
21 dictated
22 wisdom which is attain-
able where grace is quite away, and recognized by
simple common sense,
25 sharpen
26 though sanctioned
and used by Catholicism, they argue nothing what-
ever for the sanctity or faith of

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First Edition

p. 9
l. 1 they may, accidentally, in certain times and places, be taught by Protestants to Catholics, without any derogation from the claim which Catholics make to special spiritual illumination. This being the case, I may without offense, on the present occasion, when speaking to Catholics, appeal to the experience of Protestants; I may trace up my own distinct convictions on the subject to a time when apparently I was not even approximating to Catholicism; I may deal with the question, as I really believe it to be, as one of philosophy, practical wisdom, good sense, not of theology; and, such as I am, I may, notwithstanding, presume to treat of it in the presence of those who, in every religious sense, are my fathers and my teachers.

Nay, not only may the true philosophy of Education be held by Protestants, and at a given time, or in a given place, be taught by them to Catholics, but further than this, there is nothing strange in the idea, that here or there, at this time or that, it should be understood better, and held more firmly by Protestants than by ourselves. The very circumstance that it is founded on truths in the natural order, accounts for the possibility of its being sometimes or somewhere understood outside the Church, more accurately than within her fold.

p. 10
l. 8 are obliged to depend
9 solely, and they are, therefore, led
10 them; it is their

15 inheritance. The Almighty Father takes care of us; He has promised to do so; His word cannot fail, and we have continual experience of its fulfilment. This is apt to make us, I will not say, rely too much on

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Second Edition

p. 8
l. 13 solely,
20 us (I do not mean) to

Third Edition

p. 5
l. 34 us(I

Fourth Edition

p. 5
l. 34 us (I

Fifth Edition

p. 5
l. 34 us (I

Sixth Edition

p. 5
l. 34 us (I

Eighth Edition

p. 5
l. 34 us (I

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Ninth Edition

p. 5
l. 34 us (I

New Edition (1891)

p. 5
l. 34 us (I

New Edition (1898)

p. 5
l. 34 us (I

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New Edition

p. 6
l. 1 prayer, and the Divine Blessing, for that is impossible, but
3 when, according to the Fable, we "put our shoulder to the wheel," when we
15 consequence. If this be in any measure the state of the case, there is certainly so far a reason for availing ourselves of the investigations and experience of those who are not Catholics, when we have to address ourselves to the subject of Liberal Education.

Nor is there surely any thing derogatory to the position of a Catholic in such a proceeding. The Church has

27 even
29 of scholars
29 antiquarians, who are not of her communion.

First Edition

p. 10
l. 19 prayer, on the Divine Word and Blessing, for we cannot pray too much, or expect too much from our great Lord; but
23 when we

p. 11
l. 5 consequence. We leave God to fight our battles, and so He does; but He corrects us while He prospers us. We cultivate the innocence of the dove more than the wisdom of the serpent; and we exemplify our Lord's words and incur His rebuke, when He declared that "the children of this world were in their generation wiser than the children of light".

It is far from impossible, then, at first sight, that on the subject before us, Protestants have discerned the true line of action, and estimated its importance aright. It is possible that they have investigated and ascertained the main principles, the necessary conditions of education, better than some among ourselves. It is possible at first sight, and it is probable in the particular case, when we consider, on the one hand, the various and opposite positions,

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First Edition

p. 11
l. 22 which they enjoy relatively to each other; yet, on the other, the uniformity of the conclusions to which they arrive. The Protestant communions, I need hardly say, are respectively at a greater and a less distance from the Catholic Church, with more or with less of Catholic doctrine and of Catholic principle in them. Supposing, then, it should turn out, on a survey of their opinions and their policy, that in pro-
p. 12 portion as they approach, in the genius of their religion, to Catholicism, so do they become clear in their enunciation of a certain principle in education, that every circumstance would be an argument, as far as it went, for concluding that in Catholicism itself the recognition of that principle would, in its seats of education, be distinct and absolute. Now, I conceive that this remark applies in the controversy to which I am addressing myself. I must anticipate the course of future remarks so far as to say what you have doubtless, Gentlemen, yourselves anticipated before I say it, that the main principle on which I shall have to proceed is this -- that Education must not be disjoined from Religion, or that Mixed Schools, as they are called, in which teachers and scholars are of different religious creeds, none of which, of course, enter into the matter of instruction, are constructed on a false idea. Here, then, I conceive I am right in saying that every sect of Protestants, which has retained the idea of religious truth and the necessity of faith, which has any dogma to profess and any dogma to lose, makes that dogma the basis of its Education, secular as well as religious, and is jealous of those attempts to establish schools of a purely secular character, which the inconvenience of religious differences urges upon politicians of the day. This circumstance is of so striking a nature as in itself to justify me, as I consider, in my proposed appeal in this con-
p. 13 troversy to arguments and testimony short of Catholic.

Now, Gentlemen, let me be clearly understood here. I know quite well that there are multitudes of Protestants who are advocates for Mixed Education to the fullest extent, even so far as to desire the introduction of Catholics themselves into their colleges and schools; but then, first, they are those for the most part who have no creed or dogma whatever to

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First Edition

p. 13
l. 10 defend, to sacrifice, to surrender, to compromise, to hold back, or to "mix", when they call out for Mixed Education. There are many Protestants of benevolent tempers and business-like minds, who think that all who are called Christians do in fact agree together in essentials, though they will not allow it; and who, in consequence, call on all parties in educating their youth for the world to eliminate differences, which are certainly prejudicial, as soon as they are proved to be immaterial. It is not surprising that clear-sighted persons should fight against the maintenance and imposition of private judgment in matters of public concern. It is not surprising that statesmen, with a thousand conflicting claims and interests to satisfy, should fondly aim at a forfeited privilege of Catholic times, when they would have had at least one distraction the less in the simplicity of National Education. And next, I can conceive the most consistent men, and the most zealously attached to their own system of doctrine,
p. 14 nevertheless consenting to schemes of Education from which Religion is altogether or almost excluded, from the stress of necessity, or the recommendations of expedience. Necessity has no law, and expedience is often one form of necessity. It is no principle with sensible men, of whatever cast of opinion, to do always what is abstractedly best. Where no direct duty forbids, we may be obliged to do, as being best under circumstances, what we murmur and rise against, while we do it. We see that to attempt more is to effect less; that we must accept so much, or gain nothing; and so perforce we reconcile ourselves to what we would have far otherwise, if we could. Thus a system of Mixed Education,may, in a particular place or time, be the least of evils; it may be of long standing; it may be dangerous to meddle with; it may be professedly a temporary arrangement; it may be in an improving state; its disadvantages may be neutralised by the persons by whom, or the provisions under which, it is administered.

Protestants, then, in matter of fact, are found to be both advocates and promoters of Mixed Education; but this, as I think will appear on inquiry, only under the conditions I have set down, first, where

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First Edition

p. 14
l. 26 they have no special attachment to the dogmas which are compromised in the comprehension; and next, when they find it impossible, much as they desire it, to carry out their attachment to them in
p. 15 practice, without prejudicial consequences greater than those which that comprehension involves. Men who profess a religion, if left to themselves, make religious and secular Education one. Where, for instance, shall we find greater diversity of opinion, greater acrimony of mutual opposition, than between the two parties, High Church and Low, which mainly constitute the Established Religion of England and Ireland? Yet those parties, differing, as they do, from each other in other points, are equally opposed to the efforts of politicians to fuse their respective systems of Education with those either of Catholics or of sectaries; and it is only the strong expedience of concord and the will of the state which reconcile them to the necessity of a fusion with each other, Again, we all know into what various persuasions the English constituency is divided -- more, indeed, than it is easy to enumerate; yet, since the great majority of that constituency, amid its differences, and in its several professions, distinctly dogmatises, whether it be Anglican, Wesleyan, Calvinistic, or so called Evangelical (as is distinctly shown, if in no other way, by its violence against Catholics), the consequence is, that, in spite of serious political obstacles and of the reluctance of statesmen, it has up to this time been resolute and successful in preventing the national separation of secular and religious Education. This concurrence, then, in various instances, supposing it to exist, as I believe it does, of a dogma-
p. 16 tic faith on the one hand, and an abhorrence of Mixed Education on the other, is a phenomenon which, though happening among Protestants, demands the attention of Catholics, over and above the argumentative basis, on which, in the instance of each particular sect, this abhorrence would be found to rest.

While then, I conceive that certain Protestant bodies may, under circumstances, decide, more successfully than Catholics of a certain locality or period, a point of religious philosophy or policy, and may so far give us a lesson in perspicacity or prudence, without any prejudice to our claims to the exclusive possession of Revealed Truth, I say, they are in mat-

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First Edition

p. 16
l. 15 ter of fact likely to have done so in a case like the present, in which, amid all the variety of persuasions into which Protestantism necessarily splits, they agree together in a certain practical conclusion, which each of them in turn sees to be necessary for its own particular maintenance. Nor is there surely anything startling or novel in such an admission. The Church
26 ever
28 of heretical scholars
29 antiquarians.

Second Edition

p. 8
l. 22 impossible;
p. 9
l. 16 Protestants,

Third Edition

p. 6
l. 1 impossible; but)
27 ever

Fourth Edition

p. 6
l. 1 impossible; but)
27 ever

Fifth Edition

p. 6
l. 1 impossible; but)
27 ever

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Sixth Edition

p. 6
l. 1 impossible; but)

Eighth Edition

p. 6
l. 1 impossible; but)

Ninth Edition

p. 6
l. 1 impossible; but)

New Edition (1891)

p. 6
l. 1 impossible; but)

New Edition (1898)

p. 6
l. 1 impossible; but

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New Edition

p. 7
l. 1 St. Augustin refers to Ticonius; Bossuet,
8 If,
11 I do so, Gentlemen, as believing, first that the Catholic Church has
16 lessons, which have not been provided for them by herself
18 (Division mark 3.)
19 And here I may mention a third reason for appealing at the outset to the proceedings of Protestant bodies in regard to Liberal Education. It will serve to intimate the mode
23 Observe
24 intention, in any thing I shall say, of
25 Church, or any authority at all;
27 I am investigating in the abstract, and am determining what is in itself right and true. For the moment I know nothing, so to say, of history. I take things as I find them; I have no concern with the past; I find myself here; I set myself to the duties I find here; I set myself to further, by every means in my power, doctrines and views, in them -

---

First Edition

p. 17
l. 5 Bossuet,
13 If
16 I do so, not, Gentlemen, as supposing that even in philosophy the Catholic Church herself, as represented by her theologians or her schools, has anything to learn from men or bodies of men external to her pale; but as feeling, first, that she has

25 lessons which are in no sense necessary for herself.
26 (No division mark after l. 26.)
27 And in thus speaking of human philosophy, I have intimated the mode
29 Observe,

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First Edition

p. 18
l. 1 intention of
2 Church at all;
4 And from this it follows that, viewing it as a matter of argument, judgment, propriety, and expedience, I am not called upon to deny that in particular cases a course has been before now advisable for Catholics in regard to the education of their youth, and has been, in fact, adopted which was not abstractedly the best, and is no pattern and precedent for others.

Second Edition

p. 10
l. 21 gentlemen,

p. 11
l. 2 lessons which cannot be considered necessary for herself.
3 (No division mark after l. 3.)
9 gentlemen,

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New Edition

p. 8
l. 1 selves, recognized by Catholics as such, familiar to my own mind; and to do this quite apart from the consideration of questions which have been determined without me and before me. I am here the advocate and the minister of a certain great principle; yet not merely advocate and minister, else had I not been here at all. It has been my previous keen sense and hearty reception
8 of that principle, that has been at once the reason, as I
9 must suppose, of my being selected for this office, and is the cause of my accepting it. I am told on
11 authority that a principle is expedient, which I have ever felt to be true. And I argue in its behalf on its own merits, the authority, which brings me here, being
14 my opportunity for arguing, but not the ground of my argument itself.

And a fourth reason is here suggested for consulting the history of Protestant institutions, when I am going to speak of the object and nature of University Education.
19 It will serve to remind you, Gentlemen, that I am concerned with questions, not simply of immutable truth, but of practice and expedience. It would ill have become me to undertake a subject, on which points of dispute have arisen among persons so far above me in authority and name, in relation to a state of society, about which I have so much to learn, if it involved an appeal to sacred truths, or the determination of some imperative rule of conduct. It would have ben presumptuous in me so to have acted, nor am I so acting. Even the question of the union of Theology with the secular Sciences, which is its religious side, simple as it is of solution in the abstract, has, according to difference of circumstances, been at different times differently decided. Necessity has no law, and expedience is often one form of necessity. It is no principle with sensible

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First Edition

(This passage not in First Edition.)

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Second Edition

p. 12
l. 5 cause
6 my selection, and the ground of my acquiescence.
8 is necessary
11 my reason
17 gentlemen,

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New Edition

p. 9
l. 1 men, of whatever cast of opinion, to do always what is abstractedly best. Where no direct duty forbids, we may be obliged to do, as being best under circumstances, what we murmur and rise against, while we do it. We see that to attempt more is to effect less; that we must accept so much, or gain nothing; and so perforce we reconcile ourselves to what we would have far otherwise,
8 if we could. Thus a system of what is called secular Education, in which Theology and the Sciences are taught separately, may, in a particular place or time, be the least of evils; it may be of long standing; it may be dangerous to meddle with; it may be professedly a temporary arrangement; it may be under a process of improvement, its disadvantages may be neutralized by the persons by whom, or the provisions under which, it is administered.

17 Hence, it was, that in the early ages the Church allowed her children to attend

29 it has seemed best to the Irish Bishops, under the circumstances, to suffer the introduction into the country of a system
32 Such a state of things, however, is passing away; as regards University education at least,

---

First Edition

(Passage of New Edition lines 1-17 not at this place in First Edition.)

p. 18
l. 11 Thus in the early ages the Church sanctioned her children in frequenting
24 it has approved itself not only to Protestant state Ecclesiastics, who cannot be supposed to be very sensitive about doctrinal truth, but as a wise condescension,
p. 19 even to many of our most venerated Bishops, to suffer, under the circumstances, a system

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Second Edition

p. 13
l. 18 Mixed

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New Edition

p. 10
l. 1 the highest authority has now decided that the plan, which is abstractedly best, is in this time and country also most expedient.

4.

And here I have an opportunity of recognizing once for all that higher view of approaching the subject of these Discourses, which, after this formal recognition, I mean to dispense with. Ecclesiastical authority, not argument, is the supreme rule and the appropriate guide for Catholics in matters of religion. It has always the right to interpose, and sometimes, in the conflict of parties and opinions, it is called on to exercise that right. It has lately exercised it in our own instance: it has interposed in favour of a pure University system for Catholic youth, forbidding compromise or accommodation of any kind. Of course its decision must be heartily accepted and obeyed, and that the more, because the decision proceeds, not simply from the Bishops of Ireland, great as their authority is, but the highest authority on earth, from the Chair of St. Peter.

Moreover, such a decision not only demands our submission, but has a claim upon our trust. It not only acts as a prohibition of any measures, but as an ipso facto confutation of any reasonings, inconsistent with it. It carries with it an earnest and an augury of its own expediency. For instance, I can fancy, Gentlemen, there may be some, among those who hear me, disposed to say that they are ready to acquit the principles of Education, which I am to advocate, of all fault whatever, except that of being impracticable. I can fancy them granting to me, that those principles are most correct and most obvious, simply irresistible on paper, but maintaining, nevertheless, that after all, they are nothing

---

First Edition

(In place of New Edition, p. 9, line 32 to p. 10, line 26.)

p. 19
l. 4 On this part of the question, however, I have not to enter; for I confine myself to the subject of University Education. But even here it would ill have become me to pretend, simply on my own judgment,

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First Edition

p. 19
l. 8 to decide on a point so emphatically practical, as regards a state of society, about which I have much to learn, on any abstract principles, however true and important. It would have been presumptuous in me so to have acted, nor am I so acting. It is my happiness in a matter of Christian duty, about which the most saintly and the most able may differ, to be guided simply by the decision and recommendation of the Holy See, the judge and finisher of all controversies. That decision indeed, I repeat, shall not enter into my argument; but it is my own reason for arguing. I am trusting my own judgment on the subject, because I find it is the judgment of him who has upon his shoulder the government and the solicitude of all the Churches. I appear before you, Gentlemen, not prior to the decision of Rome on the question of which I am to treat, but after it. My sole aspiration -- and I cannot have a higher under the heavens -- is to be the servant of the Vicar of Christ. He has sanctioned at this time a particular measure for his children who speak the English tongue, and the distinguished persons by whom it is
p. 20 to be carried out have honored me with a share in their work. I take things as I find them; I know nothing of the past; I find myself here; I set myself to the duties I find here; I set myself to further, by every means in my power, doctrines and views, true in themselves, recognised by all Catholics as such, familiar to my own mind; and to do this quite apart from the consideration of questions which have been determined without me and before me. I am here the advocate and minister of a certain great principle; yet not merely advocate and minister, else had I not been here at all. It has been my previous keen sense and hearty reception of that principle, that has been at once the cause, as I must suppose, of my selection, and the ground of my acquiescence. I am told on authority that a principle is necessary, which I have ever felt to be true. As the royal matron in the sacred history consigned the child she had made her own to the charge of its natural mother; so truths and duties, which were already intimately mine by the

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First Edition

p. 20
l. 21 grace, which were already intimately mine by the workings of my own mind, and the philosophy of human schools, are now committed to my care, to nurse and to cherish, by her and for her who, acting on the prerogative of her divinely inspired discernment, has in this instance honoured with a royal adoption the suggestions of reason.

Happy mother, who received her offspring back by giving him up, and gained, at another's word, what
p. 21 her own most jealous artifices had failed to secure at home! Gentlemen, I have not yet ended the explanations with which I must introduce myself to your notice. If I have been expressing a satisfaction that opinions, early imbibed and long cherished in my own mind, now come to me with the Church's seal upon them, do not imagine that I am indulging a subtle kind of private judgment, especially unbecoming in a Catholic. It would, I think, be unjust to me, were any one to gather, from what I have been saying, that I had so established myself in my own ideas and in my old notions, as a centre of thought, that, instead of coming to the Church to be taught, I was but availing myself of such opportunities as she gave me, to force principles on your attention which I had adopted without her. It would, indeed, be a most unworthy frame of mind, to view her sanction, however it could be got, as a sort of leave or permit, whereby the intellect obtains an outlet, which it is ever coveting, to range freely once in a way, and to enjoy itself in a welcome, because a rare holiday. Not so; human wisdom, at the very best, even in matters of religious policy, is principally but a homage, certainly no essential service to Divine Truth. Nor is the Church some stern mistress, practised only in refusal and prohibition, to be obeyed grudgingly and dexterously overreached; but a kind and watchful teacher and guide, encouraging us forward in the path of truth amid the perils which beset
p. 22 it. Deeply do I feel, ever will I protest, for I can appeal to the ample testimony of history to bear me out, that, in questions of right and wrong there is nothing really strong in the whole world, nothing decisive and operative, but the voice of him, to whom

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First Edition

p. 22
l. 6 have been committed the keys of the kingdom and the oversight of Christ's flock. That voice is now, as ever it has been, a real authority, infallible when it teaches, prosperous when it commands, ever taking the lead wisely and distinctly in its own province, adding certainty to what is probable, and persuasion to what is certain. Before it speaks, the most saintly may mistake; and after it has spoken, the most gifted must obey.

I have said this in explanation; but it has an application if you will let me so say, far beyond myself. Perhaps we have all need to be reminded, in one way or another, as regards our habitual view of things, if not our formal convictions, of the greatness of authority and the intensity of power, which accompany the decisions of the Holy See.

22 among those who hear me there may be those who would be willing to acquit
24 Education
26 to grant
28 yet, after all, nothing

Second Edition

p. 14 (Section of New Edition, p. 10, line 4 to p. 18 inclusive, not in Second Edition)

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New Edition

p. 11
l. 1 more than the dreams of men who live out of the world, and who do not see the difficulty of keeping Catholicism anyhow afloat on the bosom of this wonderful nineteenth century. Proved, indeed, those principles are, to demonstration, but they will not work. Nay, it was my own admission just now, that, in a particular instance, it might easily happen, that what is only second best is best practically, because what is actually best is out of the question.

10 This, I hear you say to yourselves, is the state of things at present. You recount in detail the numberless
12 impediments, great and small, formidable or only vexatious, which at every step embarrass the attempt to carry out ever so poorly a principle in itself so true and ecclesiastical. You appeal in your defence to wise and sagacious intellects, who are far from enemies to Catho-
17 licism, or to the Irish Hierarchy, and you have no hope, or rather you absolutely disbelieve, that Education can possibly be conducted, here and now, on a theological
20 principle, or that youths of different religions can, under the circumstances of the country, be educated apart from each other. The more you think over the state of politics, the position of parties, the feelings of classes, and the experience of the past, the more chimerical
25 does it seem to you to aim at a University, of which Catholicity is the fundamental principle. Nay, even if the attempt could accidentally succeed, would not the
28 mischief exceed the benefit of it? How great the
29 sacrifices, in how many ways, by which it would be
30 preceded and followed! how many wounds, open and secret, would it inflict upon the body politic! And, if it fails, which is to be expected, then a double mischief will ensue from its recognition of evils which it has been unable to remedy. These are your deep misgivings;

First Edition

p. 23
l. 8 This, I hear (No new paragraph)
11 threatening and vexatious,
16 simply despair,
20 in matter of fact,

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First Edition

p. 23
l. 24 at anything
beyond a University of Mixed Instruction.
27 benefits
28 sacrifice,
29 followed! --

Second Edition

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New Edition

p. 12
l. 1 and, in proportion to the force with which they come to
2 you, is the concern and anxiety which you feel, that there should be those whom you love, whom you revere, who from one cause or other refuse to enter into them.

5.

This, I repeat, is what some good Catholics will say to me, and more than this, They will express themselves better than I can speak for them in their behalf, --
10 with more earnestness and point, with more force of argument and fulness of detail; and I will frankly and
12 at once acknowledge, that I shall insist on the high theological view of a University without attempting to give
14 a direct answer to their arguments against its present practicability. I do not say an answer cannot be given;
16 on the contrary, I have a confident expectation that, in proportion as those objections are looked in the face, they will fade away. But, however this may be, it would not become me to argue the matter with those who understand the circumstances of the problem so much better than myself. What do I know of the state of things
22 in Ireland, that I should presume to put ideas of mine, which could not be right except by accident, by the side of theirs, who speak in the country of their birth and their home? No, Gentlemen, you are natural judges of the difficulties which beset us, and they are doubtless greater than I can even fancy or forbode. Let me, for the sake of argument, admit all you say against our enterprise, and a great deal more. Your proof of its
30 intrinsic impossibility shall be to me as cogent as my
31 own of its theological advisableness. Why, then, should I be so rash and perverse as to involve myself in trouble not properly mine? Why go out of my own place??

First Edition

p. 24
l. 7 they occasion you,
9 (No division mark after l. 9)
12 for them --
13 nature
15 acknowledge, Gentlemen, that
16 objections.

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First Edition

p. 24
l. 18 I may have
25 Ireland

p. 25
l. 5 demonstrative
6 Why then

Second Edition

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New Edition

p. 13
l. 1 Why so headstrong and reckless as to lay up for myself
2 miscarriage and disappointment, as though I were not
sure to have enough of personal trial anyhow without
going about to seek for it?

Reflections such as these would be decisive even
with the boldest and most capable minds, but for one
consideration. In the midst of our difficulties I have
one ground of hope, just one stay, but, as I think, a
9 sufficient one, which serves me in the stead of all other
10 argument whatever, which hardens me against criticism,
11 which supports me if I begin to despond, and to
12 which I ever come round, when the question of the
possible and the expedient is brought into discussion.
14 It is the decision of the Holy See; St. Peter has spoken,
it is he who has enjoined that which seems to us so
unpromising. He has spoken, and has a claim on us to
17 trust him. He is no recluse, no solitary student, no
dreamer about the past, no doter upon the dead and
19 gone, no projector of the visionary. He for eighteen
hundred years has lived in the world; he has seen all
fortunes, he has encountered all adversaries, he has
shaped himself for all emergencies. If ever there was
a power on earth who had an eye for the times, who
has confined himself to the practicable, and has been
25 happy in his anticipations, whose words have been facts,
and whose commands prophecies, such is he in the
history of ages, who sits from generation to generation
in the Chair of the Apostles, as the Vicar of Christ, and
the Doctor of His Church.

6.

These are not the words of rhetoric, Gentlemen, but of
history. All who take part with the Apostle, are on the
33 winning side. He has long since given warrants for the

First Edition

p. 25
l. 8 How is it that I do not
know when I am well off?
11 had not enough of my own?

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First Edition

p. 25
l. 13 Considerations such as these might have been simply decisive in time past for the boldest and most able among us; now, however, I have one resting point, just one, one plea

17 direct
18 censure,
18 which encourages me against fear,
19 when I hear
the question of the practicable and the expedient brought
21 After all, Peter has spoken.
22 Peter
22 abstracted
24 Peter

p. 26
l. 1 deeds,
3 ages
4 Apostles
5 (No division mark after l. 5. The following paragraph was omitted after the First Edition.)
6 Notions, then, taught me long ago by others, long cherished in my ownmind, these are not my confidence. Their truth does not make them feasible, nor their reasonableness persuasive. Rather, I would meet the objector by an argument of his own sort. If you tell me this work will fail, I will make answer, the worker is apt to succeed, and I trust in my knowledge of the past more than in your prediction of the future. It was said by an old philosopher, who declined to reply to an emperor's arguments, "It is not safe controverting with the master of twenty legions". What Augustus had in the material order, that, and much more, has Peter in the spiritual. Peter has spoken by Pius, and when was Peter ever unequal to the occasion? When has he not risen with the crisis? What dangers have ever daunted him? What sophistry foiled him? What uncertainties misled him? When did ever any power go to war with Peter, material or moral, civilized or savage, and got the better? When did the whole world ever band together against him solitary, and not find him too many for them?

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First Edition

p. 27
l. 1 The Apostle says not in order to
unsay, for he has inherited that

Second Edition

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New Edition

p. 14
l. 1 confidence which he claims. From the first he has looked through the wide world, of which he has the
3 burden; and, according to the need of the day, and the
4 inspirations of his Lord, he has set himself now to one
5 thing, now to another; but to all in season, and to nothing in vain. He came first upon an age of refinement and luxury like our own, and, in spite of the persecutor, fertile in the resources of his cruelty, he soon gathered, out of all classes of society, the slave, the soldier, the
10 high-born lady, and the sophist, materials enough to
11 form a people to his Master's honour. The savage hordes
12 come down in torrents from the north, and Peter went
13 out to meet them, and by his very eye he sobered them,
14 and backed them in their full career. They turned aside and flooded the whole earth, but only to be more surely civilized by him, and to be made ten times more his children even than the older populations which they had overwhelmed. Lawless kings arose, sagacious as the Roman, passionate as the Hun, yet in him they found their match, and were shattered, and he lived on. The gates of the earth were opened to the east and west, and
22 men poured out to take possession; but he went with them by his missionaries, to China, to Mexico, carried
24 along by zeal and charity, as far as those children of men were led by enterprise, covetousness, or ambition. Has he failed in his successes up to this hour? Did he, in our fathers' day, fail in his struggle with Joseph of Germany and his confederates, with Napoleon, a greater name, and his dependent kings, that, though in another kind of fight, he should fail in ours? What grey hairs are on the head of Judah, whose youth is renewed like the eagle's, whose feet are like the feet of harts, and underneath the Everlasting arms?
34 In the first centuries of the Church all this practical

First Edition

p. 27
l. 2 word which is with power.
4 burden, and
6 himself,
7 another,
15 sophist, to

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First Edition

p. 27
l. 16 for
17 came
17 north, hideous even
to look upon; and
18 out with holy water
and with benison,
19 sobered them
20 in full
21 aside,
29 and he and his went with them, swept along
30 charity
30 they

Second Edition

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New Edition

p. 15
l. 1 sagacity of Holy Church was mere matter of faith, but every age, as it has come, has confirmed faith by actual
3 sight; and shame on us, if, with the accumulated testimony of eighteen centuries, our eyes are too gross to
5 see those victories which the Saints have ever seen by
6 anticipation. Least of all can we, the Catholics of islands
7 which have been in the cultivation and diffusion of Knowledge heretofore been so singularly united under the auspices
9 of the Apostolic See, least of all can we be the men to distrust its wisdom and to predict its failure, when it
11 sends us on a similar mission now. I cannot forget that, at a time when Celt and Saxon were alike savage, it was
13 the See of Peter that gave both of them, first faith,
14 then civilization; and then again bound them together
15 in one by the seal of a joint commission to convert and illuminate in their turn the pagan continent. I cannot forget how it was from Rome that the glorious St. Patrick
18 was sent to Ireland, and did a work so great that he
19 could not have a successor in it, the sanctity and learning
20 and zeal and charity which followed on his death being but the result of the one impulse which he gave. I cannot forget how, in no long time, under the fostering breath of the Vicar of Christ, a country of heathen super-
24 stitions became the very wonder and asylum of all people, -- the wonder by reason of its knowledge, sacred and
26 profane, and the asylum of religion, literature and
27 science, when chased away from the continent by the
28 barbarian invaders. I recollect its hospitality, freely accorded to the pilgrim; its volumes munificently presented to the foreign student; and the prayers, the
31 blessings, the holy rites, the solemn chants, which sanctified the while both giver and receiver.
33 Nor can I forget either, how my own England had meanwhile become the solicitude of the same unwearied

---

First Edition

p. 28
l. 8 this was a mere point of faith,
9 come has
stayed up faith by sight;
10 us
11 witness

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First Edition

p. 28
l. 12 what the Saints have ever anticipated.
Education, Gentlemen, involved as it is
in the very idea of a religion such as ours,
cannot be a strange work at any time in the hands
of the Vicar of Christ. The heathen forms of
religion thought it enough to amuse and quiet
the populace with spectacles, and, on the other hand,
to bestow a dignity and divine sanction upon the
civil ruler; but Catholicism addresses itself directly
to the heart and conscience of the individual.
The Religion which numbers Baptism and Penance
among its sacraments, cannot be neglectful of the
soul's training; the Creed which opens and re-
solves into so majestic and so living a theology, cannot
but subserve the cultivation of the intellect; the Re-
velation which tells us of truths otherwise utterly
hid from us, cannot be justly called the enemy of
knowledge; the Worship, which is so awful and so
p. 29 thrilling, cannot but feed the aspirations of genius, and
move the affections from their depths. The Institu-
tion, which has flourished in centuries the most famed
for mental activity and cultivation, which has come
into collision, to say no more, with the schools of
Antioch and Alexandria, Athens and Edessa, Sara-
cenic Seville, and Protestant Berlin, cannot be want-
ing in experience what to do now, and when to do it.
He whom the Almighty left behind to be His repre-
sentative on earth, has ever been jealous, as beseemed
him, as of God's graces, so also His gifts. He has
been as tender of the welfare and interests of human
science as he is loyal to the divine truth which is his
peculiar charge. He has ever been the foster-father
of secular knowledge, and has rejoiced in its growth,
while he has pruned away its self-destructive luxuriance.

l. 17 the Catholics of two islands,
18 been heretofore so singularly united in
the cultivation and diffusion of Knowledge,
20 we surely, Gentlemen, are
not the persons to distrust its wisdom and its fortune
23 forget, Gentlemen, that
25 them
26 then, again,
27 that joint commission which it gave them to
convert and illuminate in turn the pagan Continent.

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First Edition

p. 30
l. 2 great, may be said to have had no
3 it; sanctity, learning, zeal,
4 followed being
8 people; --
10 profane; the
10 for
10 literature
11 science, chased
11 Continent
11 by barbaric
12 hospitality
14 and blessings,
and holy rites, and solemn
16 Nor can (No new paragraph)
16 forget how

Second Edition

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New Edition

p. 16
l. 1 eye: how Augustine was sent to us by Gregory; how he
2 fainted in the way at the tidings of our fierceness, and,
3 but for the Pope, would have shrunk as from an
impossible expedition; how he was forced on "in
5 weakness and in fear and in much trembling," until he
6 had achieved the conquest of the island to Christ. Nor,
7 again, how it came to pass that, when Augustine died
and his work slackened, another Pope, unwearied still,
9 sent three saints from Rome, to ennoble and refine the
10 people Augustine had converted. Three holy men set
11 out for England together, of different nations: Theodore,
an Asiatic Greek, from Tarsus; Adrian, an African;
Bennett alone a Saxon, for Peter knows no distinction of
14 races in his ecumenical work. They came with theology
15 and science in their train; with relics, with pictures,
with manuscripts of the Holy Fathers and the Greek classics;
and Theodore and Adrian founded schools, secular and
18 monastic, all over England, while Bennett brought to the
north the large library he had collected in foreign parts,
and, with plans and ornamental work from France,
erected a church of stone, under the invocation of St.
22 Peter, after the Roman fashion, "which," says the his-
23 torian,* "he most affected." I call to mind how St.
24 Wilfrid, St. John of Beverley, St. Bede, and other saintly
men, carried on the good work in the following genera-
tions, and how from that time forth the two islands,
England and Ireland, in a dark and dreary age, were
28 the two lights of Christendom, and had no claims on each
other, and no thought of self, save in the interchange of
kind offices and the rivalry of love.

7.

32 O memorable time, when St. Aidan and the Irish

* Cressy.

First Edition

p. 30
l. 18 Eye;
20 at our barbarian name,
21 had returned

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First Edition

p. 30
l. 22 weakness,
22 fear,
23 trembling",
24 all England
24 how
27 educate
27 he
29 nations;

p. 31
l. 3 work; they
4 relics, and with pic-
tures, and with
7 religious
12 "which",
13 affected".
14 Beverly
18 Christendom;
18 and nothing passed between
them, and no personal aims were theirs
20 (No division mark after l. 20)
21 O!
21 time

Second Edition

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New Edition

p. 17
l. 1 monks went up to Lindisfarne and Melrose, and taught
the Saxon youth, and when a St. Cuthbert and a St.
3 Eata repaid their charitable toil! O blessed days
4 of peace and confidence, when the Celtic Mailduf pene-
trated to Malmesbury in the south, which has inherited
his name, and founded there the famous school which
7 gave birth to the great St. Aldhelm! O precious seal
8 and testimony of Gospel unity, when, as Aldhelm in
turn tells us, the English went to Ireland "numerous as
10 bees;" when the Saxon St. Egbert and St. Willibrod,
preachers to the heathen Frisons, made the voyage to
Ireland to prepare themselves for their work; and when
from Ireland went forth to Germany the two noble
14 Ewalds, Saxons also, to earn the crown of martyrdom!
Such a period, indeed, so rich in grace, in peace, in love,
and in good works, could only last for a season; but,
17 even when the light was to pass away from them, the
18 sister islands were destined, not to forfeit, but to transmit
19 it together. The time came when the neighboring
20 continental country was in turn to hold the mission
21 which they had exercised so long and well; and when
to it they made over their honourable office, faithful to
23 the alliance of two hundred years, they made it a joint
act. Alcuin was the pupil both of the English and of
the Irish schools; and when Charlemagne would revive
26 science and letters in his own France, it was Alcuin, the
27 representative both of the Saxon and the Celt, who was
the chief of those who went forth to supply the need of
29 the great Emperor. Such was the foundation of the School
30 School of Paris, from which, in the course of centuries,
sprang the famous University, the glory of the middle
ages.

The past never returns; the course of events, old in

First Edition

p. 31
l. 24 gracious
24 O!
25 Mailduf

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First Edition

p. 32
l. 1 O!
2 charity
4 bees";
9 martyrdom.
12 away,
12 two sister islands
12 destined
13 transfer it.
14 country
15 have so long and so well fulfilled;
15 and,
17 did the solemn act together.
High up in the north, upon the Tyne, the pupil of St. Theodore, St. Adrian, and St. Benenett, for forty years was Bede, the light of the whole western world; as happy, too, in his scholars round about him, as in his celebrity and influence in the length and breadth of Christendom. And a generation before him, St. John of Beverly, taught by the same masters, had for thirty years been shedding the lustre of his sanctity and learning upon the Archiepiscopal school of York. Among the pupils of these celebrated men the learned Alcuin stood first; but Alcuin, not content even
p. 33 with the training which Saints could give him, betook himself to the sister island, and remained a whole twelve years in the Irish schools. When

l. 5 France, to England he sent for masters, and to the cloisters of St. John Beverly and St. Bede; and Alcuin, the scholar
7 Celt, was
9 Great
10 school
13 things

Second Edition

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New Edition

p. 18
l. 1 its texture, is ever new in its colouring and fashion.
2 England and Ireland are not what they once were, but
3 Rome is where it was, and St. Peter is the same; his
4 zeal, his charity, his mission, his gifts are all the same.
5 He of old made the two islands one by giving them
6 joint work of teaching; and now surely he is giving us
a like mission, and we shall become one again, while we
zealously and lovingly fulfil it.

First Edition

p. 33
l. 15 Ireland and England
16 was; Peter
17 same;
17 gifts,
17 are the
18 He,
18 us one
18 making us
joint teachers of the nations; and now, surely,

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New Edition

p. 19

Discourse II.

Theology A Branch of Knowledge.

1.1 There were two questions, to which I drew your attention, Gentlemen, in the beginning of my first Discourse, as being of especial importance and interest at this time: first, whether it is consistent with the idea of University teaching to exclude Theology from a place among the sciences which it embraces; next, whether it is consistent with that idea to make the useful arts and sciences its direct and principal concern, to the neglect of those liberal studies and exercises of mind, in which it has heretofore been considered mainly to consist. These are the questions which will form the subject of what I have to lay before you, and I shall now enter upon
13 the former of the two.

I.

It is the fashion just now, as you very well know, to erect so-called Universities, without making any provision in them at all for Theological chairs. Institutions of this kind exist both here and in England. Such a procedure, though defended by writers of the generation just passed with much plausible argument and not a little wit, seems to me an intellectual absurdity; and my reason for saying so runs, with whatever abruptness, into the form of a syllogism: A University, I should

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First Edition

p. 35
l. 1 Great as are the secular benefits ascribed by the philosopher of the day to the present remarkable reception in so many countries of the theory of Private Judgment, it is not without its political drawbacks, which the statesman at least, whatever be his predilections for Protestantism, cannot in candour refuse to admit. If it has stimulated the activity of the intellect in those nations which have surrendered themselves to its influence, on the other

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First Edition

p. 35
l. 10 hand it has provided no sufficient safeguards against that activity preying on itself. This inconvenience indeed matters comparatively little to the man of letters, who often has no end in view beyond mental activity itself, of whatever description, and has before now even laid it down, as the rule of his philosophy, that the good of man consists, not in the possession of truth, but in an interminable search after it. But it is otherwise with those who are engaged in the
p. 36 business of life, who have work and responsibility, who have measures to carry through and objects to accomplish, who only see what is before them, recognize what is tangible, and reverence what succeeds. The statesman especially, who has to win, to attach, to reconcile, to secure, to govern, looks for one thing more than any thing else -- how he may do his work with least trouble, how he may best persuade the wheels of the political machine to go smoothly, silently, and steadily; and with this prime desideratum nothing interferes so seriously as that indefinite multiplication of opinions and wills which it is the boast of Protestantism to have introduced. Amid the overwhelming difficulties of his position, the most Protestant of statesmen will be sorely tempted, in disparagement of his cherished principles, to make a passionate wish, that the people he has to govern, could have, I will not say with the imperial tyrant, one neck, but, what is equally impossible, one private judgment.

This embarrassment makes itself especially felt, when he addresses himself to the great question of National Education. He is called upon to provide for the education of the people at large; and that the more urgently, because the religious sentiments, which Private Judgment presupposes and fosters, demands it. The classes and bodies in whom political power is lodged, clamour for National Education; he prepares himself to give them satisfaction: but Edu-
p. 37 cation of course implies principles and views, and when he proceeds to lay down any whatever, the very same parties who pressed him forward, from their zeal for Education in the abstract, fall out with each other and with him, about every conceivable plan which is proposed to them in a substantive

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First Edition

p. 37
l. 7 shape. All demand of him, what each in turn forbids; his proceedings are brought to what is familiarly called "a lock"; he can neither advance nor recede; and he loses time and toil in attempting an impossible problem. It would not be wonderful, if, in these trying difficulties, he were to envy the comparative facility of the problem of Education in purely Catholic countries, where certain fundamental principles are felt to be as sure as external facts, and where, in consequence, it is almost as easy to construct a national system of teaching, as to raise the school-houses in which it is to be administered.

Under these circumstances, he naturally looks about him for methods of eliminating from his problem its intractable conditions, which are wholly or principally religious. He sees then that all would go easy, could he but contrive to educate apart from religion, not compromising indeed his own private religious persuasion, whatever it happens to be, but excluding one and all professions of faith from the national system. And thus he is led, by extreme expedience and political necessity, to sanction the separation of secular instruction from religious, and
p. 38 to favour the establishment of what are called "Mixed Schools". Such a procedure, I say, on the part of a statesman, is but a natural effort, under the circumstances of his day, to appropriate to himself a privilege, without the Church's aid, which the Church alone can bestow; and he becomes what is called a Liberal, as the very nearest approach he can make, in a Protestant country, to being a Catholic. Since his schools cannot have one faith, he determines, as the best choice left to him, they shall have none.

Nothing surely is more intelligible than conduct like this; and the more earnest is his patriotism, the warmer his philanthropy, the more of statesmanship, the more of administrative talent he possesses, the more cordially will he adopt it. And hence it is that at the present day, when so much benevolence and practical wisdom are to be found among public men, there is a growing movement in favour of Mixed Education, whether as regards the higher or the lower classes, on the simple ground, that nothing

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First Edition

p. 38
l. 22 else remains to be done. So far, I say, is intelligible; but there are higher aspects of the question than that of political utility. My business is, not with the mere statesman, but with those who profess to regulate his public conduct by principle and logic. I want to see into what principles such a policy resolves itself, when submitted to a philosophical analysis, for then we shall be better able to
p. 39 determine what should be a Catholic's judgment upon it.

Now on entering upon my subject, first of all I put aside the question of the mixed education of the lower classes, being concerned only with University Education. Having done this, I am able to bring the question to this simple issue. A University, as

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Second Edition

p. 14
(The following passage replaces the introductory paragraph of New Edition.)
l. 24 This is the branch of my subject on which I propose first to enter, and I do so without fur-
p. 15 ther delay. It is one of the two questions, on which the Protestant controversies turned to which I have alluded. The earlier of them was the inutility of Oxford education, the latter was its exclusiveness; in the former it was debated whether Liberal Knowledge should have the foremost place in University teaching; in the latter, whether Theology should be ex-
l. 9 cluded. I am to begin with the latter.
(Space after l. 9.)
10 now, gentlemen, as

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New Edition

p. 20
l. 1 lay down, by its very name professes to teach universal
2 knowledge: Theology is surely a branch of knowledge:
3 how then is it possible for it to profess all branches of
4 knowledge, and yet to exclude from the subjects of its teaching one which, to say the least, is as important and as large as any of them? I do not see that either premiss of this argument is open to exception.

As to the range of University teaching, certainly the very name of University is inconsistent with restrictions of any kind. Whatever was the original reason of the adoption of that term, which is unknown,* I am only putting on it its popular, its recognized sense, when I say that a University should teach universal knowledge. That there is a real necessity for this universal teaching in the highest schools of intellect, I will show by-and-by; here it is sufficient to say that such universality is con-
17 sidered by writers on the subject to be the very characteristic of a University, as contrasted with other seats of learning. Thus Johnson, in his Dictionary, defines it to be "a school where all arts and faculties are taught;" and Mosheim, writing as an historian, says that, before
22 the rise of the University of Paris, -- for instance, at Padua,
23 or Salamanca, or Cologne, -- "the whole circle of sciences then known was not taught;" but that the school of Paris, "which exceeded all others in various respects, as well as in the number of teachers and students, was the first to embrace all the arts and sciences, and therefore first became a University."†

If, with other authors, we consider the word to be derived from the invitation which is held out by a University to students of every kind, the result is the same; for, if certain branches of knowledge were excluded,

*In Roman law it means a Corporation.
Vid. Keuffel, de Scholis.
†Hist. vol. ii.p.529. London, 1841.

First Edition

p.39
l.8 the name implies, is the seat of universal knowledge; it follows then at once to ask, whether this definition of a University, which can hardly be gainsaid, is compatible with the political expedient which I have been describing: whether it is philosophical or pos-

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First Edition

p. 39
l. 13 sible to profess all branches of knowledge, yet to exclude one, and that one not the lowest in the series.

Second Edition

p. 15
l. 22 knowledge.
23 possible to

p. 16
l. 1 exclude not the meanest, nor the narrowest, of the number?
15 subject as
21 Paris,
22 Cologne,

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New Edition

p. 21
l. 1 those students of course would be excluded also, who desired to pursue them.

Is it, then, logically consistent in a seat of learning to call itself a University, and to exclude Theology from the number of its studies? And again, is it wonderful that Catholics, even in the view of reason, putting aside faith or religious duty, should be dissatisfied with existing institutions, which profess to be Universities, and refuse to teach Theology; and that they should in consequence desire to possess seats of learning, which are, not only more Christian, but more philosophical in their construction, and larger and deeper in their provisions?

15 throw my argument
into a more exact form.
29 as the subject of this Discourse.
33 consider --

First Edition

(Material in lines 1-14 not in First Edition)

p. 39
l. 17 express myself in a general form.

p. 40
l. 3 in the Discourse which is to follow.
7 consider,

Second Edition

p. 18
l. 18 in the remainder of this Discourse.
24 consider,

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New Edition

p. 22
l. 8 (Division mark 2. after line 8.)
24 without
toleration for his neighbour's,
29 however necessary they be
31 minor,"
32 of the combination,

First Edition

p. 40
l. 17 (No division mark after l. 17)

p. 41
l. 5 without exception,
9 necessary as they are;
11 minor",
13 in view,

Second Edition

p. 19
l. 8 (No division mark after l. 8)

p. 20
l. 1 without exception
6 necessary as they are;

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New Edition

p. 23
l. 1 compromises
3 consistent
6 that,
7 uniting, as recognized
9 exhortations,
9 their
10 faithfully
insist upon
24 compromised the
25 Judgment as the one true interpreter of Scripture.
34 sacrifice.

First Edition

p. 41
l. 14 implicates
16 consistent,
20 that
20 uniting, recognized
22 exhortation,
22 its
24 is founded upon

p. 42
l. 9 compromised both the
10 Judgment, and the doctrine
of Justification by faith only.
21 sacrifice;

Second Edition

p. 21
l. 14 Judgment, and the doc-
trine of Justification by Faith only.
26 sacrifice;

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New Edition

p. 24
l. 1 -- ambition,
1 comfort, party-interests,
gold;
2 sacrifice, --
8 compromised; --
9 and as to those
10 consider such to
15 teaching
19 to have been
23 in the number of
those
26 such,
27 as a material addition to
29 is
32 and yet leaves
34 Gentlemen

First Edition

p. 42
l. 21 ambition,
21 comfort, gold;
22 sacrifice --
29 compromised;
29 and those

p. 43
l. 2 consider to
7 theory
10 to be
15 of all those
19 as an accession to
22 is
24 and leaves

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Second Edition

p. 22
l. 1 ambition,

p. 23
l. 6 as an accession to
14 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 25
l. 4 a Divine Being
5 (Division mark 3. after line 5.)
9 Gentlemen
15 platform,
16 you, I
18 subject-matter
20 it, as to
22 For instance, are
24 exclude ethics; by intuition? we exclude history;

First Edition

p. 44
l. 1 God
2 (No division mark after l. 2)
12 platform
13 you, Gentlemen, I
15 subject matter
17 it, to
19 Are
21 exclude history;

Second Edition

p. 23
l. 19 (No division mark after l. 19)
22 gentlemen

p. 24
l. 4 platform
5 you, gentlemen, I
12 Are
14 exclude history;

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New Edition

p. 26
l. 4 Theology
12 converge to
31 not this
32 that myriads
of living things might co-exist on the point

First Edition

p. 45
l. 5 theology
13 run into

p. 46
l. 4 this not
6 that there are myriads of living things on the point

Second Edition

p. 26
l. 10 this not
11 that
there are myriads of living things on the point

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New Edition

p. 27
l. 6 on our muscles, which we
admit as a fact in metaphysics.
10 to ignore them;
13 truth, that they are
14 which the general fact and the law of the fall of a stone to the earth
17 opinion
19 disowning Religion
22 (Division mark 4. after line 22.)
33 Religion

First Edition

p. 46
l. 14 on the animal frame.
17 to put them aside;
20 truth, are
21 the motion of the Earth
25 opinions
26 ignoring religion,
29 (No division mark after l. 29)

p. 47
l. 10 religion

Second Edition

p. 26
l. 21 the animal frame
25 to put them aside;
p. 27
l. 3 truth, are
4 which the fall
10 ignoring
14 (No division mark after l. 14)

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New Edition

p. 28
l. 8 appetency; and,
9 the connexion of Faith
11 or denied. At length the identity of this (so-called) spirituality of heart and the virtue of Faith was acknowledged on all hands. Some men indeed disapproved the pietism in question, others admired it; but whether they admired it or disapproved, both
18 Religion, and nothing else;
27 They learned to believe and to take it for granted,

First Edition

p. 47
l. 18 appetency, not an act of the intellect; and,
20 its connexion
22 or denied. The Prayer Book, indeed, contained the Creed, among other memorials of antiquity; but a question began to be agitated whether its recital was any thing better than the confession of a dead faith, the faith of devils, formal, technical, soul-deceiving, not the guarantee at all of what was deemed to be spiritual renovation. It was objected too, that whereas there was just one doctrine which was adapted
p. 48 to move the feelings, open the heart, and change corrupt nature, viz.-- the Atonement, that doctrine was not to be found there. Then again, spiritual-mindedness and heavenly-mindedness consisted, according tb the school in question, not, as a Catholic would say, in a straightforward acceptance of revealed truth, and an acting upon it, but in a dreamy and sickly state of soul; in an effort after religious conversation; in a facility of detailing what men called an experience; nay, I will add, in a constrained gravity of demeanour, and an unnatural tone of voice. Now many men laughed at all this, many men admired it; but whether they admired or laughed both
l. 16 Religion;
26 They learned to say,

Second Edition

p. 28
l.10 and

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New Edition

p. 29
l. 12 reason;
12 reason was nei-
ther its warrant, nor its instrument, and science has as little connexion with it as with the fashions of the season, or the state of the weather.
16 Gentlemen
17 which began with the religious changes of the sixteenth century, has led to conclusions, which the authors of those changes would be the first to denounce, and

26 (Division mark 5. after line 26.)
28 illustration
30 or in votes, or in the

First Edition

p. 49
l. 17 Reason;
17 Reason was not in the num-
ber. It is true, Rational Religion is spoken of in the circles in question; but, when you carefully consider the matter, you will find this does not mean a kind of Religion which is built upon Reason, but merely a Religion which does not interfere with Reason, which does not clash with what are considered rational ideas, with rational pursuits, rational enjoyment of life, and rational views of the next world.
28 which began with Luther, the Puritans, and Wesley,

p. 50
l. 7 (No division mark after l.7.)
8 support
11 or votes, or the

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Second Edition

p. 30
l. 7 fashions or
8 gentlemen
20 (No division mark after l. 20.)
24 or votes, or the

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New Edition

p. 30
l. 2 referring
3 walk; and who,
6 of separating secular and religious knowledge.
7 brilliant thinker
8 in behalf of this principle,
12 men,"
17 great truth
18 earth,"
24 stature."*
24 Gentlemen
26 anything
beyond themselves,
27 peculiarities,
31 Gentlemen

First Edition

p. 50
l. 15 alluding
16 walk; whose
talents have earned for him nobility at home, and a more than European name; and who,
21 of Mixed Education.
22 able person
23 in its behalf,
28 men",

p. 51
l. 5 Great Truth
6 earth",
12 stature".*
14 an
external object,
15 imaginations,

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Second Edition

p. 31
l. 4 alluding
11 in its behalf,

p. 32
l. 5 gentlemen
13 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 31
l. 15 would fall
18 anyhow
20 third; --
28 main
29 Gentlemen
32 sentiment,"
34 Education." I am far from intro-

First Edition

p. 52
l. 11 fell
15 any how
16 third;
24 sole
28 sentiment",

p. 53
l. 1 education".
What can be clearer than that, in this writer's idea

Second Edition

p. 33
l. 26 gentlemen

p. 34
l. 6 What can be clearer than that, in,

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New Edition

p. 32
l. 1 ducing this writer for his own sake, because I have no wish to hurt the feelings of a gentleman, who is but exerting himself zealously in the discharge of anxious cuties; but taking him as an illustration of the wide-spreading school of thought to which he belongs, I ask what can
7 his
13 a taste
17 Education
18 What
19 Educa-
tion is, it seems, not
21 anyhow
21 after the Unseen which
will arise in our minds in spite of ourselves,
27 good. As for
28 intellect, its exercise happens to be unavoidable, whenever moral impressions are made, from the constitution of the human mind, but it varies in the results of that exercise, in the conclusions which it draws from our impressions, according to the peculiarities of the individual.
33 Something (New paragraph.)

First Edition

p. 53
l. 3 (whom I am far from introducing for his own sake, because I have no wish to hurt the feelings of a gentleman, who is but exerting himself zealously in the discharge of anxious duties; I do but introduce him as an illustration of the wide-spreading school of thought to which he belongs); what, I say, can
10 that
16 a mere taste
21 education
22 Here is Lutheranism sublimated into philosophy; what
24 education, is, not
25 anyhow,
26 which will arise after the Unseen in spite of us,

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First Edition

p. 54
l. 3 good. The soul comes forth from her bower, for the adoration of the lecture-room and the saloon; like the first woman, in the poet's description,

"Grace is in all her steps, heaven in her eye,
In every gesture dignity and love".

As for intellect, on the other hand, its exercise is only indirect in religious education, as being an instrument in a moral work (true or false, it matters little, or rather anything must be true, which is capable of reaching the end proposed); or again, as the unavoidable attendant on moral impressions, from the constitution of the human mind, but varying with the peculiarities of the individual.*

15 Something (No new paragraph.)

* "In the diverse schools", he says, amongst which my labours are carried on, there are some, in which the Bible is the sole basis of religious instruction; and there are others, in which catechisms, or other abstracts of doctrine, are employed. As far as my own observation extends, it has ever appeared perfectly indifferent, as to the results, what precise method or instrumentality may be adopted. I have seen the happiest, and I have seen the most unsatisfactory results, alike under both systems. In each case, the mere instrument of teaching is of small importance compared to the spirit which is infused into it by the teacher. The danger in each case is, that of employing the instrument simply as the basis of an intellectual exercise, and losing sight of the moral and religious sentiment it is intended to draw forth".

Second Edition

p. 34
l. 7 this writer's idea (whom I am far from introducing for his own sake, because I have no wish to hurt the feelings of a gentleman, who is but exerting himself zealously in the discharge of anxious duties; I do but introduce

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Second Edition

p. 34
l. 12 him as an illustration of the wide-spreading school of thought to which he belongs); what, I say, can
15 that

p. 35
l. 6 anyhow,
7 which will arise after the Unseen in spite of us,
17 and it varies in its conclusions with the
19 Something (No new paragraph.)

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New Edition

p. 33
l. 8 earth
14 plain
16 the
being and attributes and works of the Creator.
17 (Division mark 6. after line 17.)
24 speakers on a memorable occasion. At the
very time
30 silence."
31 "Thou,"
31 all present,

First Edition

p. 55
l. 11 Earth,
17 plain,
19 the Creator.
20 (No division mark after l. 20.)
26 speakers, at the solem-
nities which took place, at the time when the principle of Mixed Education was first formally inaugurated in the metropolis of the sister island. On the occasion
p. 56
l. 7 silence".
7 "Thou",
7 all
the denominations present,

Second Edition

p. 36
l. 4 earth,
15 (No division mark after l. 15.)

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New Edition

p. 34
l. 3 Truth."
7 sentiments of the powerful
body whom this distinguished person there represented,
15 then certainly,
17 science,"
18 treats,"
20 science,"
22 them,"
24 his (mis-print)
25 direction,"

First Edition

p. 56
l. 13 Truth".
17 senti-
ments, not of this divine himself (for I am not
concerned with him personally), but of the powerful
body whom he there represented,
28 then,
29 science",

p. 57
l. 1 treats",
3 science",
5 them",
7 has
8 direction",

Second Edition

p. 37
l. 25 then,

p. 38
l. 9 has

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New Edition

p. 35
l. 15 comprehend,"
22 (Division mark 7. after line 22.)
24 Gentlemen
29 Universities without Theological teaching
31 denying the fact, nay, as a Catholic, with full conviction of it, nevertheless
33 mouths,

First Edition

p. 58
l. 6 comprehend".
13 (No division mark after l. 13.)
19 Mixed Education
21 denying, nay, as a Catholic, with full conviction of the fact, -- yet
23 mouth,

Second Edition

p. 39
l. 23 (No division mark after l. 23.)
24 gentlemen

p. 40
l. 8 conviction of it;

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New Edition

p. 36
l. 13 who is all-sufficient
for Himself;
15 sooner or later,
17 One
19 One
21 subject-matter
24 implicated Himself in
28 subject-matter
30 Education
31 implies in
the mind of a Catholic:
34 and, even though

First Edition

p. 59
l. 8 who passed an
eternity by Himself;
10 at the end
of time,
12 one
14 one
17 subject matter
20 mixed Himself up with
24 subject matter
26 education
27 implies:
p. 60
l. 1 and, though

Second Edition

p. 41
l. 4 one
6 one
12 mixed Himself up with
21 implies:

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New Edition

p. 37
l. 1 in the religious tenets of the last three centuries
2 truth, still,
8 divine influences
25 wills,"
26 Fate;"
26 provides,"
27 Chances;"
27 acts,"
28 Sense;"
28 where,"
29 Nature."
32 If,

First Edition

p. 60
l. 1 in Protestantism,
as such
2 truth (and I have
shown there is a great deal), still,
9 influences
of grace
28 wills",
28 Fate";
28 provides",
29 Chance";
29 acts",

p. 61
l. 1 Sense";
2 where",
2 Nature".
5 If

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New Edition

p. 38
l. 1 through
1 called
2 all
21 long
27 impression,
31 still,

First Edition

p. 61
l. 9 through,
9 called,
10 all,

p. 62
l. 1 long,
7 impression
11 still

Second Edition

p. 43
l. 13 through,

p. 44
l. 11 long,
22 still

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New Edition

p. 39
l. 1 I understand (new paragraph)
3 anticipations,
5 for heresy does not lie in the region of fact and experiment.
7 sentiment,"
8 treat,"
11 truth,"
11 truth is not something separate from Nature, but is Nature with a divine
13 Physical
14 Physical Nature
26 (Division mark 8. after line 26.)
32 Nature;"
34 life,"

First Edition

p. 62
l. 15 I understand (no new paragraph)
18 conclusions,
20 for it does but lie itself in the province of opinion.
22 sentiment",
23 treat",
26 truth",
26 truth is but Nature with a divine
28 Natural
29 Nature
p. 63
l. 12 (No division mark after l. 12.)
18 Nature";
20 life",

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Second Edition

p. 44
l. 26 I understand (no new paragraph)
p. 45
l. 15 Natural
17 Nature
p. 46
l. 4 (No division after l. 4.)

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New Edition

p. 40
l. 2 Gentlemen
3 Deity
sufficient
10 Metaphysics, vix., of
11 acute,
16 not indeed
in defence,
25 whereas,
27 it, --
28 it, --
30 admitting,
24 "Allowing,"

First Edition

p. 63
l. 23 Deity amid "solemn
silence", sufficient
p. 64
l. 2 Metaphysics, of
4 acute
8 not in defence,
17 whereas
19 it,
20 it,
22 doing,
26 "Allowing",

Second Edition

p. 46
l. 15 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 41
l. 10 supposition
13 virtues."
20 Education:

First Edition

p. 65
l. 8 supposition,
12 virtues".
20 Education;

Second Edition

p. 48
l. 13 supposition,

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New Edition

p. 42
l. 1 (Division mark 9. before l. 1.)
1 knowledge
4 here
8 University Teaching without Theology
10 Astronomy
11 In my next (new paragraph)
11 show
12 sciences

First Edition

p. 65
l. 6 (No division mark after l. 6.)
p. 66
l. 7 Knowledge
10 here,
15 Mixed Education, at least in a University,
17 astronomy
17 In my next (no new paragraph)
18 show,
19 sciences,

Second Edition

p. 49
l. 16 (No division mark after l. 16.)
18 Knowledge
26 University Education
p. 50
l. 3 In my next (no new paragraph)
5 sciences,

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New Edition

p. 43

Discourse III

Bearing of Theology on Other Branches of Knowledge.

I.

l. 6 nor
18 any one's
20 not found
talking

First Edition

p. 67

Discourse III

l. 1 (No division mark before line 1.)
6 or

p. 68
l. 2 anyone's
5 not talking

Second Edition

p. 51

Discourse II

l. 1 (No division mark before line 1.)

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New Edition

p. 44
l. 12 way,"
14 Science."
17 Schools of Science,
19 public
20 private
22 persons, they seem to say, may
28 this representation,
32 Gentlemen
32 if my subject should oblige me
to pursue a lengthy and careful course of thought, which
may be wearisome to the hearer:--

First Edition

P. 18 way",
21 Science".
24 schools of science,
27 public
28 private
29 persons may
p. 69
l. 6 this view of the subject,
10 if I find
it necessary to sacrifice composition to logical distinctness, and trust to the subject itself to give interest to processes of thought, which I fear in themselves may be wearisome to follow:--

---

Second Edition

p. 53
l. 9 public
10 private
25 gentlemen
26 a course of thought

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New Edition

p. 45
l. 1 (Division mark 2. before line 1.)
13 subject for contemplation
23 wonderful

First Edition

p. 69
l. 15 (No division mark after l. 15.)
29 object
p. 70
l. 10 wonderful,

Second Edition

p. 54
l. 2 (No division mark after l. 2.)
p. 55
l. 5 wonderful,

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New Edition

p. 46
l. 2 itself a knowledge of that universe
15 but a richer one.
17 lastly,
18 subject-matters
20 things
25 nor do they bring

First Edition

p. 70
l. 22 itself that universe
p. 71
l. 6 but goes deeper into it;
8 lastly
9 subject matters
12 things,
17 nor bring

Second Edition

p. 55
l. 18 itself that universe

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New Edition

p. 47
l. 8 importance;
9 importance
13 subject-matter,
13 under its
15 separate
19 independence
19 then
20 connexion
20 subject-matter.
20 altogether,
21 they approximate
22 as nearly as is
possible
26 away,
29 (Division mark 3. after line 29.)

First Edition

p. 72
l. 8 importance:
8 importance,
13 subject matter,
14 under
15 independent
19 distinctness
20 then,
20 identity
21 subject matter.
21 all together,
21 they become
the nearest approximation
23 possible
27 wanting,

p. 73
l. 2 (No division mark after line 2.)

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Second Edition

p. 57
l. 17 importance,
p. 58
l. 4 then,
16 (No division mark after l. 16.)

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New Edition

p. 48
l. 2 relations
2 subject-matter,
3 and
12 named,
21 or to or to or to
27 general
34 Anatomy, Chemistry,

First Edition

p. 73
l. 6 relations,
7 subject matter,
7 and,
18 alluded to,
27 or or or

p. 74
l. 5 general,
13 Physiology,

Second Edition

p. 59
l. 25 general,

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New Edition

p. 49
l. 1 Dynamics,
2 several conclusions
3 things,
5 do
5 object
9 projectile
16 the forces it contemplates
24 as, for instance, that
what happened
25 that there
28 Now to Newton metaphysicians grant all
34 movement

First Edition

p. 74
l. 13 Geology,
15 conclusions
16 facts,
17 do
18 object,
22 projectile,
29 impulsive forces

p. 75
l. 9 as, that the true explanation of phenomena
is that which assigns them to the fewest causes; and
this presupposes others, as, that there is such a thing
as cause and effect at all, that order implies causation,
that there is any real cause but the One First Cause,
that the theory of the Occasionists is false, and
that what happened
16 moreover, that phenomena are facts, that there
18 Now metaphysicians grant to Newton all
25 passage

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Second Edition

p. 60
l. 13 do
14 object,

p. 61
l. 22 passage

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New Edition

p. 50
l. 20 facts
22 everything
25 the reading of the Scriptures,
26 (Division mark 4. after line 26.)
28 up, Gentlemen, what
29 that all knowledge forms one whole, because its
30 subject-matter is one; for the universe in its length and breadth is so intimately knit together, that we cannot separate off portion from portion, and operation from operation, except by a mental abstraction; and then

---

First Edition

p. 76
l. 17 facts,
19 every thing
22 study of the Protestant Bible,
24 (No division mark after line 24.)
25 Unless I am insisting on too plain a point, I would ask you, Gentlemen, to consider how prominent a place Induction holds in modern philosophy. It is especially the instrument of physical discovery; yet it is singularly deficient in logical cogency, and its
p. 77 deficiency illustrates the incompleteness of the sciences, severally, which respectively use it, for the ascertainment of particular matters of fact. Its main principle, I suppose, is this:-- that what in our investigations is ever tending to be universal, may be considered universal. We assume that general proposition to be true, which is ever getting more and more like truth, the more we try it; we call that a proof, which is but a growing proof. We argue from some or many to all. Induction, thus described, is surely open to error; for, when engaged in the accumulation of instances, which are to subserve the elucidation of some particular science, it may have its path crossed any moment by the decisions of other sciences with reference to the remaining instances which it has not yet comprised in its investigation. In such a case it is of course at once interrupted and brought to a stop; and what actually takes place as regards some attempted inductions,

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First Edition

p. 77
l. 20 may be of possible occurrence in many others. That is, the induction is complete for the purpose of determining the existence of a general law in the particular science which is using it; but that law is only proved to be general, not universal; inasmuch as particular instances, in which it ought to hold good, and which in fact have not been constituent elements of the induction, may after all fall under some general law of some other science also, which succeeds in modifying or changing them. For instance, supposing
p. 78 Euphrates has flowed in its bed for three hundred and sixty days continuously in the current year, we may infer a general law, and expect securely that it will flow on through the five days, which, being future, are external to the induction; and so, physically speaking, it will flow; yet in matter of fact it did not flow on those remaining days at a certain historical era, for Cyrus turned it aside, and removed the question out of physics into politics and strategics. A physical lecturer would not be endured, who denied the historical fact of the anomalous course of the stream, because he would not take into account the volition and the agency of man, as foreign to his science; yet certainly he would be right in saying that, according to physics, the river ought to flow on, and on the hypothesis of physics did flow in its bed all through the five days, as it was wont. Such is the fallacy of experimental science, when narrowed to some single department, instead of expanding into all. In political arrangements the majority compels the outstanding minority; but in the philosophy of induction, as some are accustomed to apply it, the many actually deny the existence of the few.

24 up what
24 that,
25 no science is complete in itself, when viewed as an instrument of attaining the knowledge of facts; that every science, for this purpose, subserves the rest; and, in consequence, that

---

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Second Edition

p. 62
l. 20 facts,

p. 63
l. 2 (No division mark after l. 2.)
3 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 51
l. 1 again, as to its Creator, though He of course in His own Being is infinitely separate from it, and Theology has its departments towards which human knowledge has no relations, yet He has so implicated Himself with it, and taken it into His very bosom, by His presence in it, His providence over it, His impressions upon it, and His influence through it, that we cannot truly or fully contemplate it without in some main aspects contemplating Him. Next, sciences are the results of that mental abstraction, which I have spoken of, being the logical record of this or that aspect of the whole subject-matter of knowledge. As they all belong to one and the same circle of objects, they are one and all connected together; as they are but aspects of things, they are severally incomplete in their relation to the things themselves, though complete in their own idea and for their own respective purposes; on both accounts they at once need and subserve each other. And further, the comprehension of the bearings of one science on another, and the use of each to each, and the location and limitation and adjustment and due appreciation of them all, one with another, this belongs, I conceive, to a sort of science distinct from all of them, and in some sense a science of sciences, which is my own conception of what is meant by Philosophy, in the true sense of the word, and of a philosophical habit of mind, and which in these Discourses I shall call by that name. This is what I have to say about knowledge and philosophical knowledge generally; and now I proceed to apply it to the particular science, which has led me to draw it out.
I say, then, that the systematic omission of

32 catalogue

First Edition

p. 78
l. 28 the systematic omission of (Material of New Edition lines 1 to 31 omitted.)
29 catalogue,

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Second Edition

p. 63
l. 11 it, yet
16 without contemplating

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New Edition

p. 52
l. 3 certain on account of the Giver than
4 Theology, so far as it is relative to us, or is the Science of Religion, do
10 Church, in certain of its aspects, its religious teaching, is
13 phraseology, its explanation of dogmas is influenced by ecclesiastical acts or events; its interpretations
17 geologist;
28 it

First Edition

p. 79
l. 5 certain than
6 Theology do
11 Church, is
14 phraseology, its interpretations
17 geologist,
29 it,

Second Edition

p. 64
l. 25 Theology do

p. 65
l. 5 Church is
8 phraseology, its interpretations

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New Edition

p. 53
l. 1 the Science of Religion
3 us."
6 (Division mark 5. after line 6.)
8 see,
17 man."*
22 anywhere

First Edition

p. 80
l. 6 Theology
8 us".
11 (No division mark after line 11.)
12 see
19 man".*
25 any where

---

p. 66
l. 5 Theology
11 (No division mark after line 11.)

p. 67
l. 2 any where

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New Edition

p. 54
l. 3 world
9 in order to
14 clergy
18 question
20 This is accordingly done. Henceforth man
31 It is (New paragraph.)
31 Gentlemen

First Edition

p. 81
l. 14 world,
20 and to
26 ministers

p. 82
l. 1 question,
3 The Privy Council issues an order to that effect. Man
15 It is (No new paragraph.)

Second Edition

p. 67
l. 19 world,
26 to

p. 68
l. 6 ministers
11 question,
26 It is (No new paragraph)

p. 69
l. 1 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 55
l. 4 prospectus
10 effect
12 anxious
13 conclusion
23 works, "in solemn
silence," in their scheme of University Education.
25 Let a charter be obtained for it; let professors be appointed,

---

First Edition

p. 82
l. 23 Prospectus

p. 83
l. 1 effect,
2 painful
3 conclusion,
14 works, with
"heads uncovered" and"in solemn silence".
16 The project becomes popular; money flows in
apace; a charter is obtained; professors are appointed,

Second Edition

p. 69
l. 10 Prospectus
17 effect,
20 conclusion,

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New Edition

p. 56
l. 8 professor
13 effect
14 the world
15 intelligence
18 hand
20 say, after
25 work, every external act of

First Edition

p. 84
l. 6 Professor
12 effect,
12 it,
13 life
16 hand,
19 say, in a brilliant
Lecture before a thronging audience, after
25 work, or ex-
ternal act, of

Second Edition

p. 71
l. 10 effect,
11 world,

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New Edition

p. 57
l. 1 art,"
2 "duty," "right," and "heroism,"
4 At
length he undertakes
14 or of
20 nature? Those laws are the causes of our carpets, our furniture, our travelling, and our social intercourse. Firm
30 (Division mark 6. after line 30.)
32 Gentlemen

First Edition

p. 85
l. 7 art",
8 "duty", "right", and
"heroism",
11 What indeed is art, confessedly, but a modification and a microcosm of nature? Was not Bacon himself obliged to allow that no one overcomes Nature but by yielding to her? Warming with his subject, the Lecturer undertakes

25 or

p. 86
l. 2 nature? Firm
11 (No division mark after line 11.)

Second Edition

p. 73
l. 17 (No division mark after line 17.)
18 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 58
l. 11 things
19 theories.
25 Teaching
28 hypothesis or
partial truth,
29 not so if
30 facts
31 Granting,
32 course
33 influences

First Edition

p. 86
l. 25 things,
p. 87
l. 4 theories;
he would forget the Poet's maxim,
"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy".
14 Education
17 hypothesis,
18 not, if
18 fact
19 Granting
21 course,
22 influences,

Second Edition

p. 74
l. 24 Education
p. 75
l. 4 fact
7 course,
8 influences,

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New Edition

p. 59
l. 11 even though it be not true;
17 illustration. If the creature is ever setting in motion an endless series of physical causes and effects, much more is the Creator; and as our excluding
20 soul, so
21 Divine Agency
34 God? I have

First Edition

p. 88
l. 5 if not true;
13 illustration. Our excluding
14 soul; and
15 divine agency
29 God? See, Gentle-
p.89 men, I have run beyond the first portion of the argument to which this Discourse is devoted. I have

---

Second Edition

p. 76
l. 3 Our excluding
4 soul; and
21 God? See, gentlemen, I have now run beyond the first portion of the argument to which this Discourse is devoted. I have

---

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New Edition

p. 60
l. 1 us as one,
2 subject-matter
6 agents,
11 that
16 This is a general statement; but now as to Theology in particular,
20 proving?
24 (Division mark 7. after line 24.)
27 place (though
Catholic),

First Edition

p. 89
l. 4 us, to use scholastic language, per modum unius,
6 subject matter
10 agents;
14 that,
20 This general statement is the first branch of my argument; and now comes my second which is its application, and will not occupy us so long. I say the second question simply regards the Science of God, or Theology, viz.,
28 proving.
p. 90
l. 2 (No division mark after line 2.)
4 place, though Catholic,

Second Edition

p. 77
l. 17 This general statement is the first branch of my argument; and now comes my second, which is its application, and will not occupy us so long. I say, the second question simply regards the Science of God, or Theology, viz.,
p. 78
l. 5 (No division mark after line 5.)
8 place, though Catholic,

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New Edition

p. 61
l. 2 Neither, secondly,
3 Physical Theology;
8 "Natural" properly
12 Religion,"
13 Evidences;"
17 Christianity,"
18 Christianity,"
19 land,"
24 Scripture
25 much

First Edition

p. 12 Neither on the other hand,
14 Physical;
18 "natural"
really
23 Religion",
24 Evidences";
29 Christianity",
29 Christianity",
p. 91
l. 1 land",
6 Scripture,
7 various

Second Edition

p. 78
l. 16 Neither on the
other hand
19 Physical;
24 "natural" really
p. 79
l. 19 Scripture,

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New Edition

p. 62
l. 5 contrary,
10 Being
10 moreover,
15 who,
18 intenseness
23 One
34 mean,

First Edition

p. 91
l. 23 contrary
28 being
28 moreover

p. 92
l. 5 who
7 greatness
13 one
24 mean

Second Edition

p. 80
l. 13 contrary
20 moreover
26 who

p. 81
l. 9 one
23 mean

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New Edition

p. 63
l. 3 and
has on rational beings
11 subject-matter
13 and in particular aspects to be simply external to nature,
and to seem in parts even to be
16 infinite,
17 all-blessed,
24 to have
28 nature

First Edition

p. 92
l. 28 and on
rational beings has
p. 93
l. 7 subject matter
9 and to seem even in parts to be
12 infinite
12 all blessed
20 to feel
25 nature,

Second Edition

p. 82
l. 11 and to seem even in parts to be
15 infinite
24 to feel
p. 83
l. 3 nature,

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New Edition

p. 64
l. 4 has substance.
14 insect
33 empires,

First Edition

p. 94
l. 6 has.
17 insect,

p. 95
l. 7 Empires,

Second Edition

p. 83
l. 14 has.

p. 84
l. 1 insect,
23 Empires,

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New Edition

p. 65
l. 7 world."
10 irradiation
18 betoken

First Edition

p. 95
l. 16 world".
19 radiation
28 bespeak

Second Edition

p. 85
l. 10 radiation
20 bespeak

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New Edition

p. 66
l. 14 (Division mark 8. after line 14.)

First Edition

p. 97
l. 2 (No division mark after line 2.)

Second Edition

p. 87
l. 5 (No division mark after line 5.)

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New Edition

p. 67
l. 5 hand,
19 half-a-dozen
(Division mark 9. after line 19.)
21 led to
22 argument in its behalf, -- I mean its wide
24 minds,

First Edition

p. 97
l. 27 hand

p. 98
l. 13 two
(No division mark after line 13.)
14 led again to direct your attention,
Gentlemen, to
16 argument, -- its wide
17 minds;

Second Edition

p. 88
l. 24 two
(No division mark after line 24.)
25 led, gentlemen, to

p. 89
l. 1 for the doctrine, --

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New Edition

p. 68
l. 1 imposing
3 is, being false.
7 except by
11 and Butler,
20 received
a formation or attained a completeness such as Monotheism?
30 and which
could

First Edition

p. 98
l. 28 strong

p. 99
l. 1 is, false.
6 without
10 Butler,
20 in respect of formation or completion, to compare with that of Monotheism?

p. 100
l. 1 and could

Second Edition

p. 89
l. 16 strong
18 is, false.
23 without

p. 90
l. 2 Butler,

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New Edition

p. 69
l.4 (Division mark 10. after line 4.)
6 Gentlemen
23 intelligent
32 supposing that

First Edition

p. 100
l. 9 (No division mark after line 9.)
28 Intelligent

p. 101
l. 8 if that

Second Edition

p. 91
l. 7 (No division mark after line 7.)
8 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 70
l. 4 out
6 Teaching
8 tragedians

First Edition

p. 101
l. 13 out,
15 Education
18 tragedians,

Second Edition

p. 92
l. 25 tragedians,

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New Edition

p. 71 Discourse IV.
Bearing of Other Branches of Knowledge on Theology
I.

l. 1 large
4 token
6 To the multitude who draw this inference, it matters not whether the protesting parties avow their belief in its contrariety or not; it is borne in upon the many, as if it were self-evident,
12 recognize
13 progress, if it is not arrested, will be certain to destroy all
17 dread the sacred text,

First Edition

p. 103 Discourse IV.
l. 1 (No division mark before line 1.)
1 large,
4 token,
6 It matters not to the multitude who draw this inference, whether the protesting parties are aware that it can be drawn or not; it is borne in upon the many, so to say, as self-evident,
12 recognise
13 progress will be certain to destroy, if it is not arrested, all

p. 104
l. 1 dread it,

Second Edition

p. 93 Discourse III.
l. 1 (No division mark before line 1.)
2 large,
5 token,
7 It matters not to the multitude who draws this inference

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Second Edition

p. 93
l. 10 so to say,
as self-evident,
15 progress will be certain to

p. 94
l. 1 destroy, if it is not arrested, all
5 dread it,

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New Edition

p. 72
l. 5 side
29 this
31 written,

First Edition

p. 104
l. 10 side,

p. 105
l. 6 this,
9 unwritten

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New Edition

p. 73
l. 8 province
17 (Division mark 2. after line 17.)
22 observe,
29 law, political economy, and physiology
32 history,

First Edition

p. 105
l. 20 sciences
28 (No division mark after line 28.)

p. 106
l. 3 observe
11 physiology and political economy;

Second Edition

p. 96
l. 9 sciences
18 (No division mark after line 18.)

p. 97
l. 9 history

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New Edition

p. 74
l. 1 subject-matter
12 limits
24 (Division mark 3. after line 24.)
31 mainly sights

First Edition

p. 106
l. 16 subject matter
28 limits,

p. 107 (No division mark after line 11.)
l. 16 sights

Second Edition

p. 97
l. 25 limits,

p. 98
l. 12 (No division mark after line 12.)
18 sights

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New Edition

p. 75
l. 2 have been seen
3 in its constituent parts.
4 beautiful
6 notes into the
expression of a whole,
9 contours. It distinguishes between
rule and exception, between accident and design. It
assigns
14 philosophizes
27 nothing; and
28 intellect
30 off-hand

First Edition

p. 107
l. 21 be seen
22 in detail.
23 beautiful,
25 notes, as
it were, into a point of time
28 contours. It assigns

p. 108
l. 2 philosophises
18 nothing: and,
19 intellect,
21 offhand

Second Edition

p. 98
l. 24 be seen
24 in detail.
p. 99
l. 2 notes, as it were, into
a point of time,
p. 100
l. 1 nothing: and,
2 intellect,

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New Edition

p. 76
l. 2 nay,
4 scene?
5 any view.
11 nevertheless
13 truth.
13 (Division mark 4. after line 13.)
24 but
31 to the narrowness of his knowledge,
31 distrust
32 his absolute
conviction

First Edition

p. 108
l. 28 nay

p. 109
l. 1 scene,
2 any!
8 yet
11 true one.
11 (No division mark after line 11.)
21 yet
29 as his knowledge is narrow,

p. 110
l. 1 diffidence
2 his conviction

Second Edition

p. 100
l. 15 any.
22 yet
25 true one.
25 (No division mark after l. 25.)
p. 101
l. 19 as his
knowledge is narrow,

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New Edition

p. 77
l. 11 ideas,
15 excess, viz. at the
34 art.'

First Edition

p. 110
l. 14 ideas
18 excess, at a

p. 111
l. 9 art'.

Second Edition

p. 102
l. 9 ideas
14 excess, at

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New Edition

p. 78
l. 2 pronunciant,'
3 deciding.'"
3 (Division mark 5. after line 3.)
14 perverted
27 Noble

First Edition

p. 111
l. 11 pronunciant',
12 deciding'".
12 (No division mark after line 12.)
24 perverted,

p. 112
l. 8 Noble,

Second Edition

p. 103
l. 15 (No division mark after l. 15.)

p. 104
l. 1 perverted,

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New Edition

p. 79
l. 3 life in them,
5 different
14 first,
17 but
19 ends
21 did but mingle adorable figures and sacred histories with a multitude of
23 the Art
28 Gentlemen
29 was bound to exert itself
31 Painting
32 it
33 would have

First Edition

p. 112
l. 18 life,
20 different,
p. 113
l. 2 first
4 but,
6 ends,
8 adorable figures and
sacred histories did but mingle amid the train of the
10 it
17 must exert itself
19 painting
20 them
21 would have had

Second Edition

p. 105
l. 3 different,
18 but,
20 ends,

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Second Edition

p. 105
l. 22 adorable figures and sacred
histories did but mingle amid the train of the
24 it

p. 106
l. 5 gentlemen
9 painting

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New Edition

p. 80
l. 5 intense, and dazzling,
9 (Division mark 6. after line 9.)
15 think
22 also, in
23 certain
27 science also,
31 still ideas after all which are not these
32 Revelation

First Edition

p. 113
l. 27 intense and dazzling
p. 114
l. 3 (No division mark after l. 3.)
8 suppose
15 also, as well in
16 certain,
20 science,
25 still after all not those
25 Revealed
Religion

Second Edition

p. 106
l. 18 intense and dazzling
23 (No division mark after l. 23.)
p. 107
l. 3 suppose
11 also, as well in
12 certain,

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New Edition

p. 81
l. 3 thoughts
6 everything
8 borne
upon
17 but,
20 resolve by means of his art to
24 will be
carried on rather to use
25 than to minister
28 must humbly
29 must aim
30 (Division mark 7. after line 30.)

First Edition

p. 115
l. 1 thoughts,
4 every thing
7 borne on upon
16 but
19 resolve to
23 will rather use
24 than minister
27 humbly
28 aim
29 (No division mark after line 29.)

Second Edition

p. 108
l. 23 resolve to
p. 109
l. 2 will rather use
8 (No division mark after line 8.)

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New Edition

p. 82
l. 3 befits ecclesiastical structures.
8 possesses
12 to be the growth of an idea,
15 danger
16 gift
18 ago
20 that
26 but to
34 have been

First Edition

p. 116
l. 5 ecclesiastical structures demand.
11 possesses,
15 to have an idea in it,
18 danger,
19 gift,
22 ago,
24 a
29 to
p. 117
l. 10 are

Second Edition

p. 109
l. 13 ecclesiastical structures demand.
26 to have an idea in it,
p. 110
l. 4 gift,
8 ago,

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New Edition

p. 83
l. 1 and hence an
2 (Division mark 8. after line 2.)
4 out how
5 by laying down the law in cases where they should be subservient.
15 not to the
16 find their disciples, if disinclined to the Catholic Faith, acting the part of opponents to it, and that, as may often happen, even against their will and intention.
25 semi-conscious
28 to the neglect of Theology,

First Edition

p. 117
l. 10 and an
11 (No division mark after line 11.)
12 out to you, Gentlemen, how
13 by giving the law where they should be subservient.
24 not the
24 find those who are disinclined to the Catholic Faith, even against their will and intention, as may often happen, acting the part of opponents to it.
p. 118
l. 4 semiconscious
8 not Theology,

Second Edition

p. 111
l. 3 (No division mark after line 3.)
4 out to you, gentlemen, how
7 not Theology,

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New Edition

p. 84
l. 6 shrink,
10 have wished
23 landmarks
26 (Division mark 9. after line 26.)
33 Anatomy

First Edition

p. 118
l. 19 shrink
23 wish

p. 119
l. 7 land marks
10 (No division mark after line 10.)
17 Anatomy,

Second Edition

p. 113
l. 18 (No division mark after line 18.)
26 Anatomy,

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New Edition

p. 85
l. 5 anyhow
7 and
in cultivating
12 public.
14 viz., that
15 subject-matter
16 that of spiri-
tual beings,
31 but can scarcely be applied in cases

First Edition

p. 119
l. 21 any how
24 and cultivating
28 public.*
* Since writing the above, I have found grounds for believing that the work in question had more of purpose than I had imagined. This does not affect the general argument.
p. 120
l. 4 subject matter
5 of spiritual substances,
20 but is superseded in cases

Second Edition

p. 114
l. 17 that, viz.,

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New Edition

p. 86
l. 2 might rule
3 (Division mark 10. after line 3.)
5 science, and
will use more words about it.
14 covetousness,"
17 temptation;"
16 evils;"
18 God;"
22 Lord;"
23 eat;"
26 infidel."
29 life."
34 Judas,"

First Edition

p. 120
l. 24 ruled
25 (No division mark after line 25.)
26 science.
p. 121
l. 8 covetousness",
10 evils";
11 temptations";
12 God";
16 Lord";
18 eat";
21 infidel".
24 life".
29 Judas",

Second Edition

p. 115
l. 17 (No division mark after line 17.)
19 science.

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New Edition

p. 87
l. 3 ridiculous,"
7 creature."
8 heart,"
9 dwelling."
11 anywhere
12 needless
12 testimonies,
14 Now,
14 Gentlemen
17 gaining wealth and disposing of wealth, and can
23 anything
24 from the very moment that it is
28 busy

First Edition

p. 122
l. 4 ridiculous",
7 creature".
8 heart",
9 dwelling".
12 any where
13 useless
13 passages
15 Now
18 gaining wealth, and can
24 any thing
25 directly it is
29 busying

Second Edition

p. 117
l. 13 any where
15 useless
15 passages
17 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 88
l. 1 say,
2 independent of the question whether he be right
6 that
8 if;"
13 advisable
14 says,
16 is."
21 virtuous
21 (Division mark 11. after line 21.)
23 the actual Political Economist, in his present fashionable shape.

First Edition

p. 123
l. 7 say
8 whether he be right
12 that,
14 if";
20 profitable
20 says
22 is".
27 virtuous,
28 (No division mark after line 28.)
29 the Poli-
p.124 tical Economist, a fashionable philosopher just now.

Second Edition

p. 119
l. 12 virtuous,
13 (No division mark after line 13.)
14 the Political Economist, a fashionable philosopher just now.

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New Edition

p. 89
l. 3 anywhere
16 Professor.
17 Gentlemen

First Edition

p. 124
l. 13 any where
27 Professor, imme-
diately on the endowment of its chair by Mr. Henry Drummond of Albury Park.

Second Edition

p. 120
l. 21 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 90
l. 4 individual."
7 impossible."
18 sciences."*
25 No
29 science."
30 or
* Intro. Lecture on Pol. Econ. pp. 11,12.

First Edition

p. 125
l. 22 individual".
26 impossible".

p. 126
l. 8 sciences".*
15 no
19 science".
22 or a
* See pages 11, 12.

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New Edition

p. 91
l. 15 Philosophy; nor in-
deed on the other hand a question for Political Economy;
not a question for Science at all;
18 (Division mark 12. after line 18.)
23 improvement."
27 that, ordinarily, beggary
33 good; moreover,

First Edition

p. 127
l. 11 Philosophy, and if not for Political Economy, then not
for science at all,
13 (No division mark after line 13.)
17 improvement".
21 that
beggary
28 good to those who come under

Second Edition

p. 123
l. 24 (No division mark after line 24.)

p. 124
l. 8 that beggary

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New Edition

p. 92
l. 7 accumulate,"
8 enjoyment;"
10. source,"
14. improvement."
15 "the
15 mankind,"
19 Gentlemen
20 surprise, one is startled, on
23 institution,"
28 save."
33 also;"

First Edition

p. 128
l. 6 accumulate",
7 enjoyment";
9 source",
14 improvement".
14 the
15 mankind,
19 surprise on
22 institution",
28 save".
p. 129
l. 4 also";

Second Edition

p. 125
l. 11 gentlemen
12 surprise on

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New Edition

p. 93
l. 5 steal."
7 accumulation;
7 the practice
of Religion
10 wealth;
11 and
15 last
23 superstition."*
27 God."
* Intr. Lect., p. 16.

First Edition

p. 129
l. 9 steal".
11 accumulation,
12 Religion
14 wealth:
16 therefore
19 best
27 superstition".*
* See page 16.

p. 130
l. 3 God".

Second Edition

p. 126
l. 15 wealth:

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New Edition

p. 94
l. 6 ideas,"
8 say
11 to be truths,
12 They
13 true, exceptis excipiendis; what is true,
19 (Division mark 13. after line 19.)
28 Catholic doctrine;
29 abstractedly
conceivable
31 doctrine, which would be sufficient
32 claims on our acceptance;
33 testimony to

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p. 130
l. 16 ideas",
17 say,
21 as such,
22 In short, as people speak, they
23 true with modifications; true,
29 (No division mark after line 29.)

p. 131
l. 8 Religious Truth;
10 conceivable
11 truth, sufficient
12 claims;
13 evidences of

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p. 128
l. 6 as such,
15 (No division mark after line 15.)
25 Religious Truth
p. 129
l. 2 truth, sufficient
3 claims;
4 evidences of

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p. 95
l. 1 valued
3 true
6 times
17 it.
17 Protestants argue
in a parallel way
19 on the ground
33 be

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p. 131
l. 14 exalted,
16 true,
20 times,

p. 132
l. 3 it.*
* Vide the Author's work on Development of Doctrine. p. 139.
3 In a parallel way, Protestants argue
5 because
19 be,

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p. 129
l. 6 exalted,
8 true,
25 In a parallel
way, Protestants argue

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l. 17 be,

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p. 96
l. 3 appear
4 of his peculiar
12 (Division mark 14. after line 12.)
26 the encroachment.
30 this occupation
32 these foreign sciences
32 certain principles

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l. 23 promise
24 of

p. 133
l. 4 (No division mark after line 4.)
18 it.
22 it
23 those sciences
24 principles

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l. 6 (No division mark after l. 6.)

p. 132
l. 4 those sciences

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p. 97
l. 4 if the Antiquarian
says,
6 documents;" or if the Philosophic Historian
says,
8 or if
9 or if
10 virtuous."
12 and it is Private Judgment that infects
13 Theology, a hostility
which
15 Gentlemen
22 astronomy
29 (Division mark 15. after line 29.)
31 And now I consider I have said enough in proof of the first point, which I undertook to maintain, viz., the claim of Theology to be represented among the Chairs

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p. 133
l. 28 to say with the Antiquarian

p. 134
l. 2 documents"; or with the Philosophic Historian,
4 or with
5 or with
6 virtuous".
8 and Private Judgment infects
9 Theo-
logy, which
19 Science
26 (Discourse ends. Material of section fifteen, New Edition omitted.)

Second Edition

p. 132
l. 10 to say with the Antiquarian,
12 or with the Philosophic Historian,
14 or with

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Second Edition

p. 132
l. 16 or with
21 Theology, which
23 gentlemen

p. 133
l. 6 Science?
14 (No division mark after line 14.)

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New Edition

p. 98
l. 1 of a University. I have shown, I think, that exclusiveness really attaches, not to those who support that claim, but to those who dispute it. I have argued in its behalf, first, from the consideration that, whereas it is the very profession of a University to teach all sciences, on this account it cannot exclude Theology without being untrue to its profession. Next, I have said that, all sciences being connected together, and having bearings one on another, it is impossible to teach them all thoroughly, unless they all are taken into account, and Theology among them. Moreover, I have insisted on the important influence, which Theology in matter of fact does and must exercise over a great variety of sciences, completing and correcting them; so that, granting it to be a real science occupied upon truth, it cannot be omitted without great prejudice to the teaching of the rest. And lastly, I have urged that, supposing Theology be not taught, its province will not simply be neglected, but will be actually usurped by other sciences, which will teach, without warrant, conclusions of their own in a subject-matter which needs its own proper principles for its due formation and disposition.

Abstract statements are always unsatisfactory; these, as I have already observed, could be illustrated at far greater length than the time allotted to me for the purpose has allowed. Let me hope that I have said enough upon the subject to suggest thoughts, which those who take an interest in it may pursue for themselves.

First Edition

(This material was not in the First Edition. It replaces the Discourse V which is copied on the following pages.)

Second Edition

p. 133
l. 23 consideration
p. 134
l. 1 said,
13 urged,
22 length,

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First Edition

p. 135
l. 1

DISCOURSE V.

General Knowledge Viewed As One Philosophy.

It is a prevalent notion just now, that religious opinion does not enter, as a matter of necessity, in any considerable measure, into the treatment of scientific or literary subjects. It is supposed, that, whatever a teacher's persuasion may be, whether Christian or not, or whatever kind or degree of Christianity, it need not betray itself in such lectures or publications as the duties of his office require. Whatever he holds about the Supreme Being, His attributes and His works, be it truth or error, does not make him better or worse in experiment or speculation. He can discourse upon plants, or insects, or birds, or the powers of the mind, or languages, or historical documents, or literature, or any other such matter of fact, with equal accurateness and profit, whatever he may determine about matters which are entirely distinct from them.

In answer to this representation I contended last
p. 136 week, that a positive disunion takes place between Theology and Secular Science, whenever they are not actually united. Here, not to be at peace is to be at war; and for this reason: -- The assemblage of Sciences, which together make up Universal Knowledge, is not an accidental or a varying heap of acquisitions, but a system, and may be said to be in equilibrio, as long as all its portions are secured to it. Take away one of them, and that one so important in the catalogue as Theology, and disorder and ruin at once ensue. There is no middle state between an equilibrium and chaotic confusion; one science is ever pressing upon another, unless kept in check; and the only guarantee of Truth is the cultivation of them all. And such is the office of a University.

Far different, of course, are the sentiments of the patrons of a divorce between Religious and Secular Knowledge. Let us see how they spoke twenty-five years ago in the defence formally put out for that formidable Institution, formidable, as far as an array of high intellects can make any paradox or paralogism formidable, which was then set up in London on the basis of such a separation. The natural, as well

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p. 136
l. 24 as the special, champion of the then University of London, and of the principle which it represented, was a celebrated Review, which stood at the time, and, I suppose, stands still, at the head of our periodical literature. In this publication, at the date of which I speak, an article was devoted to the exculpa-
p. 137 tion of the Institution in question, from the charges or suspicions which it incurred in consequence of the principle on which it was founded. The Reviewer steadily contemplates the idea of a University without Religion; "From pulpits, and visitation dinners, and combination rooms innumerable, the cry", he says, "is echoed and reechoed, An University without religion"; and then he proceeds to dispose of the protest by one or two simple illustrations.

Writing, as he does, with liveliness and wit, as well as a profession of serious argument, this Reviewer can scarcely be quoted with due regard to the gravity which befits a discussion such as the present. You must pardon me, Gentlemen, if, in my desire to do justice to him and his cause in his own words, I suffer him to interrupt the equable flow of our discussion with unseasonable mirth; and in order to avoid, as much as possible, a want of keeping between his style and my own, I will begin with the less sprightly illustration of the two. "Take the case", he says, "of a young man, a student, we will suppose, of surgery, resident in London. He wishes to become master of his profession, without neglecting other useful branches of knowledge. In the morning he attends Mr. McCulloch's Lecture on Political Economy. He then repairs to the Hospital, and hears Sir Astley Cooper explain the mode of reducing fractures. In the afternoon he joins one of the classes which Mr. Hamilton instructs in French
p. 138 or German. With regard to religious observances, he acts as he himself, or those under whose care he is, may think most advisable. Is there any thing objectionable in this? is it not the most common case in the world? And in what does it differ from that of a young man at the London University? Our surgeon, it is true, will have to run over half London in search of his instructors.....Is it in the local situation that the mischief lies?"* Such is the argu-

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p. 138
l. 10 ment; need I point out the fallacy? Whatever may be said of Political Economy, at any rate a surgical operation is not a branch of knowledge, or a process of argument, or an inference, or an investigation, or an analysis, or an induction, or an abstraction, or other intellectual exercise: it is a grave practical matter. Again, the primer, the spelling book, the grammar, construing and parsing, are scarcely trials of reason, imagination, taste, or judgment; they can scarcely be said to have truth for their object at all; any how, they belong to the first stage of mental development, to the school, rather than to the University. Neither the reduction of fractures, nor the Hamiltonian method can be considered a branch of Philosophy; it is not more wonderful that such trials of skill or of memory can safely dispense with Theology for their perfection, than that it is unnecessary for the practice of gunnery or the art of calligraphy.

So much for one of this Reviewer's illustrations:

*Edinburgh Review, Feb., 1826.

p. 139 the other is more infelicitous still, in proportion as it is more insulting to our view of the subject. "Have none of those", he asks, "who censure the London University on this account, daughters who are educated at home, and who are attended by different teachers? The music master, a good Protestant, comes at twelve; the dancing master, a French philosopher, at two; the Italian master, a believer in the blood of St. Januarius, at three. The parents take upon themselves the office of instructing their child in religion. She hears the preachers whom they prefer, and reads the theological works which they put into her hands. Who can deny that this is the case in innumerable families? Who can point out any material difference between the situation in which this girl is placed, and that of a pupil at the new University?" I pass over the scoff at a miracle, to which the writer neither gave credence himself, nor imagined it in others; looking simply at his argument, I ask, is it not puerile to imply that music, or dancing, or lessons in Italian, have any thing to do with Philosophy? It is plain, that such

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p. 139
l. 23 writers do not rise to the very idea of a University. They consider it a sort of bazaar, or pantechnicon, in which wares of all kinds are heaped together for sale in stalls independent of each other; and that, to save the purchasers the trouble of running about from shop to shop; or an hotel or lodging house, where all professions and classes are at liberty to congregate,
p. 140 varying, however, according to the season, each of them strange to each, and about its own work or pleasure; whereas, if we would rightly deem of it, a University is the home, it is the mansion-house, of the goodly family of the Sciences, sisters all, and sisterly in their mutual dispositions.

Such, I say, is the theory which recommends itself to the public mind of this age, and is the moving principle of its undertakings. And yet that very instinct of the intellect of which I spoke last week, which impels each science to extend itself as far as it can, and which leads, when indulged, to the confusion of Philosophy generally, might teach the upholders of such a theory a truer view of the subject. It seems, as I then observed, that the human mind is ever seeking to systematise its knowledge, to base it upon principle, and to find a science comprehensive of all sciences. And sooner than forego the gratification of this moral appetency, it starts with whatever knowledge or science it happens to have, and makes that knowledge serve as a rule or measure of the universe, for want of a better, preferring the completeness and prevision of bigotry to a fluctuating and homeless scepticism. What a singular contrast is here between nature and theory! We see the intellect in this instance, as soon as it moves at all, moving straight against its own conceits and falsities, and upsetting them spontaneously, without effort, and at once. It witnesses to a great
p. 141 truth in spite of its own professions and engagements. It had promised, in the name of the patrons of our modern Colleges and Universities, that there need not be, and that there should not be, any system or philosophy in knowledge and its transmission, but that Liberal Education henceforth should be a mere fortuitous heap of acquisitions and accomplishments; however, here, as it so often happens

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p. 141
l. 9 elsewhere nature is too strong for art. She bursts violently and dangerously through the artificial trammels laid upon her, and exercises her just rights wrongly, since she cannot rightly. Usurpers and tyrants are the successors to legitimate rulers sent into exile. Forthwith Private Judgment moves forward with the implements of this or that science, to do a work imperative indeed, but beyond its powers. It owns the need of general principles and constituent ideas, by taking false ones, and thus is ever impeding and preventing unity, while it is ever attempting and thereby witnessing it. From the many voices crying "Order" and "Silence", noise and tumult follow. From the very multiplicity and diversity of the efforts after unity on every side, this practical age has thrown up the notion of it altogether.

What is the consequence? that the works of the age are not the development of definite principles, but accidental results of discordant and simultaneous action, of committees and boards, composed of men, each of whom has his own interests and views, and,
p. 142 to gain something his own way, is obliged to sacrifice a good deal to every one else. From causes so adventitious and contradictory, who can predict the ultimate production? Hence it is that those works have so little permanent life in them, because they are not founded on principles and ideas. Ideas are the life of institutions, social, political, and literary; but the excesses of Private Judgment, in the prosecution of its multiform theories, have at length made men sick of a truth, which they recognised long after they were able to realise it. At the present day, they knock the life out of the institutions they have inherited, by their alterations and adaptations. As to their own creations, these are a sort of monster, with hands, feet, and trunk moulded respectively on distinct types. Their whole, if the word is to be used, is an accumulation from without, not the growth of a principle from within. Thus, as I said just now, their notion of a University, is a sort of bazaar or hotel, where every thing is showy, and self-sufficient, and changeable. "Motley's the only wear". The majestic vision of the Middle Age, which grew

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p. 142
l. 23 steadily to perfection in the course of centuries, the University of Paris, or Bologna, or Oxford, has almost gone out in night. A philosophical comprehensiveness, an orderly expansiveness, an elastic constructiveness, men have lost them, and cannot make out why. This is why: because they have lost the idea of unity: because they cut off the head of a
p. 143 living thing, and think it is perfect, all but the head. They think the head an extra, an accomplishment, the corona operis, not essential to the idea of the being under their hands. They seem to copy the lower specimens of animated nature, who with their wings pulled off, or a pin run through them, or eaten out by parasitical enemies, walk about, unconscious of their state of disadvantage. They think, that, if they do but get together sufficient funds, and raise a very large building, and secure a number of able men, and arrange in one locality, as the Reviewer says, a suite of distinct lecture-rooms, they have at once founded a University. An idea, a view, an indivisible object, which does not admit of more or less, a form, which cannot coalesce with any thing else, an intellectual principle, expanding into a consistent harmonious whole,--in short, Mind, in the true sense of the word,--they are, forsooth, too practical to lose time in such reveries!

Our way, Gentlemen, is very different. We adopt a method, founded in man's nature and the necessity of things, exemplified in all great moral works whatever, instinctively used by all men in the course of daily life, though they may not recognise it, discarded by our opponents only because they have lost the true key to exercise it withal. We start with an idea, we educate upon a type; we make use, as nature prompts us, of the faculty, which I have called an intellectual grasp of things, or an inward sense, and
p. 144 which I shall hereafter show is really meant by the word "Philosophy". Science itself is a specimen of its exercise; for its very essence is this mental formation. A science is not mere knowledge, it is knowledge which has undergone a process of intellectual digestion. It is the grasp of many things brought together in one, and hence is its power; for,

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p. 144
l. 8 properly speaking, it is Science that is power, not Knowledge. Well then, this is how Catholics act towards the Sciences taken all together; we view them as one and give them an idea; what is this but an extension and perfection, in an age which prides itself upon its scientific genius, of that very process by which science exists at all? Imagine a science of sciences, and you have attained the true notion of the scope of a University. We consider that all things mount up to a whole, that there is an order and precedence and harmony in the branches of knowledge one with another as well as one by one, and that to destroy that structure is as unphilosophical in a course of education, as it is unscientific in the separate portions of it. We form and fix the Sciences in a circle and system, and give them a centre and an aim, instead of letting them wander up and down in a sort of hopeless confusion. In other words, to use scholastic language, we give the various pursuits and objects, on which the intellect is employed, a form; for it is the peculiarity of a form, that it gathers up in one, and draws off from
p. 145 every thing else, the materials on which it is impressed.

Now here, Gentlemen, I seem in danger of a double inconvenience, viz., of enlarging on what, as a point of scholasticism, is too abstruse, and, as put into familiar language, is too obvious, for an accomplished and philosophical auditory, which claims of me what is neither rudimental on the one hand nor technical on the other. And yet I will rather ask your indulgence to allow me in a very familiar illustration of a very scholastic term, than incur the chance, which might otherwise fall out, of being deficient in my exposition of the subject for which I adduce it.

For instance, we all understand how Worship is one idea, and how it is made up of many things, some being essential to it, and all subservient. Its essence is the lifting up of the heart to God; if it be no more than this, still this is enough, and nothing more is necessary. But view it as brought out in some solemn rite or public ceremonial; the essence is the same, and it is there on the occasion I am supposing; -- we will say it is Benediction of the

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p. 145
l. 23 Most Holy Sacrament, or a devotion in honour of some Saint; -- it is there still, but, first, it is the lifting up, not of one heart, but of many all at once; next, it is the devotion, not of hearts only, but of bodies too; not of eyes only, or hands only, or voices only, or knees only, but of the whole man; and next, the devotion passes on to more than soul and body; there
p. 146 are vestments there, rich and radiant, symbolical of the rite, and odorous flowers, and a flood of light, and a cloud of incense, and music joyous and solemn, of instruments, as well as voices, till all the senses overflow with the idea of devotion. Is the music devotion? as the Protestant inquires; is the incense devotion? are candles devotion? are flowers? are vestments? or words spoken? or genuflections? Not any one of them. And what have candles to do with flowers? or flowers with vestments? or vestments with music? Nothing whatever; each is distinct in itself, and independent of the rest. The flowers are the work of nature, and are elaborated in the garden; the candles come of the soft wax, which the "Apis Mater" (as the Church beautifully sings), which the teeming bee fashions; the vestments have been wrought in the looms of Lyons or Vienna or Naples, and have been brought over sea at great cost; the music is the present and momentary vibration of the air, acted upon by tube or string; and still for all this, are they not one whole? are they not blended together indivisibly, and sealed with the image of unity, by reason of the one idea of worship, in which they live and to which they minister? Take away that idea, and what are they worth? the whole pageant becomes a mummery. The worship made them one; but supposing no one in that assemblage, however large, to believe, or to love, or to pray, or to give thanks, supposing the musicians did but play and
p. 147 sing, and the sacristan thought of nothing but his flowers, lights, and incense, and the priest in cope and stole, and his attendant ministers, had no heart, nor lot in what they were outwardly acting, let the flowers be sweetest, and the lights brightest, and the vestments costliest, still who would call it an act of worship at all? Would it not be a show, a make-belief, an hypocrisy? Why? Because the one idea

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p. 147
l. 9 was away, which gave life, and force, and an harmonious understanding, and an individuality, to many things at once, distinct each of them in itself, and in its own nature independent of that idea.

Such is the virtue of a "form": the lifting up of the heart to God is the living principle of this solemnity; yet it does not sacrifice any of its constituent parts, rather it imparts to each a dignity by giving it a meaning; it moulds, inspires, individualizes a whole. It stands towards the separate elements which it uses as the soul is to the body. It is the presence of the soul which gives unity to the various materials which make up the human frame. Why do we not consider hand and foot, head and heart, separate things? Because a living principle within them makes them one whole, because the living soul gives them personality. It brings under the idea of personality all that they are, whatever they are; it appropriates them all to itself; it makes them absolutely distinct from every thing else, though they are the same
p. 148 naturally, so that in it they are not what they are out of it; it dwells in them, though with a greater manifestation and intensity in some of them than in others, yet in all in sufficient measure; in our look, our voice, our gait, our very handwriting. But as soon as it goes, the unity goes too, and not by portions or degrees. Every part of the animal frame is absolutely changed at once; it is at once but a corpse that remains, and an aggregate of matter, accidentally holding together, soon to be dissolved. What were its parts, have lost their constituting principle, and rebel against it. It was life, it is death.

Thus a form or idea, as it may be called, collects together into one, separates utterly from every thing else, the elements on which it is impressed. They are grafted into it. Henceforth they have an intercommunion and influence over one another, which is special; they are present in each other; they belong to each other even in their minutest portions, and cannot belong to any other whole, even though some of those portions might at first sight seem to admit of it. You may smash and demolish the whole, but you cannot

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p. 148
l. 24 otherwise find a way to appropriate the parts. A human skeleton may resemble that of some species of brutes, but the presence of the soul in man makes him differ from those animals, not in degree, but in kind. A monkey or an ape is not merely a little less than human nature, and in the way to become a man.
p. 149 It could not be developed into a man, or is at present a man, as far as it goes; such a mode of speech would be simply unmeaning. It is one whole, and man is another; and the likeness between them, though real, is superficial, and the result of a mental abstraction.

Here I am reminded of a doctrine laid down by the Angelical Doctor, which illustrates what has been said. He says that no action is indifferent; what does he mean? surely there are many actions which are quite indifferent; to speak, to stop speaking, to eat and drink, to go hither and thither. Yes, they are indifferent indeed in themselves; but they are not at all indifferent, as referrible to this or that whole in which they occur, as done by this or that person. They are not indifferent in the individual: they are indifferent in the abstract, not in the concrete. Eating, sleeping, talking, walking, may be neither good nor bad, viewed in their bare idea; but it is a very different thing to say that this man, at this time, at this place, being what he is, is neither right nor wrong in eating or walking. And further, the very same action, done by two persons, is utterly different in character and effect, good in one, bad in another. This, Gentlemen, is what is meant by saying that the actions of saints are not always patterns for us. They are right in them, they would be wrong in others, because an ordinary Christian fulfils one idea, and a saint fulfils another. Hence it is
p. 150 that we hear things from some people, which we should resent, if done by others; as for other reasons, so especially for this, that they do not mean the same thing in these and in those. Sometimes the very sight of a person disarms us, who has offended us before we knew him; as, for instance, when we had fancied him a gentleman in rank and education, and find him to be not so. Each man has his own way of expressing satisfaction or annoyance, favour or

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p. 150
l. 10 dislike; each individual is a whole, and his actions are incommunicable. Hence it is so difficult, just at this time, when so many men are apparently drawing near the Church, rightly to conjecture who will eventually join it and who will not; it being impossible for any but the nearest friends, and often even for them, to determine how much words are worth in each severally, which are used by all in common. And hence again it happens that particulars which seem to be but accidents of certain subjects, are really necessary to them; for though they may look like accidents, viewed in themselves, they are not accidents, but essentials, in the connexion in which they occur. Thus, when man is defined to be a laughing animal, every one feels the definition to be unworthy of its subject, but it is, I suppose, adequate to its purpose. I might go on to speak of the singular connexion, which sometimes exists, between certain characteristics in individuals or bodies; a connexion, which at first sight would be called
p. 151 accidental, were it not invariable in its occurrence, and reducible to the operation of some principle. Thus it has been said, rightly or wrongly, that Whig writers are always Latitudinarians, and Tory writers often infidels.

But I must put an end to these illustrations: -- coming at last to the point, for the sake of which I have been pursuing them, I observe that the very same subjects of teaching, the Evidences of Christianity, the Classics, and much more Experimental Science, Modern History, and Biography, may be right in their proper place, as portions of one system of knowledge, suspicious, when detached or in bad company; desirable in one place of education, dangerous or inexpedient in another; because they come differently, in a different connexion, at a different time, with a different drift, from a different spirit, in the one and the other. And hence two Universities, so called, may almost concur in the lecture-papers they put out and their prospectus for the year, that is, in their skeleton, as man and certain brute creatures resemble one another, and yet, viewed as living and working institutions, not as preparations in an anatomical school, may be simply antagonistic.

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p. 151
l. 25 Thus, then, Gentlemen, I answer the objection with which I opened this Discourse. I supposed it to be asked me, how it could matter to the pupil, who it was taught him such indifferent subjects as logic, antiquities, or poetry, so that they be taught him.
p. 152 I answer that no subject of teaching is really indifferent in fact, thought it may be in itself; because it takes a colour from the whole system to which it belongs, and has one character when viewed in that system, and another viewed out of it. According then as a teacher is under the influence, or in the service, of this system or that, so dies the drift, or at least the practical effect of his teaching vary; Arcesilas would not teach logic as Aristotle, or Aristotle poetry as Plato, though logic has its fixed principles, and poetry its acknowledged classics; and in saying this, it will be observed I am claiming for Theology nothing singular or special, or which is not partaken by other sciences in their measure. As far as I have spoken of them, they all go to make up one whole, differing only according to their relative importance. Far indeed am I from having intended to convey the notion, in the illustrations I have been using, that Theology stands to other knowledge as the soul to the body; or that other sciences are but its instruments and appendages, just as the whole ceremonial of worship is but the expression of inward devotion. This would be, I conceive, to commit the very error, in the instance of Theology, which I am charging other sciences, at the present day, of committing against it. On the contrary, Theology is one branch of knowledge, and Secular Sciences are other branches. Theology is the highest indeed, and widest, but it does not interfere with the real freedom of any secular
p. 153 science in its own particular department.* This will be clearer as I proceed; at present I have been only pointing out the internal sympathy which exists between all branches of knowledge whatever, and the danger resulting to knowledge itself by a disunion between them, and the object in consequence to which a University is dedicated. Not Science only, not Literature only, not Theology only, neither abstract knowledge simply nor experimental, neither moral nor material, neither metaphysical nor historical, but all knowledge whatever, is taken into account in a University, as being the special seat of

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p. 153
l. 13 that large Philosophy, which embraces and locates truth of every kind, and every method of attaining it.

However, much as lies before me to clear up, ere I can be said to have done justice to the great subject on which I am engaged, there is one prevalent misconception, which what I have been to-day saying will set right at once; and, though it is scarcely more than another form of the fallacy which I have been exposing, it may be useful, even for the further elucidation of the principles on which I have exposed it, to devote what remains of this Discourse to its consideration. It is this: -- As there are many

*It would be plausible to call Theology the external form of the philosophical system, as charity has been said to be of living faith, vid. Bellarm. de Justif., but then, though it would not interfere with the other sciences, it could not have been one of them.

p. 154 persons to be found who maintain that Religion should not be introduced at all into a course of Education, so there are many too, who think a compromise may be effected between such as would and such as would not introduce it, viz.: by introducing a certain portion, and nothing beyond it; and by a certain portion they mean just as much as they suppose Catholics and Protestants to hold in common. In this way they hope, on the one hand to avoid the odium of not teaching religion at all, while on the other they equally avoid any show of contrariety between contrary systems of religion, and any unseemly controversy between parties who, however they may differ, will gain nothing by disputing. Now I respect the motives of such persons too much not to give my best attention to the expedient which they propose: whether men advocate the introduction of no religion at all in education, or this "general religion", as they call it, in either case peace and charity, which are the objects they profess, are of too heavenly a nature not to give a sort of dignity even to those who pursue them by impossible roads; still I think it very plain that the same considerations which are decisive against the exclusion of Religion

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p. 154
l. 25 from Education, are decisive also against its generalization or mutilation, for the words have practically the same meaning. General Religion is in fact no Religion at all. Let not the conclusion be thought harsh, to which I am carried on by the principles I
p. 155 have been laying down in the former part of this Discourse; but thus it stands, I think, beyond dispute, that, those principles being presupposed, Catholics and Protestants, viewed as bodies, hold nothing in common in religion, however they may seem to do so.

This is the answer I shall give to the proposition of teaching "general religion". I might indeed challenge any one to set down for me in detail the precise articles of the Catholic Faith held by Protestants "in general"; or I might call attention to the number of Catholic truths which any how must be sacrificed, however wide the range of doctrines which Protestantism shall be made to embrace; but I will not go to questions of mere fact and detail: I prefer to rest the question upon the basis of a principle, and I assert that, as all branches of knowledge are one whole, so, much more, is each particular branch a whole in itself; that each is one science, as all are one philosophy, and that to teach half of any whole is really to teach no part of it. Men understand this in matters of the world, it is only when Religion is in question, that they forget it. Why do not Whigs and Tories form some common politics, and a ministry of coalition upon its basis? does not common sense, as well as party interest, keep them asunder? It is quite true that "general" tenets could be produced in which both bodies would agree; both Whigs and Tories are loyal and patriotic, both defend the reasonable prerogatives of the Throne, and
p. 156 the just rights of the people; on paper they agree admirably, but who does not know that loyalty and patriotism have one meaning in the mouth of a Tory, and another in that of a Whig? Loyalty and patriotism, neither quality is what it is abstractedly, when it is grafted either on Whig or Tory. The case is the same with Religion; the Establishment, for instance, accepts from the Catholic Church the doctrine of the Incarnation; but at the same time denies that Christ is in the Blessed Sacrament and that Mary is the Mother of God; who in consequence

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p. 156
l. 12 will venture to affirm that such of its members as hold the Incarnation, hold it by virtue of their membership? the Establishment cannot really hold a Catholic doctrine, a portion and a concomitant of which it puts on one side. The Incarnation has not the same meaning to one who holds and to one who denies these two attendant verities. Hence, whatever he may profess about the Incarnation, the mere Protestant has no real hold, no grasp of the doctrine; you cannot be sure of him; any moment he may be found startled and wondering, as at a novelty, at statements implied in it, or uttering sentiments simply inconsistent with its idea. Catholicism is one whole, and Protestantism has no part in it. In like manner Catholicism and Mahometanism are each individual and distinct from each other; yet they have many points in common on paper, as the unity of God, Providence, the power of prayer, and
p. 157 future judgment, to say nothing of the mission of Moses and Christ. These common doctrines we may if we please, call "Natural Religion", or "General Religion"; and so they are in the abstract; and no one can doubt that, were Mahometans or Jews numerous in these countries, so as to make it expedient, the Government of the day would so absolutely take this view, as to aim at establishing National Colleges on the basis of such common doctrines; yet, in fact, though they are common doctrines, as far as the words go, they are not the same, as living and breathing facts, for the very same words have a different drift and spirit when proceeding respectively from a Jewish, or a Mahometan, or a Catholic mouth. They are grafted on different ideas.

Now this, I fear, will seem a hard doctrine to some of us. There are those, whom it is impossible not to respect and love, of amiable minds and charitable feelings, who do not like to think unfavourably of any one. And, when they find another differ from them in religious matters, they cannot bear the thought that he differs from them in principle, or that he moves on a line, on which did he progress for centuries, he would but be carried further from them, instead of catching them up. Their delight is to think that he holds what they hold, only not enough; and that he is right as far as he goes.

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p. 157
l. 28 Such persons are very slow to believe that a scheme of general education, which puts Religion more or
p. 158 less aside, does ipso facto part company with Religion; but they try to think, as far as they can, that its only fault is the accident that it is not so religious as it might be. In short they are of that school of thought, which will not admit that half a truth is an error, and nine-tenths of a truth no better; that the most frightful discord is close upon harmony; and that intellectual principles combine, not by a process of physical accumulation, but in unity of idea.

However, there is no misconception perhaps, but has something or other true about it, and has something to say for itself. Perhaps it will reconcile the persons in question to the doctrine I am propounding, if I state how far I can go along with them; for in a certain sense what they say is true and is supported by facts. It is true too, that youths can be educated at Mixed Colleges of the kind I am supposing, nay at Protestant Colleges, and yet may come out of them as good Catholics as they went in. Also it is true, that Protestants are to be found, who, as far as they profess Catholic doctrine, do truly hold it, in the same sense as that in which a Catholic holds it. I grant all this, but I maintain at the same time, that such cases are exceptional; the case of individuals is one thing, of bodies or institutions another; it is not safe to argue from individuals to institutions. A few words will explain my meaning.

There are then doubtless such phenomena as what may be called inchoate truths, beliefs, and philoso-
p. 159 phies. It would be both unreasonable and shallow to deny it. Men doubtless may grow into an idea by degrees, and then at the end they are moving on the same line, as they were at the beginning, not a different one, though they may during the progress have changed their external profession. Thus one school or party comes out of another; truth out of error, error out of truth; water, according to the proverb, chokes, and good comes from Nazareth. Thus, eternally distinct as orthodoxy is from heresy, the most Catholic Fathers and the worst of heresiarchs belong to the same teaching, or the same ecclesiastical party. St. Chrysostom comes of that Syrian theology, which is more properly represented

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p. 159
l. 15 by the heterodox Diodorus and Theodore. Eutyches, Dioscorus, and their faction, are closely connected in history with St. Cyril of Alexandria. The whole history of thought and of genius, is that of one idea being born and growing out of another, though ideas are individual. Some of the greatest names in many various departments of excellence, metaphysical, political, or imaginative, have come out of schools of a very different character from their own. Thus, Aristotle is a pupil of the Academy, and the Master of the Sentences is a hearer of Peter Abelard. In like manner, to take a very different science:--I have read that the earlier musical compositions of that great master, Beethoven, are written on the type of Haydn, and that not until a certain date did he
p. 160 compose in the style emphatically his own. The case is the same with public men; they are called inconsistent, when they are but unlearning their first education. In such circumstances, as in the instance of the lamented Sir Robert Peel, a time must elapse before the mind is able to discriminate for itself between what is really its own and what it has merely inherited.

Now what is its state, whatever be the subject-matter on which it is employed, in the course of this process of change? For a time perhaps the mind remains contented in the home of its youth, where originally it found itself, till in due season the special idea, however it came by it, which is ultimately to form and rule it, begins to stir; and gradually energising more and more, and growing and expanding, it suddenly bursts the bonds of that external profession, which, though its first, was never really its proper habitation. During this interval it uses the language which it has inherited, and thinks it certainly true; yet all the while its own genuine thoughts and modes of thinking are germinating and ramifying and penetrating into the old teaching which only in name belongs to it; till its external manifestations are plainly inconsistent with each other, though sooner in the apprehension of others than in its own, nay perhaps for a season it maintains what it has received by education the more vehemently, by way of keeping in check or guarding the new views,

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l. 1 which are opening upon it, and which startle it by their strangeness. What happens in Science, Philosophy, Politics, or the Arts, may happen, I say, in Religion too; there is such a thing as an inchoate faith or incomplete creed, which is not yet fully Catholic, yet is Catholic as far as it goes, tends to Catholicism, and is in the way to reach it, whether in the event it actually is happy enough to reach it or not. And from the beginning such a creed, such a theology was, I grant, the work of a supernatural principle, which, exercising itself first in the rudiments of truth, finished in its perfection. Man cannot determine in what instances that principle of grace is present and in what not, except by the event; but wherever it is, whether it can be ascertained by man or not, whether it reaches its destination, which is Catholicity, or whether it is ultimately frustrated and fails, still in every case the Church claims that work as her own; because it tends to her, because it is recognised by all men, even enemies, to belong to her, because it comes of that divine power, which is given to her in fulness, and because it anticipates portions of that divine creed which is committed to her infallibility as an everlasting deposit. And in this sense it is perfectly true that a Protestant may hold and teach one doctrine of Catholicism without holding or teaching another; but then, as I have said, he is in the way to hold others, in the way to profess all, and he is
p. 162 inconsistent if he does not, and till he does. Nay, he is already reaching forward to the whole truth, from the very circumstance of his really grasping any part of it. So strongly do I feel this, that I account it no paradox to say, that, let a man but master the one doctrine with which I began these Discourses, the Being of a God, let him really and truly, and not in words only, or by inherited profession, or in the conclusions of reason, but by a direct apprehension, be a Monotheist, and he is already three-fourths of the way towards Catholicism.

I allow all this as regards individuals; but I have not to do with individual teachers in this Discourse, but with systems, institutions, bodies of men. There are doubtless individual Protestants, who, so far from

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l. 16 making their Catholic pupils Protestant, lead on their Protestant pupils to Catholicism; but we cannot legislate for exceptions, nor can we tell for certain before the event where those exceptional cases are to be found. As to bodies of men, political or religious, we may safely say that they are what they profess to be, perhaps worse, certainly not better; and, if we would be safe, we must look to their principles, not to this or that individual, whom they can put forward for an occasion. Half the evil that happens in public affairs arises from the mistake of measuring parties, not by their history and by their position, but by their accidental manifestations of the moment, the place, or the person. Who would say, for
p. 163 instance, that the Evangelical Church of Prussia had any real affinities to Catholicism; and yet how many fine words do certain of its supporters use, and how favourably disposed to the Church do they seem, till they are cross-examined and their radical heterodoxy brought to view! It is not so many years since, that by means of their "common doctrines", as they would call them, they persuaded an ecclesiastical body, as different from them, as any Protestant body which could be named, I mean the ruling party in the Establishment, to join with them in the foundation of an episcopal see at Jerusalem, a project, as absurd, as it was odious, when viewed in a religious aspect. Such too are the persevering attempts, which excellent men in the Anglican Church have made, to bring about a better understanding between the Greeks or Russians and their own communion, as if the Oriental Church were not formed on one type, and the Protestant Establishment on another, or the process of joining them were any thing short of the impossible exploit of fusing two individuals into one. And the case is the same as regards the so-called approaches of heterodox bodies or institutions towards Catholicism. Men may have glowing imaginations, warm feelings, or benevolent tempers; they may be very little aware themselves how far they are removed from Catholicism; they may even style themselves its friends, and be disappointed it does not recognise them; they may admire
p. 164 its doctrines, they may think it uncharitable in us not to meet them half way. All the while, they may

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p. 164
l. 3 have nothing whatever of that form, idea, type of Catholicism, even in its inchoate condition, which I have allowed to some individuals among them. Such are the liberal politicians, and liberal philosophers and writers, who are considered by the multitude to be one with us, when, alas! they have neither part nor lot with the Catholic Church. Many a poet, many a brilliant writer, of this or the past generation, has taken upon himself to admire, or has been thought to understand, the Mother of Saints, on no better ground than this superficial survey of some portion of her lineaments. This is why some persons have been so taken by surprise at the late outburst against us in England, because they fancied men would be better than their systems. This is why we have to lament, in times past and present, the resolute holding off from us of learned men in the Establishment, who seemed or seem to come nearest to us. Pearson, or Bull, or Beveridge, almost touches the gates of the Divine City, yet he gropes for them in vain; for such men are formed on a different type from the Catholic, and the most Catholic of their doctrines are not Catholic in them. In vain are the most ecclesiastical thoughts, the most ample concessions, the most promising aspirations, nay, the most fraternal sentiments, if they are not an integral part of that intellectual and moral form,
p. 165 which is ultimately from divine grace, and of which faith, not carnal wisdom, is the characteristic. The event shows this, as in the case of those many, who, as time goes on, after appearing to approach the Church, recede from her. In other cases the event is not necessary for their detection, to Catholics who happen to be near them. These are conscious in them of something or other, different from Catholicism, a bearing, or an aspect, or a tone, which they cannot indeed analyze or account for, but which they cannot mistake. They may not be able to put their finger on a single definite error; but, in proportion to the clearness of their spiritual discernment or the exactness of their theology, do they recognise, either the incipient heresiarch within the Church's pale, or the unhopeful inquirer outside of it. Whichever he be, he has made a wrong start; and however long the road has been, he has to go back and

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p. 165
l. 19 begin again. So it is with the bodies, institutions, and systems of which he is the specimen; they may die, they cannot be reformed.

And now, Gentlemen, I have arrived at the end of my subject. It has come before us so prominently during the course of the discussion, that to sum up is scarcely more than to repeat what has been said many times already. The Catholic Creed is one whole, and Philosophy again is one whole; each may be compared to an individual, to which nothing can be added, from which nothing can be taken away.

p. 166 They may be professed, they may not be professed, but there is no middle ground between professing and not professing. A University, so called, which refuses to profess the Catholic Creed, is, from the nature of the case, hostile both to the Church and to Philosophy.

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Discourse V.

Knowledge Its Own End.

1. 1 A University may be considered with reference either to its Students or to its Studies; and the principle, that all Knowledge is a whole and the separate Sciences parts of one, which I have hitherto been using in behalf of its studies, is equally important when we direct our attention to its students. Now then I turn to the students, and shall consider the education which, by virtue of this principle, a University will give them; and thus I shall be introduced, Gentlemen, to the second question, which I proposed to discuss, viz. whether and in what sense its teaching, viewed relatively to the taught, carries the attribute of Utility along with it.

I.

I have said that all branches of knowledge are connected together, because the subject-matter of knowledge is intimately united in itself, as being the acts and the work of the Creator. Hence it is that the Sciences, into which our knowledge may be said to be cast, have multiplied bearings one on another, and an internal sympathy, and admit, or rather demand, comparison and adjustment. They complete, correct, balance each other. This consideration, if well-founded, must be taken into account, not only as regards the attainment of truth, which is

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First Edition

p. 167 Discourse VI.

Philosophical Knowledge Its Own End.

1. 1 It must not be supposed, that, in the remarks I have made in my foregoing Discourse on the organic character (if I may use so strong a word in want of a better) of the various branches of Knowledge,

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l. 5 viewed together, that I have been merely pointing out a peculiarity, which we may recognise or not at our pleasure; and that, on the ground, for instance, that a System of knowledge is more beautiful intellectually, or more serviceable in practice, true though this may be, than a confused litter of facts, or a heap of observations or rules. On the contrary, I assumed the fact of a System, and went on to point out some of the consequences which it involved. I assume, not only as incontrovertible, but as more or less confessed by all men, that the various sciences, which occupy the field of Knowledge, have, not mutual relations only, but run towards and into each other, and converge and approximate to a philoso-

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Second Edition

p. 135 Discourse IV.

Liberal Knowledge Its Own End.

l. 11 gentlemen

l. 15 (Space after line 15; no division mark.)

p. 136
l. 1 united in
2 the great Creator and His work.

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New Edition

p. 100
l. 1 their common end, but as regards the influence which they exercise upon those whose education consists in the study of them. I have said already, that to give undue
4 prominence to one is to be unjust to another; to neglect or supersede these is to divert those from their proper object. It is to unsettle the boundary lines between science and science, to disturb their action, to destroy the harmony which binds them together. Such a pro-
9 ceeding will have a corresponding effect when introduced
10 into a place of education. There is no science but tells a different tale, when viewed as a portion of a whole,
12 from what it is likely to suggest when taken by itself, without the safeguard, as I may call it, of others.

Let me make use of an illustration. In the combination of colours, very different effects are produced by a difference in their selection and juxta-position; red, green, and white, change their shades, according to the contrast to which they are submitted. And, in like manner, the drift and meaning of a branch of knowledge varies with the company in which it is introduced to the student. If his reading is confined simply to one subject, however such division of labour may favour the advancement ofa particular pursuit, a point into which I do not here enter, certainly it has a tendency to contract his mind. If it is
25 incorporated with others, it depends on those others as to the kind of influence which it exerts upon him. Thus the Classics, which in England are the means of refining the taste, have in France subserved the spread of revolutionary and deistical doctrines. In Metaphysics, again, Butler's Analogy of Religion, which has had so much to
31 do with the conversion to the Catholic faith of members of the University of Oxford, appeared to Pitt and others, who had received a different training, to operate only in the direction of infidelity. And so again, Watson, Bishop

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p. 168
l. 1 phical whole, whether we will or no: -- so active is the sympathy which exists between them, so ready is the

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p. 168
l. 3 human mind to recognise, nay so impatient to anticipate, the Principle of System in all matters whatever, even at the risk of investing with laws and moulding into one, materials too scanty or too detached to sustain the process. Nor is it any unmixed compliment to the intellect thus to speak of its love of systematising; it is obliged to view its various operations all together from their very incompleteness separately. As well may we expect the various trades of a political community to be founded on a logical principle of division, and to expose nothing for sale in their respective windows, as that the finite intellect of man should comprehend and duly parcel out the vast universe which envelopes it, or should achieve more than a series of partial and fitful successes in ascertaining the object of its investigation. Thus System is but the resource of beings, who know for the most part, not by intuition, but by reasoning; and that large philosophical survey of things, which I have set down as the scope of University Education, is necessary to us, as well as beautiful, and a monument, not only of our power, but of our poverty.

Here however, cautious and practical thinkers will consider themselves entitled to ask a question. They will inquire of me, what, after all, is the gain

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p. 136
l. 15 one,
21 effect,
22 science,
25 suggest,

p. 137
l. 15 others,
22 conversion of

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p. 101
l. 1 of Llandaff, as I think he tells us in the narrative of his life, felt the science of Mathematics to indispose the mind to religious belief, while others see in its investigations the best parallel, and thereby defence, of the Christian Mysteries. In like manner, I suppose, Arcesilas would not have handled logic as Aristotle, nor Aristotle have criticized poets as Plato; yet reasoning and poetry are subject to scientific rules.

It is a great point then to enlarge the range of studies which a University professes, even for the sake of the students; and, though they cannot pursue every subject which is open to them, they will be the gainers by living among those and under those who represent the whole circle. This I conceive to be the advantage of a seat of universal learning, considered as a place of education. An assemblage of learned men, zealous for their own sciences, and rivals of each other, are brought, by familiar intercourse and for the sake of intellectual peace, to adjust together the claims and relations of their respective subjects of investigation. They learn to respect, to consult, to aid each other. Thus is created a pure and clear atmosphere of thought, which the student also breathes, though in his own case he only pursues a few sciences out of the multitude. He profits by an intellectual tradition, which is independent of particular teachers, which guides him in his choice of subjects, and duly interprets for him those which he chooses. He apprehends the great outlines of knowledge, the principles on which it rests, the scale of its parts, its lights and its shades, its great points and its little, as he otherwise cannot apprehend them. Hence it is that his education is called "Liberal." A habit of mind is formed which lasts through life, of which the attributes are, freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation, and wisdom, or

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p. 169
l. 1 of this Philosophy, of which I make such account,

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p. 169
l. 2 and from which I promise so much.

Second Edition

p. 138
l. 4 the best defence of
11 studies,
22 adjust the

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p. 102
l. 1 what in a former Discourse I have ventured to call a philosophical habit. This then I would assign as the special fruit of the education furnished at a University, as contrasted with other places of teaching or modes of teaching. This is the main purpose of a University in its treatment of its students.

And now the question is asked me, What is the use of it? and my answer will constitute the main subject of the Discourses which are to follow.

2.

Cautious and practical thinkers, I say, will ask of me, what, after all, is the gain of this Philosophy, of which I make such account, and from which I promise so much.

14 exercise
15 trust
16 anywhere
25 beneficial
27 Philosophy? what
are we proposing to effect, what inducements
31 I am asked what is the end of University Education and of the Liberal or Philosophical Knowledge which I conceive it to impart: I answer, that what I have already

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p. 169
l. 3 repose
3 confidence
14 beneficial,
17 philosophy? Or, in other words, on the supposition that the case stands as I have represented it, what are we proposing to effect, what inducements
23 This is a very natural and appropriate, and to me not unwelcome, question; I even wish to consider it. I agree with the objectors, that the representatives of a great interest cannot reasonably resolve, cannot be invited, to join together in the prosecution of an object, which involves odious, anxiety, trouble, and expence, without having an end set before them,

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p. 170
l. 1 definite in itself, and commensurate with their exertions. I own, I have done very little till I have answered the question; and it admits a clear answer, yet it will be somewhat a long one. I shall not finish it to-day, nor in my next Discourse, but I trust, Gentlemen, that from the first and at once I shall be able to say what will justify me in your eyes in taxing your patience to hear me on, till I fairly come to my conclusion.

However, I will not delay frankly to tell you what that conclusion is to be. When then I am asked what is the end of a Liberal or University Education, and of the Liberal or Philosophical Knowledge which I conceive it to impart, I answer,

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p. 139
l. 25 (No division mark after line 25).

p. 140
l. 5 confidence
7 any where
17 beneficial,

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New Edition

p. 103
l. 1 said has been sufficient to show that it has a very tangible, real, and sufficient end, though the end cannot be divided from that knowledge itself.
7 true also of
17 in the compassing
18 in the attaining.
31 illustrate, viz., by

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p. 170
l. 14 that it has a
very tangible, real, and sufficient end, but that the end cannot be divided from that knowledge itself.
20 true of

p. 171
l. 2 in compassing
3 in attaining.
17 illustrate, by

Second Edition

p. 142
l. 11 illustrate, by

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p. 104
l. 1 knowledge."*
2 others
8 depends, 8. it,
9 principal of these,
11 after the manner of a habit,
13 (Division mark 3. after line 13.)
17 Knowledge
18 nature,"
19 Knowledge
22 disgrace."
31 happiness."

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p. 171
l. 21 knowledge".*
23 others,
28 depends

p. 172
l. 1 it
2 principal gifts or acces-
sories, by which it is completed,
4 by a sort of opus operatum,
6 (No division mark after line 6.)
9 knowledge
10 nature",
11 knowledge
14 disgrace".
24 happiness".

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p. 142
l. 18 others,

p.143
l. 2 principal
gifts or accessories, by which it is completed,

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Second Edition

p. 143
l. 5 by a sort of opus operatum
7 (No division mark after line 7.)
10 knowledge
13 knowledge

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p. 105
l. 4 Gentlemen
15 cares,"
17 learn."
25 methods,"
33 own."

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p. 173
l. 12 cares",
14 learn".
23 methods",

p. 174
l. 2 own".

Second Edition

p. 144
l. 7 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 106
l. 3 opposition
11 He despised the refinement or enlargement of mind of which he had no experience.
12 (Division mark 4. after line 12.)

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p. 174
l. 6 opposition,
14 It was as fatal, he considered to attempt to measure the advantages of Philosophy by a Utilitarian standard, as to estimate a point of taste by a barometer, or to trace out an emotion by an equation. Cato knew at the time as little of what is meant by refinement or enlargement of mind, as the busy every-day world now knows of the operations of grace. He despised what he had never felt.

21 (No division mark after line 21.)

Second Edition

p. 145
l. 21 opposition,

p. 146
l. 6 (No division mark after line 6.)

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p. 107
l. 1 hazard,
3 an empiric
4 education
5 are exercises of mind, of reason, or reflection.
12 the pretence, fraud, and quackery
19 liberal;"

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p. 175
l. 13 chance,
14 a quack
16 knowledge
17 are such as belong to the mind, not to the body
24 the low magic or empiricism
p. 176
l. 5 liberal";

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p. 147
l. 8 knowledge
9 are such as belong to the mind, not to the body.

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p. 108
l. 17 liberal,"
25 appelation "liberal,"
30 loses, --
31 it gains a claim upon these
titles by such charitable condescension), -- but it
does lose the

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p. 177
l. 9 liberal";
18 appellation in question
23 loses,
24 it increases it by such
charitable condescension), but the

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p. 149
l. 24 appellation in question

p. 150
l. 6 it increases these qualities

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p. 109
l. 8 in the service of man,
12 whenever personal gain is the motive, still more distinctive an effect has it upon
20 liberal,
22 using."*
22 (Division mark 5. after line 22.)
24 suppose, that
28 truth.
While we are men

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p. 178
l. 6 for the purpose of fruit,
10 whenever the motive of gain is introduced, still more does it change
21 use".*
22 (No division mark after line 22.) 23. suppose, Gentlemen, that
27 truth. When I hear people ridiculing Catholics, as they sometimes do, for
p. 179 deferring to the schools of Greece, I am reminded of the man who thought it strange or hard, that he should have been talking prose all his life, without knowing it. As prose is but a name for our ordinary style of conversation, so, while we are men

---

Second Edition

p. 150
l. 18 for the purpose of fruit,

p. 151
l. 7 liberal
10 (No division mark after line 10.)
11 suppose, gentlemen, that

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New Edition

p. 110
l. 1 subject-matters
4 it. Now
8 or of the ... or of the
9 or of the
23 generalization
25 generalized

First Edition

p. 179
l. 10 subject matters,
13 it. He was most wonderfully raised up, as for other reasons, so especially to be minister to a Divine Revelation, of which personally he knew nothing; and it is both true wisdom and mere thankfulness to accept the gift provided for us, for the purposes which it answers. Now

23 or the ... or the ...
24 or the

p. 180
l. 10 generalisation
12 generalised

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New Edition

p. 111
l. 18 or
sufficient for itself, apart from every external and ulterior object, when
21 (Division mark 6. after line 21.)
23 Now bear
23 Gentlemen, if
24 Philosophy,
then, or Science,
32 Knowledge,

First Edition

p. 181,
l. 11 or needs no
end beside itself, when
13 (No division mark after line 13.)
14 You may recollect, Gentlemen, that, in my foregoing Discourse, I said that systematising, or taking general views of all departments of thought, or what I called Philosophy, was but a modification of the mental condition which we designate by the name of science, or was a Science of sciences; now bear

20 me, if
22 Philosophy then or Science

p. 182
l. 1 Knowledge

Second Edition

p. 154
l. 11 (No division mark after line 11.)
12 gentlemen
14 Philosophy then or Science

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New Edition

p. 112
l. 9 upon that Reason which informs it
10 Philosophy. In one
17 You see, then, here
18 the end of the one is
18 of the other
19 towards general ideas,
23 as belongs to the
26 that duty.

First Edition

p. 182
l. 10 upon reason,
11 philosophy. In the one
18 You see then, Gentlemen, here
19 the one aspires
20 the other
21 towards ideas,
24 of the
28 it.

Second Edition

p. 155
l. 9 upon Reason,
17 You see, then,
gentlemen, here
19 the one aspires
19 the other
20 towards ideas,
24 of the
p. 156
l. 3 it.

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New Edition

p. 113
l. 16 boast, or at least the
ambition, of Philosophy
34 to tradition, or to use,

First Edition

p. 183
l. 24 boast of Philosophy.

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

You may ask me, Gentlemen, how all this is
p. 184 consistent with the dignity of Christianity, with the merit of faith. You will say that faith is confident, that obedience is prompt, yet without knowing why, that ignorance is the very condition both of the one and the other. Though we cannot verify by reason, yet we take upon us, on God's word, the very truth to be believed, the very work to be done; this is the beginning surely of all supernatural excellence. Here we are upon a new subject, yet I am not unwilling to say a word upon it by way of illustrating the point I am making good. In the first place, then, I deny that Faith is a mere unreasoning act; on the contrary, it has an intellectual nature. It is no brute or necessary sensation or perception; it has in it, as divines have noticed, a discursive process. We believe what is revealed to us from belief in the Revealer. But again, even though a state of mind were imposed upon us by Christianity, less elevated, less noble, than we should choose for ourselves, if the choice were ours, I suppose it must not be left out of consideration, that our race once was in a higher state and has forfeited it. Ignorance was not always our natural portion, nor slavery our birthright. When the Divine Voice quickens us from the dust in which we lie, it is to call us to a dignity higher even than that which was ours in the beginning; but it restores us by degrees. At first, we emerge from the state of slaves into that of children and of children only, and not yet of men. We are exercised by faith;

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First Edition

p. 185
l. 1 it is our education. And in like manner children are exercised at school; they are taught the rudiments of knowledge upon faith; they do not begin with philosophy. But, as in the natural order, we mount up to philosophical largeness of mind from lessons learned by rote and the schoolmaster's rod, so too in the order supernatural, even in this life, and far more truly in the life to come, we pass on from faith and penance to contemplation. Such is the loving-kindness of the Everlasting Father, "suscitans a terra inopem, et de stercore erigens pauperem". To those who have begun with faith, He adds, in course of time, a higher gift, the gift of Wisdom, which, not superseding, but presupposing Faith, gives us so broad and deep a view of things revealed, that their very consistency is an evidence of their Author, and, like the visible world, persuades us to adore His Majesty. This endowment the Apostle speaks of, when addressing the educated Corinthians. First he makes mention of that liberal knowledge or philosophy of the natural order, which is my present subject, and which in the absence of theology had been sublimated into an empty worthless speculation, and had become a mere "worldly wisdom". After warning his converts against this perversion, he proceeds to say, by way of contrast, "We speak a wisdom among the perfect, yet not the wisdom of this world, but the wisdom of God in a mystery, a wisdom, which is hidden wisdom". Such a wisdom
p. 186 is the whole series of Christian Evidences, the cumulative proof of the Being of a God, of the divinity of Judaism, and of the mission of the Apostles; such the course of the Divine Dispensations, the structure of Scripture Prophecy, the analogy between the systems of nature and grace; such the notes of the Church, the history of miracles, the philosophy and phenomena of the heroic life, the neverending conflict between Christ and the world, the harmony of Catholic doctrine, and the process of its evolution. These and many other subjects of thought form a multitude, or rather a system and philosophy of divine sciences, which, rising out of Faith, tend nevertheless towards that eternal state of illumination, when Faith shall yield to sight. It is the gift of Wisdom; and of this our Lord seems to speak, and almost designates it as the

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First Edition

p. 186
l. 17 liberal knowledge of His favoured ones, by contrasting it with the servile condition of mind in which we act without being able to give an account of our actions. "I will not now call you servants", He says, "for the servant knoweth not what the Lord doth; but I have called you friends, because all things, whatsoever I have heard from my Father, I have made known to you".

Parallel then to this Divine Wisdom, but in the natural order, even though it takes cognisance of supernatural objects, is that philosophical view or grasp of all matters of thought, in which I have considered Liberal Knowledge to consist, and which is
p. 187 desirable for its own sake, though it brought with it nothing beyond. Such knowledge

l. 20 tradition, or use,

Second Edition

p. 157
l. 5 boast of

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New Edition

p. 114
l. 2 education
15 (Division mark 7. after line 15.)
17 This, then,
22 the proof of
25 does; and what
30 beyond itself,

First Edition

p. 187
l. 21 Education
p. 188
l. 6 (No division mark after line 6.)
7 This then
12 proving
15. does. This important principle
is the issue, if it be not the drift, of all that I have been saying in my preceding Discourses; I hope it will not seem paradoxical or unreal; for some time to come I shall employ myself upon it; and what
24 beyond,

Second Edition

p. 158
l. 17 (No division mark after line 17.)
18 This then
25 proving

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New Edition

p. 115
l. 7 that
18 age, recognized
27 dissipated portion of mankind,

First Edition

p. 189
l. 5 that,
17 age recognised
26 dissipated,

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New Edition

p. 116
l. 20 discoursed,"
33 accidents
34 evil."

First Edition

p. 190
l. 26 discoursed",
p. 191
l. 12 accidents,
13 evil".

Second Edition

p. 162
l. 14 accidents,

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New Edition

p. 117
l. 1 (Paragraph lines 1-19: All closing quotes outside the punctuation marks.)
14 consider
19 (Division mark 8. after line 19.)
21 professions, you will
say, than
24 Gentlemen
25 work; and I grant it, -- it

First Edition

p. 191
l. 16 (Paragraph line 16 to p. 192, line 5: Closing quotes inside the punctuation marks.)
p. 192
l. 1 consider,
5 (No division mark after line 5.)
6 professions, than
12 work; it

Second Edition

p. 163
l. 12 (No division mark after line 12.)
13 professions, than
19 gentlemen
20 work; it

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New Edition

p. 118
l. 4 any thing that the
14 well-being

First Edition

p. 192
l. 22 anything the
p. 193
l. 6 wellbeing

Second Edition

p. 164
l. 17 wellbeing

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New Edition

p. 119
l. 3 "he sat
9 dew."*
14 too
19 do!
23 school!
24 philosophy: -- I

First Edition

p. 193
l. 20 he "sat
p. 194
l. 6 dew".*
11 too†
15 do.
21 school.
22 philosophy; I
† Te maris et terrae, etc. Hor. Od. i, 28.

Second Edition

p. 166
l. 7 too[8]
[8]Te maris et terrae, etc. Hor. Od., i, 28

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New Edition

p. 120
l. 1 (Division mark 9. before line 1.)
1 then, I grant,
3 work, -- that is, supposing,
5 allow, and,
unless I allow it, those objectors have said nothing to the purpose. I admit, rather I maintain, what they have been urging, for I consider Knowledge to have its end in itself.
15 much
20 own

First Edition

p. 195
l. 5 (No division mark after line 5.)
6 then certainly
8 work; supposing, that is,
10 allow.
17 much,
23 own,

Second Edition

p. 167
l. 8 (No division mark after line 8.)
9 then certainly
11 work; supposing
14 allow.

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New Edition

p. 121
l. 24 rest

First Edition

p. 197
l. 2 rest,

Second Edition

p. 169
l. 18 rest,

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New Edition

p. 122
l. 14 subject-matters.

First Edition

p. 197
l. 29 subject matters

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New Edition

p. 123
l. 4 (Division mark 10. after line 4.)
9 us
13 state of being
16 as
17 ephemeral

First Edition

p. 198
l. 26 (No division mark after line 26.)

p. 199
l. 1 us,
5 world
9 if
10 secular

Second Edition

p. 171
l. 25 (No divison mark after line 25.)

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New Edition

p. 124

Discourse VI

Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Learning

I.

l. 15 is certainly a
16 but it
19 quality
21 habit
22 subject-matter
23 in English

First Edition

Discourse VII

Philosophical Knowledge Viewed

in Relation to Mental Acquirements

p. 201
l. 16 which is a
17 certainly has

p. 202
l. 3 habit
5 influence
6 subject matter
7 at present

Second Edition

p. 173 Discourse V.

Liberal Knowledge Viewed in Relation

to Learning

p. 174
l. 2 which is a

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Second Edition

p. 174
l. 4 certainly has
7 habit
9 faculty
11 At present

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New Edition

p. 125
l. 1 is
6 make the mind realize
24 or of a
31 exercise the mind neither
33 work
34 intellect

First Edition

p. 202
l. 9 is,
14 realize to the
mind

p. 203
l. 4 or a
12 exercise neither
14 work,
15 mind

Second Edition

p. 175
l. 26 work,

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New Edition

p. 126
l. 1 towards
2 (Division mark 2. after line 2.)
11 culture, as it is used,
12 intellect
16 temper

First Edition

p. 203
l. 16 to
16 (No division mark after line 16.)
24 training, as it is,
25 that training
29 spirit

Second Edition

p. 176
l. 3 (No division mark after line 3.)

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New Edition

p. 127
l. 5 intellect
8 have already been
touched upon.
9 are
10 mere knowledge;
19 elsewhere
20 Mere
Knowledge, or Learning,
21 connexion
22 (Division mark 3. after line 22.)

First Edition

p. 204
l. 25 intellect,
28 were started in the course of the discussion immediately preceding the present.
29 were

p. 205
l. 2 mere or material knowledge;
11 elsewhere,*
13 Material Knowledge, or Acquirements,
15 connection
14 (No division mark after line 14.)
* Vid. the Author's University (Oxford) Sermons.

Second Edition

p. 177
l. 2 intellect,

p. 178
l. 10 elsewhere[1],
13 (Space, but no division mark after line 13.)

[1]Vid. the Author's University (Oxford) Sermons.

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New Edition

p. 129
l. 1 reason
1 culture is
2 men identified
31 of the matter.
34 dispute

First Edition

p. 207
l. 6 reason,
6 culture should
6 men be identified

p. 208
l. 9 of it.
13 dispute,

Second Edition

p. 180
l. 18 reason,
19 culture should
19 men be identified
p. 182
l. 2 of it

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New Edition

p. 130
l. 18 not mere knowledge, or know-
ledge considered in its matter;
24 Gentlemen
27 (Division mark 4. after line 27.)
29 instance,*
30 the more calm
* The pages which follow are taken almost verbatim from the author's 14th (Oxford) University Sermon, which at the time of writing this Discourse, he did not expect ever to reprint.

First Edition

p. 209
l. 2 mere or
material knowledge;
11 (No division mark after line 11.)
12 instance,
13 the calm

Second Edition

p. 183
l. 8 gentlemen
11 (No division mark after line 11.)
12 instance,

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New Edition

p. 131
l. 7 sensation
9 in its nature,
15 heavens
22 habits

First Edition

p. 209
l. 22 sensation,
23 in kind.

p. 210
l. 1 heavens,
10 habits,

Second Edition

p. 184
l. 6 heavens,
15 habits,

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New Edition

p. 132
l. 14 worship, --
32 choose,"
33 persuasion;
34 wilful

First Edition

p. 211
l. 10 worship

p. 212
l. 1 choose",
2 persuasion,
3 bad

Second Edition

p. 185
l. 19 worship,

p. 186
l. 17 bad

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New Edition

p. 133
l. 12 hand,
27 (Division mark 5. after line 27.)
32 of which
at this day we hear so much in certain quarters: this

First Edition

p. 212
l. 17 hand

p. 213
l. 4 (No division mark after line 4.)
9 which is at this day considered the end of mental
culture: so much

Second Edition

p. 187
l. 6 hand
25 (No division mark after line 25.)

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New Edition

p. 134
l. 19 that is the illumination;
28 such,)

First Edition

p. 214
l. 1 which is illumination;
10 such),

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New Edition

p. 135
l. 1 harmonizing

First Edition

p. 214
l. 19 harmonising

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New Edition

p. 136
l. 11 Asia;
29 (Division mark 6. after line 29.)

First Edition

p. 216
l. 8 Asia:
28 (No division mark after line 28.)

Second Edition

p. 190
l. 29 (No division mark after line 29.)

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New Edition

p. 137
l. 9 Knowledge
14 that
27 philosophy
30 unsettlement,
30 is the lot

First Edition

p. 217
l. 12 Knowledge,
17 the

p. 218
l. 2 philosophy,
5 tumult,
6 are the portion

Second Edition

p. 194
l. 8 tumult,
8 are the portion

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New Edition

p. 138
l. 1 despond
5 out,
20 Stoic, --
Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.
24 men
31 keenness

First Edition

p. 218
l. 11 despond,
15 out

p. 219
l. 4 Stoic.
4 men,
12 keenness,

Second Edition

p. 194
l. 14 despond,
18 out

p. 195
l. 16 men,

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New Edition

p. 139
l. 16 (Division mark 7. after line 16.)
18 And now, if I may take for granted that the true and adequate end of intellectual training and of a University is not Learning or Acquirement, but rather, is Thought or Reason exercised upon Knowledge, or what may be called Philosophy, I shall be in a position to explain the various mistakes which at the present day beset the subject of University Education.

24 (No space after line 24.)
26 ascend;

First Edition

p. 220
l. 3 (No division mark after line 3.)
4 And now I have said more than enough, as I conceive, in donfutation of the notion, that the true and adequate end of intellectual training and of a University is Acquirement; rather, it is Thought or Reason exercised upon Knowledge, or what may be so called Philosophy. Henceforth, then, I shall take so much for granted; and I shall apply it, without any hesitation, to the exposure of various mistakes which at the present day, from ignorance or forgetfulness, beset the subject of University Education.
13 (Space after line 13.)
15 ascend;

Second Edition

p. 196
l. 20 (Space, but no division mark after line 20.)

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New Edition

p. 140
l. 8 knowledge, not
30 English
32 officious learning! Of course
33 thinking and

First Edition

p. 221
l. 2 knowledge, Gentlemen, not
27 Protestant
29 officious learning! Take
p. 222 those of Jeremy Taylor, for instance, and what an array of quotation, anecdotes, similies, and good sayings, strung upon how weak a thread of thought! Turn, for example, to his "house of Feasting"; which sets about proving nothing short of this, that "plenty and pleasures of the world are not proper instruments of felicity", and that "intemperance is its enemy". One might have thought it difficult either to dispute or to defend so plain a proposition; but Taylor contrives to expend upon it twenty closely printed pages, not of theology or metaphysics, but of practical exhortation. After quoting Seneca upon the spare diet of Epicurus and Metrodorus, and a Greek poet, he demonstrates that plenty and pleasure are not natural or suitable to us, by the help of Horace, Epicurus, Seneca, Maximus Tyrius, Socrates, Juvenal, Lucian, and two or three authors besides. Next he maintains that intemperance is the enemy of felicity; and for this purpose he appeals to St. Austin, Juvenal many times, Persius, Menander, Xenophon, Euripides, Plutarch, Horace, Pliny, Socrates, St. Chrysostom, Epicurus, Timotheus, Apuleius, Aristophanes, Diogenes, Plotinus, Porphyry, Prudentius, Clement of Alexandria, Homer, Plato, Pythagoras, Jamblichus, Alcaeus, and Theophrastus. Having taken these means to settle the point, he proceeds to the important practical task of "describing the measures of our eating and drinking", between "intemperance" and "scruples". I

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First Edition

p. 223
l. 1 am almost ashamed to trespass on your indulgence, Gentlemen, with a fresh catalogue of names; yet I should not do justice to the marvelous availableness of this writer's erudition for enforcing truisms and proving proverbs, unless I told you that to this new subject he devotes near a dozen pages more, using for his purpose, not any common-sense principles of clear broad rules, but Juvenal, St. Chrysostom, Antidamus, (?) Terence, St. Ambrose, Martial, Dio, Seneca, Homer, Aristotle, Horace, Boethius, and others, leaving the subject pretty much as he found it.

Such is learning, when used, not as a means, but as an end, less dignified even than the "sonitus spinarum ardentium sub olla", of Ecclesiastes, "the crackling of thorns under a pot", for they at least make the water boil, but nothing comes of pedantry. How could divines of a school such as this, ever hope to emerge from words into things, or give birth to any religious doctrine, which savoured of philosophy or moral earnestness? Is it wonderful that they are neither consistent in their teaching, nor fair in their controversy, considering that they have read so much more than they have reflected? Is it wonderful that they can neither state what their adversaries really hold, nor know well what they hold themselves, when they have so little sense of what may be called the structure of knowledge, how one proposition is self-evident and another requires
p. 224 proof, how this idea grows out of that, and is nearer to it than to others out of which it does not grow, and how to say a and b is, as even the poor child saw clearly, the direct road to c? This, I conceive to be the true explanation, as far as the intellect has been in fault, of that psychological wonder, which Anglicanism has ever presented, of divines, able, erudite, grave, and respectable, content to be suspended between a premiss and its conclusion, describing three-fourths of a circle and refusing to finish it, deliberately commenting on verses and words, yet blind to the teaching of the chapter. It is the consequence of reading for reading's sake. It is acquirement without philosophy.

Do not suppose, Gentlemen, that I am wantonly

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First Edition

p. 224
l. 16 going out of my way for the poor satisfaction of exposing a weakness of Protestantism; I allude to it merely as affording an illustration, more apposite than is elsewhere to be found, of the intellectual character of mere acquisition. Catholics also may

21 thinking, but it is impossible they should similarly expose themselves in religion, safe, as they are from the excesses of private judgment.

Second Edition

p. 197
l. 25 knowledge, gentlemen, not

p. 199
l. 2 thinking,

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New Edition

p. 141
l. 1 in their case
2 that such knowledge
2 name, knowledge which
4 Such readers are
4 their knowledge,
23 exciting cause;
27 own. Recollect
30 fancies.

First Edition

p. 224
l. 23 However, in their case
25 that that knowledge of theirs
25 name,which
27 Otherwise, they are
28 it,

p. 225
l. 20 excitement.
1 own. Thus I may charitably account for the various extravagancies of the Protestant author I have been quoting. Recollect
28 fancies,

Second Edition

p. 199
l. 4 that that knowledge of theirs
5 name, which

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New Edition

p. 142
l. 1 besides,
10 (Division mark 8. after line 10.)
14 Gentlemen
17 to force upon him so much that he has rejected all.
21 is
22 enlargment, which it is not;

First Edition

p. 226
l. 4 beyond,
5 so that it
13 (No division mark after line 13.)
19 to attempt so much that nothing has been really effected, to teach so many things, that nothing has properly been learned at all.
25 was
26 enlargement;

Second Edition

p. 201
l. 3 (No division mark after line 3.)
7 gentlemen
10 to attempt so much that nothing has been really effected, to teach so many things, that nothing has properly been learned at all.
17 was
18 enlargement;

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New Edition

p. 143
l. 13 as they could with a good conscience,
16 but inwardly smile.
It must not be supposed that, because I so speak, therefore I have some sort of fear of the education of the people: on the contrary, the more education they have, the better, so that it is really education. Nor am I an enemy to the cheap publication of scientific and literary works, which is now in vogue: on the contrary, I consider
30 chemistry,
31 geology, ... astronomy, ... economy,
32 history, ... biography,

First Edition

p. 227
l. 22 as was conscientiously possible,
25 but inwardly smile.
Let us listen to one of the prophets of this fantastic doctrine, not in order to refute his sentiments, but to justify the foregoing account of them. "In looking at our age", says Dr. Channing in one of his works, "I am
p. 228 struck inwardly with one commanding characteristic, and that is, the tendency in all its movements to expansion, to diffusion, to universality. This tendency is directly opposed to the spirit of exclusiveness, restriction, narrowness, monopoly, which has prevailed in past ages..... All goods, advantages, helps, and more open to all .... once we heard of the few, now of the many; once of the prerogatives of a part, now of the rights of all.... The grand idea of Humanity, of the importance of man as man, is spreading silently but surely ..... If we look at the various movements of our age, we shall see in them this tendency to universality and diffusion. Look at science and literature. Where is science now? Locked up in a few Colleges, or Royal Societies, or inaccessible volumes? are its experiments mysteries for a few privileged eyes? are its portals guarded by a dark phraseology, which to the multitude is a foreign tongue? No; Science has now left her retreats, her shades, her selected company of votaries, and with familiar tone begun the work of

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First Edition

p. 228
l. 22 instructing the race. Through the Press, discoveries and theories, once the monopoly of philosophers, have become the property of the multitude. Its professors, heard not long ago in the University or some narrow School, now speak in the Mechanics Institute ..... Science, once the greatest of distinctions, is becoming popular. A lady gives us conversations on chemistry, revealing to the minds of our youth vast laws of the
p. 229 universe, which fifty years ago, had not dawned on the greatest minds. The school books of our children contain grand views of the Creation. There are parts of our country in which lyceums spring up in almost every village, for the purpose of mutual aid to the study of natural science. The characteristic of our age, then, is not the improvement of science, so much as its extension to all men.....

"What is true of science, is still more true of literature, Books are now placed within the reach of all. Works, once too costly except for the opulent, are now to be found on the labourer's shelf. Genius sends her light into cottages. The great name of literature are become household words among the crowd. Every party, religious or political, scatters its sheets on all the winds ..... Men grow tired at length even of amusements. Works of fiction cease to interest them, and they turn from novels to books, which, having their origin in deep principles of our nature, retain their hold of the human mind for ages.....

"The remarks now made on literature, might be extended to the fine arts. In these too we see the tendency to universality. It is said that the spirit of the great artists has died out; but the taste for their works is spreading. By the improvements of engraving, or the invention of casts, the genius of the great masters is going abroad. Their conceptions are no longer pent up in galleries, open to but few,
p. 230 but must be in our homes, and are the household pleasures of millions.....

"Education is becoming the work of nations. Even in the despotic governments of Europe, schools are open for every child without distinction; and not only the elements of reading and writing, but music and drawing are taught, and a foundation is laid for future

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First Edition

p. 230
l. 8 progress in history, geography, and physical science. The greatest minds are at work on popular education".*

Now in calling your attention, Gentlemen, to sentiments such as these, I must guard against any possible misconception of my meaning. Let me frankly declare then, that I have no fear at all of the education of the people: the more education they have, the better, so that it is really education. Next, as to the cheap publication of scientific and literary works, which is now in vogue, I consider

26 chemistry ... geology ... astronomy
27 economy ... history ... biography

Second Edition

p. 202
l. 24 but inwardly smile.

Now, I must guard, gentlemen, against any possible misconception of my meaning. Let me frankly declare then, that I have no fear at all
p. 203 of the education of the people:

l. 3 Next, as to the cheap publication of scientific and literary works, which is now in vogue,
14 chemistry
15 geology ... astronomy
16 economy ... history ... biography

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New Edition

p. 144
l. 2 nay,
24 intellect. Education

First Edition

p. 231
l. 4 nay
28 intellect. Jeremy Taylor could
quote Plutarch and Plotinus and Pythagoras, yet
p. 232 they could not keep him from veering about in
religion, till no one can tell to this day what he held
and what he did not; nor shall we be kept steady
in any truths or principles whatever, merely by
having seen a Red Indian or Caffir, or having mea-
sured a palaeotherion. Education

Second Edition

p. 203
l. 21 nay

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New Edition

p. 145
l. 2 (Division mark 9. after line 2.)
4 Gentlemen
32 generation frivolous,
narrow-minded, and resoureeless, intellectually considered,

First Edition

p. 232
l. 20 (No division mark after line 20.)

p. 233
l. 22 generation, languid, frivolous, resourceless, and
imbecile,

Second Edition

p. 205
l. 10 (No division mark after line 10.)
11 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 146
l. 1 is a fair subject for debate;
5 with a
hollow
7 ethics, -- I say,
13 domineer
15 men,
16 men

First Edition

p. 232
l. 23 remains to be seen;
28 with a virtual unbelief, and a hollow

p. 234
l. 1 ethics, -- God forbid I should defend in the concrete what I am only speaking of in that particular point of view which falls under my present subject, -- I say

10 tyrannize
12 persons,
14 persons

Second Edition

p. 207
l. 13 persons,
15 persons

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New Edition

p. 147
l. 7 Let it (New paragraph)
8 considerations; I
am but saying that that youthful community will
10 it
10 it
11 they
12 it
12 It
19 is
27 effects
30 ethical

First Edition

p. 235
l. 9 Let it (No new paragraph.)
11 considerations; I am
not dreaming of anything especially exalted, anything truly Christian, anything of supernatural excellence, as animating that youthful community; but still they will
15 they
16 they
16 they
17 they
18 They
25 is,

p. 236
l. 5 effects,
8 moral

Second Edition

p. 209
l. 4 is,
14 effects,
18 moral

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New Edition

p. 148
l. 11 (Division mark 10. after line 11.)
14 teaching
26 none,
33 truths

First Edition

p. 236
l. 24 anniversary. Were I not afraid of offending by a lightness of style for which this is not the place, I would remind you, Gentlemen, of the parallel which such a University affords to the mistake of the English Ambassador at a foreign court, who, wishing to recommend to the corps diplomatique a dish peculiar to his country,
p. 237 by the omission of the principle of unity, simply deprived it of its consistency and form, and of its national pretension.
(No division mark after line 3.)
18 none
25 truths,

Second Edition

p. 210
l. 10 (No division mark after line 10.)
13 teaching,
26 none

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New Edition

p. 149
l. 22 system

First Edition

p. 238
l. 19 system,

Second Edition

p. 212
l. 9 system,

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New Edition

p. 150
l. 5 brooks:"
(Added to the foot-note:)
[A further course of twenty years has past, and I bear the same witness in favour of this Poem.]

First Edition

p. 239
l. 8 brooks";
(Bracketed sentence not in foot-note.)

Second Edition

p. 213
(Bracketed sentence not in foot-note.)

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New Edition

p. 151 Discourse VII.

Knowledge Viewed in Relation to

Professional Skill

I.

l. 2 intellect,
15 the employment,
concentration, and joint action of

First Edition

p. 241 Discourse VIII.

Philosophical Knowledge Viewed in Relation to

Professional.

l. 1 (No division mark before line 1.)
2 intellect
16 the joint application and concentration
upon it of

Second Edition

p. 215 Discourse VI.

Liberal Knowledged Viewed In Relation to

Professional.

l. 1 (No division mark before line 1.)
3 intellect

p. 216
l. 2 the joint application and
concentration upon it of

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New Edition

p. 152
l. 18 repose, --

First Edition

p. 242
l. 23 repose,

Second Edition

p. 217
l. 5 repose,

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New Edition

p. 153
l. 6 (Division mark 2. after line 6.)
16 useful,"
20 Education,"
28 This question, as might have been expected, has been keenly debated in the present age, and formed one main subject of the controversy, to which I referred in the Introduction to the present Discourses, as having been sustained in the first decade of this century by a celebrated Northern Review on the one hand, and defenders

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First Edition

p. 243
l. 17 (No division mark after line 17.)
26 useful",

p. 244
l. 2 Education",
9 (No parallel passages after line 9.)

Second Edition

p. 218
l. 6 (No division mark after line 6.)

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New Edition

p. 154
l. 1 of the University of Oxford on the other. Hardly had the authorities of that ancient seat of learning, waking from their long neglect, set on foot a plan for the education of youth committed to them, than the representatives of science and literature in the city, which has sometimes been called the Northern Athens, remonstrated, with their gravest arguments and their most brilliant satire, against the direction and shape which the reform was taking. Nothing would content them, but that the University should be set to rights on the basis of the philosophy of Utility; a philosophy, as they seem to have thought, which needed but to be proclaimed in order to be embraced. In truth, they were little aware of the depth and force of the principles on which the academical authorities were proceeding, and, this being so, it was not to be expected that they would be allowed to walk at leisure over the field of controversy which they had selected. Accordingly they were encountered in bahalf of the University by two men of great name and influence in their day, of very different minds, but united, as by Collegiate ties, so in the clear-sighted and large view which they took of the whole subject of Liberal Education; and the defence thus provided for the Oxford studies has kept its ground to this day.

3.

Let me be allowed to devote a few words to the memory of distinguished persons, under the shadow of whose name I once lived, and by whose doctrine I am now profiting. In the heart of Oxford there is a small plot of ground, hemmed in by public thoroughfares, which has been the possession and the home of one Society for above five hundred years. In the old time of Boniface the Eighth and John the Twenty-second, in the age of

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First Edition

p. 244
(No parallel passages here. Cf. p. 258.)

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Second Edition

p. 220
l. 3 expected,
13 studies,
14 (No division mark after line 14.)
19 Oxford,

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New Edition

p. 155
l.1 Scotus and Occam and Dante, before Wiclif or Huss had kindled those miserable fires which are still raging to the ruin of the highest interests of man, an unfortunate king of England, Edward the Second, flying from the field of Bannockburn, is said to have made a vow to the Blessed Virgin to found a religious house in her honour, if he got back in safety. Prompted and aided by his Almoner, he decided on placing this house in the city of Alfred; and the Image of our Lady, which is opposite its entrance-gate, is to this day the token of the vow and its fulfilment. King and Almoner have long been in the dust, and strangers have entered into their inheritance, and their creed has been forgotten, and their holy rites disowned; but day by day a memento is still made in the holy Sacrifice by at least one Catholic Priest, once a member of that College, for the souls of those Catholic benefactors who fed him there for so many years. The visitor, whose curiosity has been excited by its present fame, gazes perhaps with something of disappointment on a collection of buildings which have with them so few of the circumstances of dignity or wealth. Broad quadrangles, high halls and chambers, ornamental cloisters, stately walks, or umbrageous gardens, a throng of students, ample revenues, or a glorious history, none of these things were the portion of that old Catholic foundation; nothing in short which to the common eye sixty years ago would have given tokens of what it was to be. But it had at that time a spirit working within it, which enabled its inmates to do, amid its seeming insignificance, what no other body in the place could equal; not a very abstruse gift or extraordinary boast, but a rare one, the honest purpose to administer the trust committed to them in such a way as their conscience pointed out as best. So,

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First Edition

p. 244
(No parallel passages here. Cf. pp. 258-259.)

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Second Edition

p. 221
l. 9 is the
fulfilment to this day.

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New Edition

p. 156

l. 1 whereas the Colleges of Oxford are self-electing bodies, the fellows in each perpetually filling up for themselves the vacancies which occur in their number, the members of this foundation determined, at a time when, either from evil custom or from ancient statute, such a thing was not known elsewhere, to throw open their fellowships to the competition of all comers, and, in the choice of associates henceforth, to cast to the winds every personal motive and feeling, family connexion, and friendship, and patronage, and political interest, and local claim, and prejudice, and party jealousy, and to elect solely on public and patriotic grounds. Nay, with a remarkable independence of mind, they resolved that even the table of honours, awarded to literary merit by the University in its new system of examination for degrees, should not fetter their judgment as electors; but that at all risks, and whatever criticism it might cause, and whatever odium they might incur, they would select the men, whoever they were, to be children of their Founder, whom they thought in their consciences to be most likely from their intellectual and moral qualities to please him, if (as they expressed it) he were still upon earth, most likely to do honour to his College, most likely to promote the objects which they believed he had at heart. Such persons did not promise to be the disciples of a low Utilitarianism; and consequently, as their collegiate reform synchronized with that reform of the Academical body, in which they bore a principal part, it was not unnatural that, when the storm broke upon the University from the North, their Alma Mater, whom they loved, should have found her first defenders within the walls of that small College, which had first put itself into a condition to be her champion.

These defenders, I have said, were two, of whom the

First Edition

p. 244

(No parallel passages here. Cf. pp. 259-261.)

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Second Edition

p. 224
l. 1 defenders, gentlemen, I

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New Edition

p. 157
l. 1 more distinguished was the late Dr. Copleston, then a Fellow of the College, successively its Provost, and Protestant Bishop of Llandaff. In that Society, which owes so much to him, his name lives, and ever will live, for the distinction which his talents bestowed on it, for the academical importance to which he raised it, for the generosity of spirit, the liberality of sentiment, and the kindness of heart, with which he adorned it, and which even those who had least sympathy with some aspects of his mind and character could not but admire and love. Men come to their meridian at various periods of their lives; the last years of the eminent person I am speaking of were given to duties which, I am told, have been the means of endearing him to numbers, but which afforded no scope for that peculiar vigour and keenness of mind which enabled him, when a young man, single-handed, with easy gallantry, to encounter and overthrow the charge of three giants of the North combined against him. I believe I am right in saying that, in the progress of the controversy, the most scientific, the most critical, and the most witty, of that literary company, all of them now, as he himself, removed from this visible scene, Professor Playfair, Lord Jeffrey, and the Rev. Sydney Smith, threw together their several efforts into one article of their Review, in order to crush and pound to dust the audacious controvertist who had come out against them in defence of his own Institutions. To have even contended with such men was a sufficient voucher for his ability, even before we open his pamphlets, and have actual evidence of the good sense, the spirit, the scholar-like taste, and the purity of style, by which they are distinguished.

He was supported in the controversy, on the same general principles, but with more of method and distinct-

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First Edition

p. 244

(No parallel passages here. Cf. pp. 261-262.)

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Second Edition

p. 224
l. 13 character,
17 duties,
20 mind,
25 saying,

p. 225
l. 7 controvertist,
9 men,

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New Edition

p. 158
l. 1 ness, and, I will add, with greater force and beauty and perfection, both of thought and of language, by the other distinguished writer, to whom I have already referred, Mr. Davison; who, though not so well known to the world in his day, has left more behind him than the Provost of Oriel, to make his name remembered by posterity. This thoughtful man, who was the admired and intimate friend of a very remarkable person whom, whether he wish it or not, numbers revere and love as the first author of the subsequent movement in the Protestant Church towards Catholicism,* this grave and philosophical writer, whose works I can never look into without sighing that such a man was lost to the Catholic Church, as Dr. Butler before him, by some early bias or some fault of self-education -- he, in a review of a work by Mr. Edgeworth on Professional Education, which attracted a good deal of attention in its day, goes leisurely over the same ground, which had already been rapidly traversed by Dr. Copleston, and though professedly employed upon Mr. Edgeworth, is really replying to the northern critic who had brought that writer's work into notice, and to a far greater author than either of them, who in a past age had argued on the same side.

4.

The author to whom I allude is no other than Locke. That celebrated philosopher has preceded the Edinburgh Reviewers in condemning the ordinary subjects in which boys are instructed at school, on the ground that they are not needed by them in after life; and before quoting what his disciples have said in the present century, I will refer to a few passages of the master. "'Tis matter

* Mr. Keble, Vicar of Hursley, late Fellow of Oriel, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.

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First Edition

p. 244
l. 10 These views are sanctioned by the authority of no less a name than that of Locke. He condemns the ordinary subjects in which boys are instructed at school, on the ground that they are not needed by them in after life.

Second Edition

p. 226
l. 18 (No division mark after line 18.)

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New Edition

p. 159
l. 10 them
11 for."
19 nay,
20 seen
21 soil."
26 ridiculous,"

First Edition

p. 244
l. 25 them,
25 for".

p. 245
l. 4 nay
5 seen,
7 soil".
12 ridiculous",

Second Edition

p. 227
l. 25 nay
26 seen,

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New Edition

p. 160
l. 10 mind.
11 Now to turn to his modern disciples. The study of the Classics had been made the basis of the Oxford education, in the reforms which I have spoken of, and the Edinburgh Reviewers protested, after the manner of Locke, that no good could come of a system which was not based on the principle of Utility.
"Classical Literature,"

27 Utility may be made the end of education, in two respects: either as regards the individual educated, or the community at large. In which light do these writers regard it? in the latter. So far they differ from Locke, for they consider the advancement of science as the supreme and real end of a University.

First Edition

p. 246
l. 3 mind, as distinct from the professional.
4 The question, started in these passages of Locke, has been keenly debated in the present age, and formed one main subject of the controversy, to which I referred in the Introduction to the present Discourses, as having been sustained in the first decade of this century by a celebrated Northern Review on the one hand, and defenders of the University of Oxford on the other. Hardly had the authorities of that seat of learning, waking from their long neglect, set on foot a plan for the education of the youth committed to them, than the representatives of science and literature in that city, which has sometimes been called the Northern Athens, remonstrated, with their gravest arguments and their most brilliant satire, against the direction and shape which the reform was taking. The study of the Classics had been made the basis of the Oxford education, and the Edinburgh Reviewers protested that no good could come of a system which was not based upon the principle of Utility.
"Classical Literature",

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First Edition

p. 247
l. 6 In this passage something more is laid down than the principle of Utility as the basis of University Education. You will observe, Gentlemen, the immediate and unavoidable consequence of that principle, viz., that there must be a number of unconnected and independent educations going on at the same time in the same place, some pupils being "dedicated" to one study, others to another. And again, from this will naturally follow a third principle, viz., that the young men who come for education are not the supreme and real end of a University, but the advancement of science, -- that being "useful", which is useful, not to them, but to mankind at large.

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New Edition

p. 161
l. 5 to come so near
to common life,
26 inflamed."

Such then is the enunciation, as far as words go, of the theory of Utility in Education; and both on its own account, and for the sake of the able men who have advocated it, it has a claim on the attention of those whose principles I am here representing. Certainly it is

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First Edition

p. 247
l. 26 to come so near to common life,

p. 248
l. 19 inflamed".

These passages occur in the course of the Review of a work on Professional Education by the well-known Mr. Edgeworth; a work which, whatever be its merits, I shall not be wrong in saying carries out the theory of the Reviewers to lengths which they themselves must consider extreme; since he seems to be content with nothing short of the absolute devotion and surrender of a child, on the part of his parents, "as early as possible", to some one
p. 249 profession or pursuit as his destiny, to the exclusion of every other.

Such then is the enunciation, as far as words go, of the theory of Utility in Education. I say, "as far as words go", because I do not profess to understand the writer or writers of the above passages very clearly. They contrast, yet unite, the Useful and the Liberal; for instance, they talk of "all liberal arts and sciences, useful to human life". I conclude from these words, that some liberal sciences are useful to human life, and some are not; how are we to distinguish them? what is meant by "liberal"? We indeed, Gentlemen, have been led to consider, that every science may be cultivated liberally, and again cultivated usefully, yet, that the liberal cultivation is ever simply distinct from the useful cultivation, and cannot be made one with it, any more than a physi-

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First Edition

p. 249
l. 18 ologist is a physician, or a physician a physiologist, though the same person may be both. But these Reviewers seem unwilling to give up the word "liberal", in connexion with the education they advocate, yet without distinctly knowing what it means.

Then again, they wish one student of a University to "dedicate" himself to chemistry, and another to "mathematics". Now, if half a dozen systems of education are to go on on the same spot, unity of place is but an accident, and I do not see what is
p. 250 the use of a University at all. What is the merit of bringing together youths from the four corners of a country, if they are to be kept apart from each other in separate schools and separate in processes of training, according to the destination of each? There is in that case no such thing as a University; it becomes nothing better than a rendezvous of sciences, pretty much what a bazaar is for tradesmen, and a cattle-fair for farmers; and such indeed is just the notion entertained of it by the same Reviewers twenty years later, as I showed you in a preceding Discourse. Well then, if so, the question arises, what does unity of place bestow in compensation for so great an effort, as the formation and the establishment of a central Body, which is to bring young men together from a thousand homes; for the original outlay, for the perpetual expense incurred by both parent and Institution, for the anxious risks to which it exposes the pupil? And this is generally felt, as it well may be; and so it is decided that residence is not necessary for him; that attendance merely for the examinations will suffice; nay, that it may be even better to make the University perambulate, and hold its visitations here and there in turn. And thus we have arrived at a reductio ad absurdum of this theory of Utility, as applied to a University. A common home implies a common education, and a common education implies mental culture as such; without which a University becomes
p. 251 a board, not a body, a government bureau, not a living power, and is only in name the same as that great and noble creation of the Church, which once was found on the banks of the Seine and of the Isis.

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First Edition

p. 251
l. 5 All this, I say, seems to be a simple reductio ad absurdum of the peculiar views and reasonings of which the Edinburgh School has been so steady an advocate; but still, I allow, it does not directly answer the question which Locke has raised. It certainly is

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New Edition

p. 162
l. 1 Nay, in one sense, I
3 Gentlemen
19 education,"

First Edition

p. 251
l. 13 Nay, I

p. 252
l. 4 education",

Second Edition

p. 231
l. 23 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 163
l. 2 assertions."
(Division mark 5. after line 2.)
10 understanding,"
11 inquiry,"
12 principles,"
17 liberal;"
29 useful,"

First Edition

p. 252
l. 22 assertions".
(No division mark after line 22.)

p. 253
l. 1 understanding",
2 inquiry",
3 principles",
8 liberal":
20 useful",

Second Edition

p. 233
l. 10 (No division mark after line 10.)

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New Edition

p. 164
l. 2 Gentlemen
12 it.
27 (Division mark 6. after line 27.)

First Edition

p. 254
l. 8 itself.
23 (No division mark after line 23.)

Second Edition

p. 234
l. 22 gentlemen

p. 235
l. 8 itself.
25 (No division mark after line 25.)

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New Edition

p. 165
l. 7 Education,
30 strength,

First Edition

p. 255
l. 7 education,

p. 256
l. 2 vigour,

Second Edition

p. 236
l. 14 education,

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New Edition

p. 166
l. 2 analyze,
10 other for which he has a taste or special talent, with an ease,
17 Gentlemen

First Edition

p. 256
l. 8 analyse,
17 other, with an ease,

Second Edition

p. 238
l. 15 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 167
l. 13 brings with it a power and a grace to every work and occupation which it undertakes, and enables us to be more useful, and to a greater number. There is a duty we owe to human society as such, to the state to which we belong, to the sphere in which we move, to the individuals towards whom we are variously related, and whom we successively encounter in life; and that philosophical or liberal education, as I have called it, which is the proper function of a University, if it refuses the foremost place to professional interests, does but postpone them to the formation of the citizen, and, while it subserves the larger interests of philanthropy, prepares also for the successful prosecution of those merely personal objects, which at first sight it seems to disparage.

7.

And now, Gentlemen, I wish to be allowed to enforce in detail what I have been saying, by some extracts from the writings to which I have already alluded, and to which I am so greatly indebted.

"It is an undisputed maxim

First Edition

p. 257
l. 28 adds a power and a grace to every exercise and occupation which it undertakes. And having thus
p. 258 opened the subject, I proceed to show you, Gentlemen, how it was actually taken in hand, at the time to which I have alluded, by the combatants on the opposite side. And this I think you will allow me to do at some length, though at first it will lead me into what may seem like a digression.

The assault on the University of Oxford, of which I have been speaking, was met by two men of great name and influence in their day, of very different minds, but united, as by Collegiate ties, so in the clearsighted and philosophical view which they took of the whole subject of Liberal Education. In the heart of Oxford, there is a small plot of ground, hemmed in by public thoroughfares, which has been

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First Edition

p. 258
l. 15 the possession and the home of one Society for above five hundred years. In the old time of Boniface the Eighth and John the Twenty-second, in the age of Scotus and Occam and Dante, before Wiclif or Huss had kindled those miserable fires which were to be the ruin of souls innumerable down to this day, an unfortunate king of England, Edward the Second, flying from the field of Bannockburn, is said to have made a vow to the Blessed Virgin to found a religious house in her honour, if he got back in safety. Prompted and aided by his Almoner, he decided on placing this house in the city of Alfred; and the Image of our Lady, which is opposite its entrance, is the token of the vow and its fulfilment to this day. King and almoner have long been in the dust, and strangers have entered into their inheritance, and their creed has been forgotten, and their holy rites disowned; but day by day a memento is still made in the Holy Sacrifice by at least one Catholic Priest, once a member of that College, for the souls of those Catholic benefactors who fed him there for so many years. The visitor, whose curiosity has been excited by its present fame, gazes with disappointment on a collection of buildings, which have with them so few of the circumstances of dignity or wealth. Broad quadrangles, high halls and chambers, ornamented cloisters, stately walks, or umbrageous gardens, a throng of students, ample revenues, or a glorious history, none of these things were the portion of that old Catholic foundation; nothing in short which to the common eye sixty years ago would have given tokens of what it was to be. But it had at that time a spirit working within it, which enabled its inmates to do, amid its seeming insignificance, what no other body in the place could equal; not a very abstruse gift or extraordinary boast, but a rare one, the honest purpose to administer the trust committed to them in such a way as their conscience pointed out as best. So, whereas the Colleges of Oxford are self-electing bodies, the fellows in each perpetually filling up from among themselves the vacancies which occur in their number, the members of this foundation determined, at a time

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p. 261
l. 17 periods of their lives; the last years of the eminent person I am speaking of were given to duties, which, I am told, have been the means of endearing him to numbers, but which afforded no scope for that peculiar vigour and keenness of mind, which enabled him, when a young man, single-handed, with easy gallantry, to encounter and overthrow the charge of three giants of the North combined against him. I believe I am right in saying, that, in the progress of the controversy, the most scientific, the most critical, and the most witty, of that literary company, all of them now, as he himself, removed from this visible scene, Professor Playfair, Lord Jeffrey, and the
p. 262 Rev. Sydney Smith, threw together their several efforts into one article of their Review, in order to crush and pound to dust the audacious controvertist, who had come out against them in defence of his own Institutions. To have even contended with such men, was a sufficient voucher for his ability, even before we open his pamphlets, and have actual evidence of the good sense, the spirit, the scholarlike taste, and the purity of style, by which they are distinguished. As might be expected, however, under the circumstances, his matter is various and heterogeneous, and his line of argument is discursive; he is not led to analyse his views on Education to their first principles, and in some places he adopts a more secular tone, than, even putting aside questions of religious doctrine, I would willingly use myself. Still it is not perhaps without its advantage to be presented with sentiments, which are in substance the same, under the different exterior which different minds throw around them; it is like meeting with two witnesses, who, each in his own way, depose to the same general representation.

His mode then of answering the objection, that a Liberal Education is not useful, will be found to fall in with that which I have adopted myself. It is true indeed that he speaks of Literature, whereas I have spoken of Philosophy; this, however, is immaterial in the question, as it lies before us, for in either case an intellectual culture is advocated,
p. 263 which is desirable for its own sake, -- which is the education of the man, not of the lawyer, antiquarian, or chemist, -- and which saves him from narrowness, and pedantry, both in society and amid the duties of

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First Edition

p. 260
l. 1 when, either from evil custom or from ancient statute, such a thing was not known elsewhere, to throw open their fellowships to the competition of all comers, and, in the choice of associates henceforth, to cast to the winds every personal motive and feeling, family connexion, and friendship, and patronage, and political interest, and local claim, and prejudice, and party jealousy, and to elect solely on public and patriotic grounds. Nay, with a remarkable independence of mind, they resolved that even the table of honours, awarded to literary merit by the University in its new system of examination for degrees, should not fetter their judgment as electors; but that at all risks, and whatever criticism it might cause, and whatever odium they might incur, they would select the men, whoever they were, to be children of their Founder, whom they thought in their consciences to be most likely from their intellectual and moral qualities to please him, if (as they expressed it) he were still upon earth, most likely to do honour to his College, most likely to promote the objects which they believed he had at heart. Such persons did not promise to be the disciples of a low Utilitarianism; and consequently, as their collegiate reform synchronized with that reform of the Academical body, in which they bore a principal part, it was not unnatural, that, when the storm broke upon the University from the North, their Alma Mater, whom
p. 261 they loved, should have found her first defenders within the walls of that small College, which had first put herself into a condition to be her champion.

These defenders, Gentlemen, I have said, were two, of whom the more distinguished was the late Dr. Copleston, then a Fellow of the College, successively its Provost, and Protestant Bishop of Llandaff. In that Society, which owes so much to him, his name lives, and ever will live, for the distinction which his talents bestowed on it, for the academical importance to which he raised it, for the generosity of spirit, the liberality of sentiment, and the kindness of heart, with which he adorned it, and which even those who had least sympathy with some aspects of his mind and character, could not but admire and love. Men come to their meridian at various

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First Edition

p. 263
l. 5 his profession. Speaking then principally of classical studies, he maintains that the knowledge useful to an individual, and the knowledge useful to a community, are, not only not the same, but are directly contrary to each other; that division of intellectual labour, which in fact the Reviewers advocate, is useful to a community, but is hurtful to the individual member of it; and that the end of direct Liberal Education is the good of the individual, and not that of the community.

"It is sometimes asked", he observes, "with an air of triumph, What is the utility of these studies? and utility is vauntingly pronounced to be the sole standard, by which all systems of education must be tried. If in turn we were to ask what utility is, we should, I believe, have many answers not quite consistent with each other. And the best of them perhaps would only give us other words equally loose and indefinite; such as wiser, better, happier; none of which can serve to untie a knotty question, and all of which lead us into a wider field of doubt and inquiry, than the subject which originally produced them. Before I attempt to show what the utility of classical learning is, in my own sense of the word, let it be permitted me to explain what it is
p. 264 not; and to take up the inquiry a little further back than writers on this subject commonly go.

"It is an undisputed maxim in Political Economy,"

Second Edition

p. 240
l. 15 (No division mark after line 15.)
16 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 168
l. 1 says Dr. Copleston, "that
14 narrowed
18 out of it. If it
26 force.
28 study. But,
32 own.
"Society

First Edition

p. 264
l. 4 that
18 narrowed,
21 out of it. ...
"If indeed", he continues, "national wealth were the sole object of national institutions, there can be no doubt but that the method demonstrated by the great and enlightened Adam Smith, being the surest means of attaining that end, would be the great leading principle of political philosophy. In his own work it is the great and sole end of his inquiry; and no one can blame him for confining himself to
p.265 that single consideration. His undertaking required no more, and he has performed his part well. But, in truth, national wealth is not the ultimatum of human society; and, although we must forbear entering on the boundless inquiry, what is the chief good? yet all reflecting minds will admit that it is not wealth. If it

l. 16 force. . . . . .
18 study.
There are emergencies, which call for his whole mind and faculties to be absorbed in it, which require him to forget every other relation of life, however sacred or natural, except that artificial one in which he is then placed. Times will occur when a surgeon or a general must dismiss the common feelings of human nature, and, in order to do his task well, must look upon himself as engaged in working out one problem, and upon all around him as instruments subservient merely to the acquisition

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First Edition

p. 265
l. 29 of some one distinct purpose, without regard to their
p. 266 bearings on any thing besides. But,

l. 5 own. . . . . .
"When the emergency is past, society

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New Edition

p. 169
l. 16 exercise
28- war.*"*
(Division mark 8. after line 28.)
30 The view of Liberal Education, advocated in these extracts, is expanded by Mr. Davison in the Essay to which I have already referred. He lays more stress on

---

First Edition

p. 266
l. 25 exercise,

p. 267
l. 9 war'".*
(No division mark after line 9.)
10 The same subject is treated, on the same general principles, but with greater care and distinctness, and, I will add, with greater force and beauty and perfection, both of thought and of language, by the other distinguished writer, to whom I have already referred, Mr. Davison; who, though not so well known to the world in his day, has left more behind him than the Provost of Oriel, to make his name remembered by posterity. This thoughtful man, who was the admired and intimate friend of a very remarkable person, whom, whether he wish it or not, numbers revere and love as the first author of the subsequent movement in the Protestant Church towards Catholicism, †-(as on the other hand, Dr. Copleston, was the master and head of that opposite school of thinkers, which numbers among its members Dr. Whately,) this grave and philosophical

† Mr. Keble, Vicar of Hursley, late Fellow of Oriel, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.

p. 268 writer, whose works I can never look into without sighing that such a man was lost to the Catholic Church, as Dr. Butler before him, by some early bias or some fault of self-education -- he, in a review of Mr. Edgeworth's work on Professional Education, already noticed, goes leisurely over the same ground, which had already been rapidly traversed by Dr. Copleston, and requires, I fear, to be quoted in

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First Edition

p. 268
l. 9 larger extracts than are becoming on an occasion, when I ought not to delegate the burden of discussion to another. Moreover, it may be considered hardly fair, to produce a writer of extreme opinions, such as Mr. Edgeworth, as the man of straw, on whom an able writer is to exercise his powers. Yet Mr. Davison's remarks are so suggestive of general principles, and so apposite to my subject, that the circumstance that they are directed to the exposure of a particular theorist, can hardly be considered an adequate reason for my avoiding to use them.
l. 20 In the Essay then to which I have referred, Mr. Davison claims

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Second Edition

p. 243
l. 3 exercise,
17 (No division mark after line 17.)

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New Edition

p. 170
l. 1 the "usefulness" of Liberal Education in the larger sense of the word than his predecessor in the controversy. Instead of arguing that the Utility of knowledge to the individual varies inversely with its Utility to the public, he chiefly employs himself on the suggestions contained in Dr. Copleston's last sentences. He shows,

11 Useful.
12 in an argument from which the following passages are selected:--
"It is to take
18 In his (Mr. Edgeworth's) system,
34 lead us.

First Edition

p. 268
l. 21 the word "useful" for Liberal Education in its larger sense, as Dr. Copleston had disclaimed it in its more restricted. Instead of arguing that the Utility of knowledge to the individual varies inversely with its Utility to the public, he chiefly employs himself on two propositions. He shows,

p. 269
l. 3 useful.
4 in the following luminous and comprehensive passages:--
"In a series of essays", he says, "Mr. Edgeworth has traced different plans of Education, calculated for the wants of the several professions. His plans begin at a very early period, and undertake to regulate the habits, studies, and sometimes the amusements, of the boy, in almost every particular, with a view to his civil employment in future life. The advantage to be secured by this concentration of his tastes and studies, is the enabling him to fill his station well, and enlarge his attainments, as applicable to it . . . . . .
"And here he labours under a strong suspicion, in our mind, of pursuing a partial and unsatisfactory end. We think there is too much professional policy in such aims; and that it is to take

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First Edition

p. 269
l. 24 In his system,

p. 270
l. 13 lead us. . . . . .

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New Edition

p. 171
l. 10 connections
16 ill-educated man.
"There is a certain

First Edition

p. 270
l. 24 connexions

p. 270
l. 2 ill-educated man. When we recollect also, that the leading professions, owing to causes which will always continue in force, in our country at least, are constantly so far overstocked in numbers that the necessary practice and study of them will not fully employ even that portion of their time and thoughts, which their respective members might well afford to give them, we must perceive that there will be a still larger surplus of the intellect of these professional men, to be carried to the fund for general purposes, and to seek its occupation in some spontaneous way.

"On this subject it is impossible to forget an evil incidental to the professions, or disregard the increase of it with which we should be threatened by a system of education dedicated exclusively or chiefly to them. The evil is one which is known by the hard name of pedantry, but which is commonly reckoned a disagreeable, rather than a mischievous thing. It escapes with this easy censure, we suppose, because men look at the fault of another as it affects themselves, more than as it injures him; and therefore the offensive, distasteful part of it is the most noticed. But the mischiefs of this contracted habit of mind to which we allude are so considerable; it runs so much into prejudice, conceit, and ignoble antipathies; it hinders so effectually, not the enlargement alone, but the justness and rectitude of the un-
p. 272 derstanding, that we do not hesitate to regard a system as radically wrong, which lays a plan of education and study that must prove nothing less than a hotbed to this pernicious pest of all mental cultivation.

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First Edition

p. 272
l. 5 "The predominant love and esteem of one's own profession is not to be blamed. It is a strong stimulant. Like other stimulants, it may do infinite good or harm, just as it is tempered and applied; but when it is to be made the spring of all youthful exertion, and wrought into the blood as soon as the blood begins to circulate; whether this be a treatment which any constitution can bear well, and whether it will produce, upon the whole, a healthy enthusiasm of spirit, or diseased and decrepid idiosyncracies, is not very hard to determine. We believe, that out of any given number upon whom it might be tried, many more would retain the narrow, unsocial, and vitiated temper of thought produced by it, than even the principle itself, managed as it will be in the hands of ordinary men.

"There is a certain faculty

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New Edition

p. 172
l. 3 indeed,
21 profession,
23 observation."
(Division mark 9. after line 23.)

First Edition

p. 273
l. 14 indeed

p. 274
l. 4 profession
6 observation.
The tincture of a little professional taste will aid variety of remark, and give novel views to the subject of conversation; but much of it cuts off all sympathy and confidence, and extinguish the intercourse of thought at once. If then those who are to shine at the bar or in the church may also be exceedingly useful if they can give light, unofficially, in other places, we cannot hail a scheme of education as promising well for them or for the cause of society as it stands at present, of which the aim is to collect all their lustre into a few points, with the loss of many essential utilities which it might serve in a more diffused state. It is to merge their education as men wholly in that which is necessary for them as members of a corps. It is to sacrifice the great scheme itself to an accident, an important accident; but which ought not in reason to engross our sole paramount attention."
(No division mark after line 24.)

Second Edition

p. 247
l. 5 indeed

p. 248
l. 4 (No division mark after line 4.)

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New Edition

p. 173
l. 1 admit,"
8 development
20 his own.
"Of the
28 'by a gatherer of simples,'

First Edition

p. 275
l. 6 admit",
27 his own. The difference between knowledge
and faculties is a thing of which Mr. Edgeworth has
a very steady conviction. We wish he had fallen
p. 276 upon a better method of reasoning, expanding, and
strengthening those faculties, upon which he feels
that all must ultimately depend.
"Of the

12 by a "gatherer of simples",

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New Edition

p. 174
l. 7 each other.

First Edition

p. 276
l. 25 each other:

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New Edition

p. 175
l. 1 interpretation),
9 reason."
"If these
14 use. Miscellaneous

Firs Edition

p. 277
l. 26 interpretation),*
* It is remarkable Mr. Davison does not notice doctrine. He seems to have included it in "interpretation" of Scripture. Thus, in his sense the passage cannot be admitted by a Catholic, for the judgment has no jurisdiction over doctrine; but its letter seems unexceptionable.

p. 278
l. 9 reason. Probability is the test of decision in all. There is a better and a worse in the execution of them. There is a balancing, an option, and a doubt in judging of them".
If these
17 use. Poetry, which
makes one article in that list, has been objected to as teaching men to imagine and not to reason. It does both. Its essence is impassioned, imaginative reason, and the higher kinds of it, which alone deserve to be regarded in education, are to an apprehensive capacity some of the most masterly and profound lessons of severe thought. What comparison can there be between Homer and Euclid for teaching to think and argue on any subject whatever, geometry excepted? One or two of the articles besides, as the fine arts, and works of wit, might perhaps be dispensed with and referred to the study of riper age; but the general circle comprehending the chief of them, will not endure to be much further retrenched. Miscellaneous

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New Edition

p. 176
l. 20 truth. The right mode
22 know

First Edition

p. 280
l. 19 truth. It is always dangerous to risk a single instance in support of any doctrine, unless it be candidly weighed and improved upon as a hint by the reader himself. In the present case, however, we shall be tempted to the imprudence of appealing to a solitary but splendid example. It may be of as much consequence to a man to know what to think of the word liberty, as any on which he can exercise his thoughts; where will you send him for information? to Roman or English history? In the history
p. 281 of his own times it is the subject of dispute; that history therefore will not compose his doubts. In more ancient history liberty is only seen as it has been perverted, oppressed, or misunderstood. Will you send him to the romantic pages of poetry in Lucan, Corneille, or our English Cato? There indeed he may catch the love of it; but that love will degenerate into extravagance, and his notions of the practical form of it can be none at all. Will you recommend him then to study the plan and sections of it in Montesquieu? His theory now may be more correct, but it will be too rigidly correct for use. The right mode
14 know,

Second Edition

p. 254
l. 10 know,

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New Edition

p. 177
l. 3 beings."
(Division mark 10. after line 3.)

5 But I must bring these extracts to an end. Today I

First Edition

p. 282
l. 3 beings.

"There is a trite maxim which tells us that nothing is more pernicious than reading a little of many different things. The maxim is perfectly just, as to a little idle and superficial reading, or in such things as do not naturally unite together. A cento of chemistry, languages, and English history, might be of this description; but a variety of strenuous and penetrating application to such subjects as are in harmony with each other, must escape this censure, till it can be shown that accumulating ideas and conspiring energies of mind are a mischief".

Lastly, with these manifest benefits to man, as such, which what I have called Liberal Education bestows, he contrasts the absurd beings which would be reared and exhibited in the busy scenes of life, under the influence of Mr. Edgeworth's training:--

"Instead of making well educated men, the object of his system is to make pleading, and prescribing, and "preaching" machines. So far does he carry the subdivision of his relative aims, that the knowledge of the first and plainest truths of religion is made to belong to a particular profession. The little uncassocked clergyman of six years old, is to be made acquainted with the being of a God, in a proper philosophical way. But his lay brothers have no
p. 283 such regular instruction provided for them. It is no part of their business. They must recollect that they are not designed for the church, and follow their proper profane studies. Who knows but they may live to hear their brother in the pulpit, and get some religion from him there!

"The lawyer is to have his appropriate management as soon as he begins to speak. A nurse of good accent is to be procured for him, to modulate his first babblings to the right tone of the bar. He is to

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First Edition

p. 283
l. 11 prattle for a fee. He is afterwards to be encouraged to a little ill bred disputatiousness for the same worthy purpose. Mr. Edgeworth quotes a trite passage of Roman history, to show that the Romans bestowed much care upon the elocution of their children, and repeats over again the tale of Cornelia and the Gracchi. The Romans thought it a grace in their children to speak their own language well. So thinks every one. The peculiarity of Mr. Edgeworth's mind, consists in making it exclusively a lawyer's accomplishment.

"The physician that is to be, as soon as he can wield a spade, is to have his garden, in imitation of the great Sir Charles Linnaeus, and vex the ground with his botanical arrangements. The culture of opium and rhubarb will be his first step to the prescription of them.

"The infant soldier is to be made a hero as soon as possible. Indeed no time is to be lost with him; for
p. 284 Mr. Edgeworth recommends that he be accustomed to the presence of domestic animals without terror, 'and be taken to the exhibitions of wild beasts, that he may be familiarized with their forms and their cries'. His nurse too must be chosen for her aptitude to the duties of rearing a great captain. When the defender of his country is grown up to a boy, his sports should be of the military cast. Without making too much parade, he should begin to work upon some fortification in the corner of a shrubbery. He must be trained also to a sense of honour, and abhor the disgrace of corporal punishment, as a soldier ought.

"Such is the grand scheme of partition to be made among the professional aspirants according to their destinations of future life. Religion, a good elocution, gardening, and other amusements, a manly constitution of body and mind, and a tenderness of honour, we have always thought to be good for boys, as sensitive, rational beings, capable of instruction, health, and pleasure. To make cunning sport for them, and defraud them of the natural right of amusing themselves in their own way, does not agree with our feelings of kindness for them. It sophisticates them in the very point where they should be most free and natural. But to delegate the moral qualities, such as a just impression of religion, and a right sense of honour, to a station or title, or a piece

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First Edition

p. 284
l. 28 of cloth, or to make the slightest difference in these respects, is to confound the essence of morality, and
p. 285 run deliberately insane upon a spurious conceited wisdom".
(No division mark after line 2.)
l. 3 The last sentences go beyond my present subject, which is the intellectual, not the moral bearings of Liberal Education. Today I

Second Edition

p. 255
l. 3 (Space after line 3, but no division mark.)

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New Edition

p. 178
l. 31 is in the
object which it pursues as useful

First Edition

p. 287
l. 11 is in its idea as useful

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New Edition

p. 179

Discourse VIII

Knowledge Viewed in Relation to

Religion

I.

l. 1 Gentlemen
2 investigation
6 principle
11 showed
12 that,
20 Knowledge

First Edition

p. 289 Discourse IX.

Philosophical Knowledge Viewed in Relation

to Religion.

l. 1 (No division mark before line 1.)
2 investigation,
7 principle,
14 showed, that

p. 290
l. 5 knowledge

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Second Edition

p. 259

Discourse VII.

Liberal Knowledge Viewed in Relation to

Religion.

l. 1 (No division mark before line 1.)
1 gentlemen
2 investigation,
14 showed,
14 that

p. 260
l. 7 knowledge

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New Edition

p. 180
l. 5 theory;
32 countries, --

First Edition

p. 290
l. 15 theory,

p. 291
l. 16 countries,

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New Edition

p. 181
l. 7 complete
9 (Division mark 2. after line 9.)
11 Right Reason, that is, Reason rightly exercised, leads the mind to the Catholic Faith, and plants it there, and teaches it in all its religious speculations to act under its guidance. But Reason, considered as a real agent in the world, and as an operative principle in man's nature, with an historical course and with definite results, is far from taking so straight and satisfactory a direction. It considers itself from first to last independent and supreme; it requires no external authority; it makes a religion for itself. Even though it accepts Catholicism, it does not go to sleep; it has an action and development of its own, as the passions have, or the moral sentiments, or the principle of self-interest. Divine grace, to use the language of Theology, does not by its presence supersede

26 Nature
33 ignorance

First Edition

p. 291
l. 25 complete,
27 (No division mark after line 27.)
28 Now, when I name the Religion of the Intellect or of Philosophy, and contrast it with Catholicism, you
p. 292 must not understand me, Gentlemen, as implying that Catholicism is opposed to our Reason. So far from it, I have just spoken of this intellectual Religion as existing in Catholic countries, and among Catholics; and in my earlier Discourses you may recollect I spoke of Catholic Theology as one main portion of the truths, which must be received and contemplated by Philosophy, if it deserve the name. Certainly this religious theory or spirit, to which cultivation of the Intellect gives rise, may be found among good Catholics, may influence, for the better and for the worse, hearts which have true faith and a good hope of salvation. I am not concerned here at all with the question of the Reasonableness of Christianity, or with the Evidences as they are called, or with the Notes of the Church, or with the solution of

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First Edition

p. 292
l. 15 objections which are brought against Revelation. I am supposing Catholicism taken for granted; even though it be, the exercise of Reason is not at an end; it has other offices and aims besides that of proof. Though it admits Catholicism, it does not go to sleep; it has an action and development of its own, as the passions have, or the moral sentiments, or the principle of self-interest. Grace does not supersede

l. 26 It

p. 293
l. 5 ignorance,

Second Edition

p. 262
l. 8 complete,
10 (No division mark after line 10.)

p. 263
l. 12 ignorance,

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New Edition

p. 182
l. 19 same in such a country as it exists
29 Creed. Had

First Edition

p. 293
l. 23 same as it exists

p. 294
l. 4 Creed, any more than to the Evidences. As before, so I repeat, had

---

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New Edition

p. 183
l. 2 granted, by a sort of implicit faith;
11 speaking then
12 belief in the great objects of faith, when I speak of Catholicism,
19- do himself;
20 losing his soul

First Edition

p. 294
l. 12 granted;--
22 then speaking
22 the Creed of Catholicism, when I speak of Religion,

p. 295
l. 1 do;
1 meriting eternal punishment

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New Edition

p. 184
l. 3 (Division mark 3. after line 3.)
30 and, as it were,

First Edition

p. 295
l. 20 (No division mark after line 20.)

p. 296
l. 19 and (as it were)

Second Edition

p. 266
l. 17 (No division mark after line 17.)

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New Edition

p. 185
l. 1 occasion. I repeat, it imparts an inward power which ought to effect more than this; I am not forgetting either the real sufficiency of its aids, nor the responsibility of those in whom they fail. I am not discussing theological questions at all, I am looking at phenomena as they lie before me, and I say that, in matter of fact, the sinful

---

First Edition

p. 296
l. 23 occasion. The sinful

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New Edition

p. 186
l. 2 heavenly
16 up;"
27 sin
29 conceive

First Edition

p. 297
l. 25 Heavenly

p. 298
l. 12 up":
23 sin,
26 conçeive,

Second Edition

p. 270
l. 20 sin,
24 conceive,

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New Edition

p. 187
l. 1 (Division mark 4. before line 1.)
4 nay,
17 nay,
18 or even betrayed
23 it exists, sins,
26 detection
28 Then,
29 conversation

First Edition

p. 299
l. 1 (No division mark before line 1.)
4 nay
18 nay
19 or are even
24 it is secured, sins
27 detection
29 Then
p. 300
l. 2 conversation,

Second Edition

p. 271
l. 2 (No division mark after line 2.)
22 nay
24 committed
p. 272
l. 4 sins
7 detection,
9 Then
11 conversation,

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New Edition

p. 188
l. 4 those very evils
8 the particular
moral disorder, and to prevent its accesses
15 when, although pain of body and mind
may be rife as
17 which are present at other times,
19 the daily, nay, the principal
business of the senses,

First Edition

p. 300
l. 9 that very evil
14 the moral disorder altogether,
and to induce sobriety
20 when, rife as in pain of body and mind
as
22 which at other times are present,
24 the habitual occu-
pation of the senses

Second Edition

p. 273
l. 9 which at other times are present,
12 nay
12 senses

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New Edition

p. 189
l. 8 resourceless ignorance?
21 society at large.
22 instruments

First Edition

p. 301
l. 20 vacant mind?

p. 302
l. 5 the social fabric.
7 instruments,

Second Edition

p. 275
l. 5 instruments,

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New Edition

p. 190
l. 3 the Apostle has delineated under
10 Gentlemen
14 perfect
18 principle,
27 yet,
27 hand,
29 or by those
33 principles

First Edition

p. 302
l. 23 the inspired Teacher
has delineated in several of his Epistles under
p. 303
l. 7 perfect.
10 principle
20 yet
20 hand
22 or those
26 principles,

Second Edition

p. 276
l. 5 gentlemen
11 perfect.
15 principle
25 yet
26 hand

p. 277
l. 2 or those
7 principles,

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New Edition

p. 191
l. 1 (Division mark 5. before line 1.)
1 Gentlemen
19 ourselves, whereas
shame may act upon us only within the round of our own thoughts.
25 conscience tends to become
29 those
29 my own country.
I can use with all my heart the poet's words,
"England with all thy faults, I love thee still;"

First Edition

p. 303
l. 26 (No division mark after line 26.)

p. 304
l. 18 ourselves, shame confines us within the round of our own ideas
23 conscience becomes
28 those,
28 Protestant England.

Second Edition

p. 277
l. 7 (No division mark after line 7.)
8 gentlemen

p. 278 ourselves,
l. 4 shame confines us within
9 conscience becomes
15 those,

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Third Edition

p. 191
l. 19 ourselves,
shame confines us within
24 conscience becomes

Fourth Edition

p. 191
l. 19 ourselves,
shame confines us within
24 conscience becomes

Fifth Edition

p. 191
l. 19 ourselves,
shame confines us within
24 conscience becomes

Sixth Edition

p. 191
l. 19 ourselves,
shame may act
24 conscience becomes

Eighth Edition

p. 191
l. 19 ourselves,
shame may act

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Ninth Edition

p. 191
l. 19 ourselves,
shame may act

New Edition (1891)

p. 191
l. 19 ourselves,
shame may act

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New Edition

p. 192
l. 1 but to those faults no Catholic can be blind.

4 really nothing
objective in their religion;
29 impossible;

First Edition

p. 305
l. 3 really such a thing as what the theologians call
the philosophical sin;
29 impossible,

Second Edition

p. 279
l. 26 impossible,

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New Edition

p. 193
l. 9 the persons whom
I have been describing.
19 despicable,
29 All-perfect, Ever-present

First Edition

p. 306
l. 17 the haughty English Protestant.
27 base,

p. 307
l. 8 Allperfect, Everpresent

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New Edition

p. 194
l. 1 (Division mark 6. before line 1.)
1 subject
8 I cannot
but recognize
16 accomplishments, as I view them, go
18 seen.* Yet how shallow, how
meagre, nay, how unamiable is that virtue after all,
when brought upon its crucial trial by his sudden summons
into the presence of his Judge! His
22 the help-
lessness of philosophy under the stern realities of our
being,
* I do not consider I have said above any thing inconsistent
with the following passage from Cardinal Gerdil, though
I have enlarged on the favourable side of Julian's
character. "Du génie, des connaissances, de l'habilité
dans le métier de la guerre, du courage et du désin-
téressement dans le commandement des armées, des actions
plutôt que des qualités estimables, mais le plus souvent
gâtées par la vanité qui en était le principe, la super-
stition jointe à l'hypocrisie; un esprit fécond en
ressources éclairé, mais susceptible de petitesse; des
fautes essentielles dans le gouvernement; des innocens
sacrifiés à la vengeance; une haine envenimée contre
le Christianisme, qu'il avait abandonné; un attachement
passionné aux folies de la Théurgie; tels étaient les
traits sous lesquels on nous preignait Julien."
Op. t.x p.54.

First Edition

p. 307
l. 14 (No division mark after line 14.)
16 subject,
23 we shall recognize

p. 308
l. 2 accomplishments, go
4 seen. His
5 his
character under its critical trial,

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Second Edition

p. 281
l. 23 (No division mark after line 23.)

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New Edition

p. 195
l. 2 eye-witness. "Friends and fellow-soldiers," he said, to use the words of a writer, well-fitted, both from his literary tastes and from his hatred of Christianity, to be his panegyrist, "the seasonable

7 nature .... I die
10 confidence
19 fate ...
"He reproved
22 prince
31 it
32 midnight."* Such, Gentlemen, is the final exhibition of the Religion of Reason:

First Edition

p. 308
l. 7 eye-witness. "He employed the awful moments", says a writer, well-fitted, both from his literary tastes and from his hatred of Christianity, to be his panegyrist, "he employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a sage; the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the prison of Socrates; and the spectators, whom, duty, or friendship, or curiosity, had assembled round his couch, listened with respectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying Emperor. 'Friends and fellow-soldiers, the seasonable

21 nature. I have learned from philosophy, how much the soul is more excellent than the body; and that the separation of the worthless substance should be the subject of joy rather than of affliction. I have learned from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety; and I accept, as a favour of the gods, the mortal stroke that secures me from the danger of disgracing a character, which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die

p. 309
l. 3 confidence,
14 fate' ...

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First Edition

p. 309
l. 15 "After this discourse, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he distributed, by a military testament, the remains of his private fortune; and making some inquiry why Anatolius was present, he understood from the answer of Sallust, that Anatolius was killed, and bewailed with amiable inconsistency the loss of his friend. At the same time, he reproved

24 prince,

p. 310
l. 5 it,
6 midnight".* A memorable deathbed indeed!

Second Edition

p. 284
l. 12 prince,
24 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 196
l. 5 (Division mark after line 5.)
7 pleasure
11 from, (Mis-print.)
13 views;" and it will be a further illustration of
the subject before us, if you will allow me, Gentlemen,
to make some extracts from his work.
One of
18 religion
21 content,"
29 worth." "If,"

First Edition

p. 310
l. 12 (No division mark after line 12.)
13 pleasure,
17 form,
19 views". In this
work one of
22 religion,
25 content",

p. 311
l. 6 worth". "If",

Second Edition

p. 285
l. 8 (No division mark after line 8.)
14 form,
18 gentlemen
22 religion,

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New Edition

p. 197
l. 9 servile."
13 background,
19 nature,"

First Edition

p. 311
l. 20 servile".
24 back ground,

p. 312
l. 1 nature",

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New Edition

p. 198
l. 13 truth."
16 ourselves,"

First Edition

p. 313
l. 2 truth".
6 ourselves",

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New Edition

p. 199
l. 1 respect
5 all,"
7 right,'
7 wrong;'
8 virtue,'
8 sin;'
9 man,'
9 God;'
14 way."
20 amiss."
32 contrary."

First Edition

p. 313
l. 26 respect,

p. 314
l. 1 all",
3 right',
4 wrong';
4 virtue',
5 sin';
5 man',
6 God';
10 way".
16 amiss".
29 contrary".

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New Edition

p. 200
l. 4 Soliloquy,"
5 extra;"
15 reason
21 (Division mark 8. after line 21.)

First Edition

p. 315
l. 7 Soliloquy",
8 extra";
18 reason,
24 (No division mark after line 24.)

Second Edition

p. 291
l. 25 reason,

p. 292
l. 6 (No division mark after line 6.)

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New Edition

p. 201
l. 15 utility
19 gone,"
25 grossness."

First Edition

p. 316
l. 23 utility,
27 gone",

p. 317
l. 3 grossness".

Second Edition

p. 293
l. 11 utility,

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New Edition

p. 202
l. 8 Intellectualism,
11 Philosophy,
24 the real power.
25 accordingly,
26 vice, therefore in order to
30 unseen."
31 And from this shallowness of philosophical Religion it comes to pass that its disciples seem able to fulfil certain precepts of Christianity more readily and exactly than

---

First Edition

p. 317
l. 23 Philosophy,
26 it

p. 318
l. 11 the power.
11 therefore,
12 vice, to
17 unseen".
18 And now, taking up the thread of our remarks where we dropt it, we are, alas! by this time in a better condition to form a true estimate of the religious value of those intellectual influences, which at first sight give such promise of service to the cause of Catholicism. No word indeed of praise or satisfaction which I have ventured to bestow on them has to be withdrawn; nay, much upon other scores has to be added. But so far is undeniable, that they have a dark side, as well as a bright one, and that their very points of excellence may blind or
p. 319 bribe us into a closer alliance with them, than Christian duty can approve. When I interrupted my favourable account of them, I had just made an allusion to the ethical precepts of St. Paul, and to the fulfilment which they seemed to receive at the hand of the pattern characters of this day. An attentive consideration of this correspondence, which at first sight tells for the latter, will but corroborate the contrast which I have since been drawing between Philosophy and the Gospel.

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New Edition

p. 203
l. 1 Christians themselves. St. Paul, as I have said, gives
5 single-minded,
7 each the other before himself,
13 relations; and, I repeat, the school of the world seems to send out living copies of this typical excellence with greater success than the Church. At this day the "gentleman" is the creation, not of Christianity, but of civilization. But the reason is obvious. The world is content with setting right the surface of things; the Church aims at regenerating the very depths of the heart. She ever begins
27 come;"
32 necessary

First Edition

p. 319
l. 14 singleminded,
15 each other before ourselves,
23 and, I grant, it is remarkable that men of the world should be able to imitate it so closely; it is more remarkable still that they should be able, without any striking, overwhelming extravagance, to boast, as they do, that they imitate it even more exactly than those, who belong to the communion and inherit the traditions of the Apostle himself. This
p. 320 indeed they seem habitually to assume; they appropriate to themselves a property of the Church; all that is beautiful in mind belongs to the gentleman, while Catholics are the representatives of primeval times, and a barbarous condition of society.

I do not wish to say anything in disparagement of the beneficial influence of Civilization, where it is not directly to may point; else, I might draw attention to the fact, that, whether or not it can create what it now calls "the gentleman", since Christianity has come, it had little conception of such a character before the appearance. In ancient times at least there was no such thing as a "pagan gentleman". It is an observation of Hume's, an unexceptionable witness here, that, "the arts of conversation", and we may take the word in its largest sense,"were

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First Edition

p. 320
l. 17 not brought so near to perfection among" the ancients, "as the arts of writing and composition. The scurrility", he continues, "of the ancient orators, in many instances, is quite shocking, and exceeds all belief. Vanity too is often not a little offensive in authors of that age, as well as the common licentiousness and immodesty of their style.... I shall also be bold to affirm, that among the ancients there was not much delicacy of breeding, or that polite deference and respect, which civility obliges us either to express or counterfeit towards persons with whom we converse".* The modern idea then of "a gentle-

* Essays.

p. 321 man" which Lord Shaftesbury would claim, was unknown to Cicero, and introduced by St. Paul. It may be a logical result of Philosophy, but, in the western world, at least, it is an historical offspring of Christianity. Gradually only, and in the course of centuries, did that idea take possession of the world's intellect, and imbue its moral sense, and become one of the recognized elements of its standard of perfection; the more wonderful then, if Catholicism, as is often assumed, should at this day, have abandoned that ethical delicacy and grace, which it was itself the means of introducing to the world.

But, in truth, the real state of the case is but a fit illustration of the relative positions of the Church and the world. The Church ever begins

23 come";
28 necessary,

Second Edition

p. 296
l. 4 each other
before ourselves,

p. 297
l. 9 necessary,

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New Edition

p. 204
l. 2 full proportions, as
well as the rudiments,
3. (Division mark 9. after line 3.)
5 Such is (New paragraph.)
6 Church;
9 fear."
11 spirits."
16 all
18 banquet;
19 at the present life,
33 unassuming

First Edition

p. 322
l. 4 substance, as well as the semblance,
4 (No division mark after line 4.)
5 Such is (No new paragraph.)
6 Church:
10 fear".
12 spirits".
17 all,
19 bouquet;
20 at this life,

p. 323
l. 4 unassuming.

Second Edition

p. 297
l. 14 substance, as well as the
semblance
15 (No division mark after line 15.)
17 Church:
p. 298
l. 3 all,
23 unassuming.

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New Edition

p. 205
l. 10 virtue, so that the word which denoted it convayed a reproach. As
13 condescension."
20 low; not,
23 saints;"
28 Gentlemen

First Edition

p. 323
l. 15 virtue; as
17 condescension".
25 low, not
28 saints";

Second Edition

p. 299
l. 23 low, not

p. 300
l. 7 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 206
l. level, in theory, he is placing

First Edition

p. 324
l. 17 level he is, by his theory, placing

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New Edition

p. 207
l. 3 given to us.
6 Philosophy
8 waste
in the education of the mind,
24 society, as at present constituted,

First Edition

p. 325
l. 21 created.
24 philosophy
27 waste,

p. 326
l. 13 the Protestant,

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New Edition

p. 208
l. 7 conversation.
26 taste,
28 (Division mark 10. after line 28.)
30 gentleman
32 accurate.

First Edition

p. 327
l. 5 manner.
24 taste
27 (No division mark after line 27.)
29 gentleman,

p. 328
l. 2 accurate; for certainly he may be represented as one who, while he abounds in services and civilities to others, aims (so to say) at others obtaining without his giving, at offering without obtruding, and at being felt without being seen.

Second Edition

p. 304
l. 3 manner
25 taste

p. 305
l. 2 (No division mark after line 2.)
4 gentleman,

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New Edition

p. 209
l. 32 enemy
33 insults,
34 well employed

First Edition

p. 329
l. 11 enemy,
12 insult,
13 busy

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New Edition

p. 210
l. 6 perhaps, but
14 Nowhere
24 it contents
him to decline

First Edition

p. 329
l. 20 though

p. 330
l. 10 he is contented with declining

Second Edition

p. 307
l. 3 though
12 No where
25 he is contented with declining

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New Edition

p. 211
l. 2 of God,
6 starting-point
14 (Space after line 14.)
18 it, in holy men, and in profligate;

First Edition

p. 330
l. 23 of a God,
27 starting point

p. 331
l. 6 (No space after line 6.)
10 it;

Second Edition

p. 309
(No extra spacing.)

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New Edition

p. 212 Discourse IX.

Duties of the Church towards Knowledge.

I.

l. 1 Gentlemen
6 Teaching
8 thought
12 common sense,
17 severe than
his, who in a difficult matter has it seriously at heart to investigate

---

First Edition

p. 333 Discourse X.

Duties of the Church towards Philosophy.

l. 1 (No division mark before line 1.)
6 Education
8 thought,
13 common-sense,
18 severe in its way,
p. 334 than are demanded of him who would investigate

Second Edition

p. 310 Discourse VIII.

Duties of the Church towards Liberal Knowledge.

l. 1 (No division mark before line 1.)
1 gentlemen

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New Edition

p. 213
l. 1 they
6 Gentlemen
29 point
31 "immediate"
32 because what I have been attempting has been of a preliminary nature, not contemplating the duties

---

First Edition

p. 334
l. 7 they,
8 point,
10 "immediate"
11 both because the questions I have hitherto treated are but a portion of those which enter into the general subject of University Education, and also because those which are to come are, as I think, more frequently discussed and in themselves more easily settled. My inquiry has borne a preliminary character, not as to the duties

---

Second Edition

p. 311
l. 19 gentlemen

p. 312
l. 21 point,

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New Edition

p. 214
l. 5 the subject-matter of its teaching;
10 which they separately convey;
15 together with the knowledge which effects it,
17 its
17 it
20 it
22 proves
23 its
27 nature
28 impart,
at the same time I do not like to conclude without making some remarks upon the duties of the Church towards it, or rather on the ground of those duties. If the Catholic Faith is true, a University cannot exist externally to the Catholic pale, for it cannot teach Universal Knowledge if it does not teach Catholic theology. This is certain; but still, though it

---

First Edition

p. 335
l. 23 its subject matter;
29 of them separately;

p. 336
l. 5 and such knowledge
6 their
6 they
10 they
12 prove
13 their
19 subject-matter
21 at the same time I conceive they have laid the ground for deciding much more than what they have professed, even if they have not already advanced some way in the proof. I observed in my Introductory Discourse, that "the main principle on which I should have to proceed in the controversy to which I was addressing myself, was this, that Education must not be disjoined from Religion, or that Mixed Schools are constructed on a false idea". Here, of

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First Edition

p. 336
l. 30 course, the first step to determine was, "what is meant by University Education"; and to that inquiry
p. 337 I have confined myself; but its very process and result have recommended generally, and opened views for proving in detail, the fundamental principle of which I have undertaken custody. Those further proofs in detail will form the subject of future discussions, should I ever have the opportunity of entering upon them; meanwhile, even as far as I have already gone, I consider I have said what may convince any one who is earnestly and seriously a Catholic (for I am here concerned with Catholics alone), -- any one who thinks that the doctrines of Revelation are true in the same sense that scientific principles and historical facts are true, -- that the idea of a University in fact external to the Catholic Church is both unphilosophical and impracticable, supposing, that is, by University is meant a place of education in general knowledge.

A reason for calling such an idea unphilosophical was drawn out in the former half of these Discourses; and a reason for calling it impractical has been suggested in the latter. In the former, this broad and obvious consideration was established, that, all knowledge being connected together, to omit in education any important department of it was more or less to invalidate the rest; on the other hand, that whereas the separate provinces of Knowledge have a tendency to encroach upon each other to the detriment of all, and severally require protectors and representatives of their respective interests, while

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New Edition

p. 215
l. 1 had ever so many theological Chairs, that would not suffice to make it a Catholic University; for theology would be included in its teaching only as a branch of knowledge, only as one out of many constituent portions, however important a one, of what I have called Philosophy. Hence á direct and active jurisdiction of the Church over it and in it is necessary, lest it should become the rival of the Church with the community at large in these theological matters which to the Church are exclusively committed, -- acting as the representative of the intellect, as the Church is the representative of the religious principle. The illustration of this proposition shall be the subject of my concluding Discourse.

13 (Division mark 2. after line 13.)
15 I say then, that
20 religious considerations
21 happen
31 State
32 spirit
33 islands;

First Edition

p.338
l. 1 political expedience, social utility, the tastes and dispositions which nature furnishes, constitute a sufficient guarantee that the claims of secular knowledge will be satisfied; theological knowledge requires on its part, and cannot safely dispense with, the vigilant presence of its own proper defender; and that that defender is the Church.

Such was the course of thought pursued in my first five Discourses; the view of the subject suggested in those which have followed has been less obvious indeed, but deeper and more serious than the former.

11 (No division mark after line 11.)
12 I have been showing in them that,
17 theological truth
19 happen,
29 state

p. 339
l. 1 spirit,
2 islands,

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Second Edition

p. 315
l. 5 (No division mark after line 5.)
13 happen,

p. 316
l. 1 islands,

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New Edition

p. 216
l. 1 State,
3 materially,"
15 and that, from the fact
25 be
28 become hostile
29 circumstances

First Edition

p. 339
l. 3 state,
5 materially",
18 from the circumstance
29 be,

p. 340
l. 4 be perverted
into hostility
6 character

Second Edition

p. 316
l. 2 state,
19 from the circumstance

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New Edition

p. 217
l. 20 Knowledge

First Edition

p. 341
l. 3 knowledge

Second Edition

p. 318
l. 13 knowledge

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New Edition

p. 218
l. 3 This Intellectualism first and chiefly
5 dogmatism; -- a
6 In a country which
does not profess the faith,
7 runs, if allowed, into
8 the pale of the Church
20 partisan;
25 the Queen of Saints,
26 the Apostolic See.
30 then even heresy will be
31 successive results.
32 injuries
33 reason

First Edition

p. 341
l. 21 First and chiefly, this Intellecutalism
23 dogmatism. A
24 External to the Church,
25 runs into
26 it

p. 342
l. 9 partizan;
15 Mary
16 Peter
20 then heresy, then an explicit suppression of
Catholic theology, will be
21 successive results.
But this is only the beginning of evils: there is no medium between truth and error, and the ultimate event of the struggle will show it. The University which does not profess the Faith, must in consistency denounce it. It becomes the prey and the organ of Revealed Truth, as it might have been a defence.
29 injuries,

p. 343
l. 2 reason,

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Second Edition

p. 319
l. 8 First and chiefly, this Intellectualism
10 dogmatism. A

p. 320
l. 16 injuries,
18 reason,

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New Edition

p. 219
l. 3 recognising
8 spirit. I
13 theology
being put aside in the present argument,
19 subject-matter
24 (Division mark 3. after line 24.)
25 I.
30 denied

First Edition

p. 343
l. 5 recognizing
11 spirit. These two have successively
constituted the subject of these Discourses and now,
at the risk of anticipating what may come before us
in future discussions, I
20 the province of theology being, as the present argu-
ment supposes, for the time withdrawn,
26 subject matter

p. 344
l. 2 (No division mark after line 2.)
3 1.
9 denied,

Second Edition

p. 320
l. 22 recognizing

p. 321
l. 20 (No division mark after line 20.)
21 1.
26 denied,

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New Edition

p. 220
l. 1 province,
it is said, he
20 implied,

First Edition

p. 344
l. 12 province, he

p. 345
l. 3 implied

Second Edition

p. 322
l. 5 province, he

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New Edition

p. 221
l. 10 depends
15 process.
20 as existing restraints
23 putting aside the question of that Omnipotence.
29 Final
32 "the divine vengeance;"

First Edition

p. 346
l. 1 depends,
7 process.
Take the well-known instance of the Homilies of the Established Church: when, in enjoining the ordinance of fasting, after appealing to Leviticus, the prophet Zachary, St. Luke, and the Council of Chalcedon, they go on to speak of abstinence "upon policy", in "consideration of maintaining fisher towns bordering upon the sea, and for the increase of fishermen, of whom do spring mariners to go upon the sea, to the furnishing of the navy of the same", we feel at once the incongruity of mixing religion and statute law.
23 as restraints
26 prescinding (to use the technical word) that Omnipotence.

p. 347
l. 3 final
6 "the will of God";

Second Edition

p. 324
l. 6 depends,

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New Edition

p. 222
l. 5 established laws;
12 Aristotle,"
21 and as introducing
22 causes."*
28 criticism
29 (Division mark 4. after line 29.)
32 method

First Edition

p. 347
l. 11 nature;
18 Aristotle",
27 and introducing
28 causes".*

p. 348
l. 7 writers
8 (No division mark after line 8.)
10 method,

Second Edition

p. 326
l. 14 writers
15 (No division mark after line 15.)
17 method,

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New Edition

p. 223
l. 7 original
14 depository,
19 reasoning
27 departments

First Edition

p. 348
l. 18 existing
25 depositary,

p. 349
l. 1 reasoning,
10 department

Second Edition

p. 327
l. 2 existing
15 reasoning,

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New Edition

p. 224
l. 3 was given by a
12 men
18 by-word
24 intellect,"

First Edition

p. 349
l. 20 was a
29 men,

p. 350
l. 7 bye-word
12 intellect",

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New Edition

p. 225
l. 4 Sympathy,
6 (Division mark 5. after line 6.)
29 Theology,"
32 God;'
32 nowhere
33 it

First Edition

p. 350
l. 27 Sympathy
29 (No division mark after line 29.)

p. 351
l. 22 theology",
26 God';
26 it,

Second Edition

p. 329
l. 25 Sympathy

p. 330
l. 2 (No division mark after line 2.)

p. 331
l. 5 no where
5 it,

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New Edition

p. 226
l. 5 certain
7 evil."*
11 Anglican

First Edition

p. 352
l. 4 certain,
7 evil".*
11 Protestant

Second Edition

p. 331
l. 13 certain,
20 Protestant

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New Edition

p. 227
l. 1 in some preceding Discourses;
12 (Division mark 6. after line 12.)
14 II.
17 Education, --
33 such,

First Edition

p. 353
l. 6 in the first part of these Discourses.
17 (No division mark after line 17.)
18 2.

p. 354
l. 9 such,

Second Edition

p. 333
l. 10 (No division mark after line 10.)
11 2.

p. 334
l. 6 such,

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New Edition

p. 228
l. 1 innocent or guilty.
24 but
33 in rebellion.

First Edition

p. 354
l. 11 or man *in pura natura*.

p. 355
l. 7 but,
16 fallen.

Second Edition

p. 334
l. 9 or man *in pura natura*.

p. 335
l. 11 but,
23 fallen.

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New Edition

p. 229
l. 1 (Division mark 7. before line 1.)
3 as I
11 Jewish."
12 nay, even for
22 Literature

First Edition

p. 355
l. 16 (No division mark after line 16.)
19 I
28 Jewish".
29 or for

p. 356
l. 11 literature

Second Edition

p. 335
l. 23 (No division mark after line 23.)

p. 336
l. 25 literature

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New Edition

p. 230
l. 12 canvas,
16 over and celebrates the
17 principles
21 for man
22 God's grace
23 disadvantage
25 it ill.
28 hunter,"

First Edition

p. 357
l. 5 canvass,
10 over the
10 principles,
14 man
15 grace
16 disadvantage, 19. it not.
21 hunter",

Second Edition

p. 338
l. 11 disadvantage,

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New Edition

p. 231
l. 1 made new
3 heavenly grace,
9 this
13 literature
28 earth.
* Vid. the Author's Parochial Sermons, vol.i.25.

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p. 357
l. 27 regenerate,
29 grace,

p. 358
l. 6 this,
10 Literature
26 Earth.
* Vid. the Author's Oxford Sermons, vol. I.

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p. 338
l. 24 regenerate,

p. 339
l. 8 this,
* [4]Vid. the Author's Oxford Sermons, vol. i.

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l. 8 (Division mark 8. after line 8.)
11 Gentlemen

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l. 21 (No division mark after line 21.)
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l. 10 vile,"
15 those
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25 world
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l. 1 way
2 has her remedy
13 this
17 books
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l. 15 way,
17 supplies it
29 this,

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l. 3 books,
9 (No division mark after line 9.)

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l. 14 way,
15 supplies it

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l. 13 (No division mark after line 13.)

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l. 19 house;
20 Charles
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New Edition

p. 236
l. 16 mid-heats
17 San
23 came
26 or to
take on them a rule of life, while to the world
they looked as before.
34 charity

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p. 364
l. 14 mid heats
16 Saint
23 came,
26 and to carry off his ligh yoke upon their shoulders.

p. 365
l. 4 charity,

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l. 15 came,

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l. 2 charity,

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l. 15 man."* 15 families
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17 Discourses,
18 certain that,
21 or of rule, or of
8 Gentlemen

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l. 17 (No division mark after line 17.)
28 discourses,
29 certain, that

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l. 4 or rule, or

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l. 10 certain, that

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APPENDIX.

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l. 1 I AM very sensible of the meagreness of the following illustrations of the main principles laid down in the foregoing Discourses; but, as I am so situated that I cannot give the time or labour necessary for satisfying my own sense of what they ought to be, I avail myself of such as happen to be at hand or on my memory.

1, Knowledge is the direct end of University Education.

I HARDLY know what steps to take in order to establish this position, which has been startling to some persons, viz., that the education of the intellect, or the diffusion of knowledge, is the direct scope of a University. It seems a truth, or rather an historical fact, which it is impossible to dispute, and therefore hardly possible to prove. What would be the popular description of a University? A place for learned and scientific men, a learned body, a large corporation, with professors of art and science, with faculties in theology, law, and medicine, with logical disputations, with examinations in intellectual proficiency, with degrees in token of that proficiency attained. I do not say that, over and above this account of it, the notions will never suggest themselves of Religious Festivals, Solemnities, and Sermons, of discipline, of
p. 372 Proctors, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, delegates to Councils, etc.; but the question before us is as to the idea on the whole, or the formal conception, of a University in the minds of the generality of men; and I cannot doubt it would be pronounced at once to be a seat of science and letters, or that its end is knowledge.

Its recognized titles correspond: it is a "Studium Generale"; a "Universitas Litteraria"; a "Schola"; and an "Academy"; while, if we would know what an Academy is, we learn from Horace, that youths were sent to Athens,

Inter sylvas Academi quaerere verum.

And the whole tenor of any work upon Universities implies this. Huber's learned Treatise implies it from beginning

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l. 12 to end, and for that very reason scarcely ever says it categorically.

He observes, for instance, "Before the time of Charlemagne, monastic and cathedral schools existed in Italy and in England; after his time, they were established on the Continent, north of the Alps. These schools were intended for the cultivation of the higher learning. . . Indeed, under Charlemagne and Alfred, and even in Germany under the Othos, the Church manifested an intellectual spirit much more similar than is generally admitted, to the spirit of the Reformation and of the period of revived classical learning. . . In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, the Schools continued to rise and to extend their organization, parallel to the general progress of intelligence. Speculation, Theology, and Philosophy were growing out of the narrow Logic and Rhetoric of the ancient Trivium and Quadrivium, and two new sources of knowledge--Roman Law and Graeco-Arabian Natural History--were opened".*

Again, he says of Oxford: "As early as the end of the ninth century, Oxford was the seat of a school of the highest intellectual cultivation then existing. By the end of the eleventh, it had as good a title to be called a University, as had that of Paris: whether

*Huber's English Universities: F. Newman's Ed.: vol. i., pp. 3-4.

p. 373 as regards the quality of its studies, or its inward organization. . . It is well known how England was desolated by the struggles of Saxon chiefs, and by inroads of the Sea Kings of the North. Meanwhile learning was so trampled under foot, that no traces of it were to be found, except in Ireland, and in the North and West of England, where Alfred appeared for his people's rescue. From the less distracted parts of his own kingdom he collected pious and learned men, and brought over others from the Continent. . . The will and example of the king gave a vast impulse to learning, and his youth flocked to the newly opened schools".* It is true that learning includes theology and protects religion; but the simple question is, not what learning

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l. 12 does or is, but whether the object contemplated by a University is or is not learning.

Polydore Virgil, centuries ago, had said the same thing: "Neotum imprimis, monasticae professionis virum sanctissimum, ob eximiam eruditionem miro amore complexus est (Alfredus); quo hortante Oxonii gymnasium instituit, proposita mercede omnibus, qui publice bonas artes profiterentur. Quo multi doctrina clari confluxerunt docendi gratia". Polyd. Virg., Hist. v., fin.

And an Oxford writer of the generation now passing away, even while resisting the modern schemes of education, has borne a similar testimony: speaking of Universities, he says--

"The composition and the early state of these bodies appears to have been nearly the same all over Europe, and, except in the instance of the two English Universities, has not undergone any material change. . . . The object was in the main the same then as it is now; to provide for the three great professions of theology, law, and physic, not only the best instruction in those departments, but that but that common basis of liberal information, which might exercise and enlarge the mind, before its attention was confined to the particular business of those several callings: and at the same time to afford ingenious men an opportunity of displaying their talents in

*Ibid., p. 45.

p. 374 teaching or improving the several arts and sciences which comprehended all that was thought most important in human knowledge. In this Encyclopedia were usually included ethics, physics, and metaphysics (to which three heads the title of philosophy was especially given), and as a preparatory discipline, grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, astronomy, and history, to which the study of the Greek language was, as early as the latter part of the fifteenth century, commonly added". Copleston in Quarterly Review, Dec. 1825.

Charlemagne's design was the same as Alfred's; viz., by means of the intellectual culture, which Universities or Academies contemplate and impart, to promote the glory of God and the wellbeing of the Church. "Domnus Rex Carolus", says a writer of his life, "a Roma artis grammaticae et computatoriae magistros secum adduxit

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l. 15 Franciam, et ubique studium litterarum expandere jussit. Ante ipsum enim dominum Carolum Regem in Gallia nullum fuerat studium Liberalium Artium.*

In like manner, but more fully in his own Epistle to the Abbot of Fulda. "Notum sit Deo placitae devotioni vestrae, quia nos una cum fidelibus nostris consideravimus utile esse, ut Episcopia et monasteria, nobis, Christo propitio, ad gubernandum commissa, praeter regularis vitae ordinem atque sanctae religionis conversationem, etiam in literarum meditationibus, eis, qui donante Domino discere possunt, secundum uniuscujusque capacitatem, docendi studium debeant impendere; qualiter sicut regularis norma honestatem morum, ita quoque docendi et discendi instantia ordinet et ornet seriem verborum, et qui Deo placere appetunt recte vivendi, ei placere non negligant recte loquendo".

Here two points are clear; first, that Religion is not the immeditae end of Charlemagne's schools, but of the existing monasteries; and on the other hand, that science or literature as such, was not the end, but, as I have said above, the culture of the intellect.

*Apud. Launoi., t. 4, p. 1, p. 2 Ibid.

p. 375 Those who learned to live well from monastic teaching, were to learn to speak well from collegiate or academic. He proceeds: "Quamvis enim melius sit bene facere, quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere". He wished then his schools to impart knowledge, and that for the sake of practice. Hence he goes on in the same letter to notice the benefit for learning for a better understanding of Holy Scripture.

I think it abundantly evident then that intellectual, and not moral education is the direct end of a University; and the formation of its members into particular Societies, and the institution of separate bodies within its jurisdiction, is an additional evidence of it. These were established to supply a want, to give that which the University, from the nature of the case, could not give, though it might and would attempt it,--protection and security to its children against the temptations of a great city, or at least against the disorders necessary to a mixed multitude of students. Such would be Seminaries for the secular clergy; such would be monastic communities, as Durham and Gloucester Colleges in Oxford

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l. 18 for the Benedictines; such Inns, Halls, and Chambers. These bodies did not set themselves to teach any thing which could not be taught in the University; for the University taught theology in all its parts; but they protected morals, and formed religious habits in those who otherwise would have been exposed to the evils under which the German Universities are said to lie in this day. I do not mean to say, that, in the absence of the institution of the theological faculty here or there, a Seminary or a College might not fulfil accidentally this function of the University; but I am speaking here of the normal state of a University or College. And in saying this it is evident, I am making no admission to those who, as in the Queen's Colleges among us, would banish theology from the public teaching and confine it to the private Society; for though there were Universities in the middle ages, without the theological faculty, yet theological truth was always professed and assumed as true in the secular teaching which was actually given, it entered as truth into the subject
p. 376 matter of all the knowledge which was actually taught there, and thus was ever implicitly present, and absent only accidentally. Vid. what I have said #2, infr.

I set down the following extracts from Papal bulls or letters, not in proof of what I think cannot be doubted, but simply as an historical record. According to them Universities are "institutions for the promotion of letters and the sciences, tending to the defence of the faith and the welfare of society".

Boniface the Eighth, of Rome: "Ferventi non immerito desiderio ducimur, quod eadem urbs, quam divina bonitas tot gratiarum dotibus insignivit, scientiarum etiam fiat foecunda muneribus, ut viros producat consilii maturitate conspicuous, virtutum redimitos ornatibus, ac diversarum facultatum dogmatibus eruditos, sitque ibi fons scientiarum irriguus, de cujus plenitudine hauriant universi liberalibus cupientes imbui documentis". Caraf. De Gymnas. Rom., p. 573.

And Innocent the Seventh: "Cum litterarum studia et bonarum artium doctrinae, praeter summam et manifestissimam utilitatem, quam privatim atque publice afferunt, maximum ornamentum ac dignitatem illis civitatibus et locis, in quibus ipsa vigent, praebere videantur, et cum pace ac tranquillitate, cujus nos esse cupidissimos profitemur, maxime sint conjuncta, decrevimus, Deo auctore, hujusmodi

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l. 23 studia per longissima spatia hactenus intermissa, in hoc tempore Pontificatus ad hanc urbem reducere, et omni fomento ea rursus excitare, ut homines per eruditionem veritatem veram agnoscant, et Deo atque legibus parem addiscant". Vid. Caraf. De Gymnas. Rom., p. 168.

Again, Benedict the Fourteenth: "Quanta reipublicae commoda obveniant ex publicis studiorum Universitatibus, in quibus bonarum artium ac scientiarum documenta ingenuae juventuti traduntur, omnium judicio et felici experientia evidentissime constat; dum per homines maxime liberalibus disciplinis excultos atque expolitos, totius civitatis mores ad aequitatis et justitiae rationem conformare solent, et necessaria in civilibus societatibus judicio recte et laudabiliter exerceri,
p. 377 pluraque hominum usibus proficua inveniri passim conspiciuntur, ut reliquae omnes privata et publicae res prudenter utiliter que administrari". Ibid., p. 636.

In like manner, Nicholas the Third, of Paris: "Dum attentae considerationis indagine perscrutamur, quod per litterarum studia...viri efficiantur scientiis eruditi, per quos Scripturarum veritas explicatur, erudiuntur rudes, provecti ad altiora concrescunt, et fides Catholica invalescit", etc. Launoi. Supr.

Urban the Fifth, of Vienna: "Commissae nobis speculationis aciem extendentes, fidelibus ipsis ad quaerenda litterarum studia, per quae divini nominis, suaeque fidei catholicae cultus protenditur, justitia colitur, tam publica, quam privata res geritur utiliter, omnisque prosperitas humanae conditionis augetur, libenter favores gratiosos impendimus", etc. "Cum itaque ipse Dux [Rudolphus] ad solum et utilitatem et prosperitatem hujusmodi reipublicae, et incolarum ducatus sui Austriae, sed etiam aliarum partium vicinarum laudabiliter intendens, in Villa sua Wiennensi plurimum desideret fieri et ordinari per sedem apostolicam Studium Generale in qualibet facultate, ut ibidem fides ipsa dilatetur, erudiantur simplices, aequitas servetur, judicii crescat ratio, et intellectus hominum augeatur; nos etc. ferventi desiderio ducimur, quod Ducatus et Villa praedicta scientiarum muneribus amplientur, ut viros producant consilii maturitate conspicuos, virtutem redimitos ornatibus, ac diversarum facultatum dogmatibus eruditos, sitque ibi scientiarum fons irriguus, de cujus plenitudine hauriant universi, literarum cupientes imbui documentis". Kollar. Analect I., p. 53.

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l. 27 Martin the Fifth, of Louvain: "Nuper exhibita petitio continebat, quod in Ducatu Brabantiae etc.... nullus locus esse noscitur, in quo saltem Generale vigeat Studium Literarum, unde partium illarum plerique vel hujusmodi litterarum imperitiae subjacent, vel in remotis partibus degere habent, scientiae hujusmodi in eis sectantes incrementum . . . . Quod inter catera virtutum opera, illa divinae majestati grata plurimum nullatenus ambiguntur, per quae ad suscipiendum singulare virtutum diadema illis qui scientiarum
p. 378 earundem sitiunt acquirere margaritam, opportunis remediis et auxiliaribus commodis, subventionis praesidium efficaciter impertitur, Generale literarum Studium ordinati desiderant, ut inibi disciplinae atque sapientiae se studiis exercentes, sibi et aliis meliores effici valeant, et partiam illarum prosperitatis auctore Domino facilius incrementum sequatur nos pium eorumdem desiderium, per quod scientiarum fons, ex quo ad Dei laudem et gloriam haurire possint singuli viri consilii maturitate perspicui, virtutum et dogmatum ornatibus redimiti succedant, plurimum commendantes", etc. Privil. Acad. Louvan. 1728.

Clement the Sixth, of Prague: "...fidelibus ipsis ad quaerenda literarum studia, per quae divini nominis suaeque catholicae fidei cultus protenditur, justitia colitur, tam publica quam privata res geritur utiliter omnisque prosperitas humanae conditionis angetur, gratiosos libentur favores impendimus". Vid. Monument. Hist. Univers. Carolo-Ferdin.

Eugenius the Fourth, of Caen: "Dum pensamus quantum litterarum studia ad profugandas ignorantiae tenebras commoditatis, tam publicae quam privatae, spiritualis ac temporalis, mundo conferant universo, ex quibus adversus haereses confirmatur fides, Dei cultus augetur, animarum consulitur saluti, pax et tranquillitas inter homines procuratur, dispensantur bonis praemia, mali suppliciis puniuntur, humanae conditionis ampliatur prosperitas, colitur regina virtutum justitia, Ecclesia militans ex earum uberrimis fructibus spiritualiter et temporaliter confovetur", etc. Dacher. Spiceleg. t. 3, p. 762.

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p. 378
l. 26 2. All branches of knowledge are subject matter of University Education.

THOUGH I have spoken of a University as a place for cultivating all knowledge, yet this does not imply that in matter of fact a particular University might not be
p. 379 deficient in this or that branch, or that it might not give especial attention to one branch over the rest; but only that all branches of knowledge were presupposed or implied, and none omitted on principle. Universities would naturally commence with Arts, and might, at least for a time, have no Professor or Teacher of Theology; but the truths of Theology would from the first be taken for granted and used, whenever they naturally entered into the subject of the Lectures which were given in Philosophy or (if so be) the Languages. Or this or that University might be a special school for Law or for Medicine; still it would be on the same type as other Universities, being by accidental circumstances drawn aside in one particular direction. Just as any church or cathedral implies chancel, nave, aisles, etc., yet need not be built in all its parts at once, yet would from the first presuppose and make provision for all those parts; or even when finished, might be remarkable for the length of its chancel or nave, or its height, or for its Lady Chapel; and again, as a church never might be finished, or might be made in parts of bad materials, or might gradually become dilapidated, or be virtually demolished in whole or part; in like manner we may find much irregularity or inconsistency in the studies or in the annals of a given University, yet this without any prejudice to the ideal upon which it is constructed, and which it professes and binds itself to fulfil.

Universities, which fell under these various suppositions, would still be the same in kind, one with another; and they would be specifically different from an Academical Institution which began by putting aside Theology, as a science which was not to be recognised. Accordingly we need not be surprised to find that Law was especially cultivated at Bologna, and Medicine at Salerno; nay that other Italian Universities, from the circumstance of their civil origin, instead of being simple schools of Liberal Knowledge, were, as Huber

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l. 31 tells us, "eminently practical". The same author says, on the other hand, "So surpassing was the pre-eminence of Arts, embracing, as it did, all the other sciences and the new philosophy, that it is even questionable whether the term Facultas is strictly applicable to the
p. 380 Masters of Arts, who are properly the Universitas. The studies of Law and Medicine grew up by the side of Arts, but never gained strength to compete with the last; nor has the principle ever been attacked, that the University has its foundation in Arts."* He observes too, that, "had not the coming in of Canonical Law evolved new materials, Theology might perhaps not even have constituted a separate Faculty"; for, "as a science, it had unfolded itself entirely out of the old studies, and could not be severed from them". Again, we have, according to Antony a Wood, as referred to by Keuffel, a curious state of scholastic disorder at Oxford in the middle of the twelfth century, on the first introduction of lectures on Roman Law. Highborn and lowborn flocked to the new Professor who came from Lombardy and Bec; and Arts began to be neglected and to decline. The change of studies was mischievously promoted by the lucrative character of the new science. Thereby too the very idea of a University was impaired, for there ceased to be a course or circle of studies. "This saltus, or skipping from one science to another", says a Wood, "before they have hardly made an entry, caused much abruption in literature, and a great displeasure in critical and knowing men that lived in those times; and especially for this cause, that they, who had spent many years in Arts, and had therefore gained great respect, were now with their doctrine neglected by upstarts". Roger Bacon (cent. xiii.), as might be supposed, was opposed to the change. The students were now considered to fall under three classes, which had their names given them: "the Shallow" who did not study Arts at all; the "Ragged" or "Patchy," who crammed up, as we should now say, from abstracts or formulas; and the "Solid", who, after laying a deep foundation, went on to build upon it. As time went on, this state movement, for so it seems to have been, excited the alarm of the Holy See, and Pope Innocent

*F. Newman's Edition, vol. i., p. 34 Ib., p. 33.
Vol. i., p. 2, p. 169.

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p. 381
l. 1 published a Constitution, prohibiting the admission of Lawyers to ecclesiastical dignities in France, England, Scotland, Spain, and Hungary. The words of Matthew Paris, speaking of the middle of the thirteenth century, are remarkable: "Et jam fere omnes scholares, intactis grammatices rudimentis, auctoribus et philosophis, ad Leges properant audiendas, quas constat non esse de numero Artium Liberalium: Artes enim Liberales propter se appetuntur, Leges autem ut salaria acquirantur".

That a University was really, in its idea, the seat of all learning is plain from its very name: in saying which I am not taking my stand upon the derivation of the word, but upon its recognised meaning, however it came to mean it. "Academiae institutae sunt", says Morinus (Ordin. iii. 13 fin.), "ad quas, velut ad studiorum et scientiarum emporia, undique concursum est; in quibus doctrina Christiana perfectius, diligentius, et splendidius, quam in Collegiis et Seminariis clericorum tradita est". As to the meaning of the word, authors are divided in opinion; some explaining it of a universality of studies, others of students. As, however, it is the variety of its schools which brings students from all parts, and the variety of its members which demands so many subjects of teaching, it does not matter much how we settle the derivation of the word. Any how, it is certain that the word must soon have acquired the sense of universality of students, from the use of the word Universitas, in the civil law.

I shall set down here some definitions or descriptions of the word, as I have found them.

1. Receptissima est vox Universitatis aut Studii Generalis vel Universalis: etsi nec id satis constet, qui Universitatis vox huc tracta sit. Conring. de Antiqu. Acad. Suppl., i. 7.

2. "In his etsi universa doctrina et rerum humanarum divinarumque scientia proponitur, nam in illum finum sunt institutae, ac Universitatum nomen sunt adeptae, parum tamen hactenus in rerum naturalium studiis et mathematicis effectum est"--Morhof. Polyhistor i. 14, 11.

p. 382 3. "Hae scholae (academiae) dictae fuerunt publicae, quod passim omnes artes et scientae in illis traderentur; nec tantum clericis, aut ad clerum assumendis, prout

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l. 3 scholae Episcopales, sed omnibus indifferenter adolescentibus paterent: atque inde paulatim Universitates, id est, scholae universales, dici coeperunt"--Van Espen, vol. i. p. 549.

4. Denominationes Studii Generalis et Universitatis, inde scholis de quibus nunc ago, attributae [sunt], quod scientiae universae in illis, proponebantur, cum contra in scholis cathedralibus, monasticis, et quae praeterea antehac excitatae erant, quaedam tantum doctrinae juventuti traderentur. Aliam tamen notionem vocabulo Universitatis assignat Haberus (de jure civ., ii. 3.2) existimans, titulum hunc academiis competere, quatenus jurisdictionem habent, et certo constant regimine: sed monet Thomasius ad illum locum, non respici ad hunc significatum, sed ad universitatem studiorum--Keuffel, Histor. Origin. et Progress. Schol., p. 319.

5. Vocantur scholae publicae celebres Universitates, vel nuncupatione desumpta ab universis scientiis, quae in eis edocentur; vel si non omnes scientiae legantur, ab universis tamen audiendae et ad. discendae aliquae traduntur.--Mendo, de jure Academico, init.

6. "Université:--école ou collége dam lequel ou enseigne toutes les sciences"--Encyclop. Méthodique.

7. "On appela le composè 'Université des études'; et enfin simplement 'Université', pour marquer qu' en une seule ville on enseignait tout ce qu' il était utile de savoir"--Fleury, Choix des Etudes, 8.

8. "University:--a school, where all arts and faculties are studied".--Johnson.

9. "A University, such as Oxford was made, is a joining together, and an incorporation under one government, of many public schools in one or the same town or city. 'Tis a place for the reception of all people that desire to learn; representing the whole kingdom wherein it is, nay the whole world, as Gerson saith, inasmuch as any person thereof may come to it, and acquire doctrine and wisdom".--A Wood's Oxford, vol. i. p. 2.

p. 383 10. "In these public schools or academies, which were founded at Padua, Modena, Naples, Capua, Toulouse, Salamanca, Lyons, Cologne, and in other places, the whole circle of the sciences then known was not taught, but only certain parts of it, or some particular sciences. That at Paris, which exceeded all others in various respects, as well as in the number both of

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l. 6 teachers and students, was the first to embrace all the arts and sciences; and therefore first became a University, or, as it was expressed, Studium Universale".--Mosheim, Eccl. Hist., vol. ii. p. 529. London, 1841.

11. "Hitherto the public studies had been limited to certain branches of learning: but, as the views or desires of men were enlarged, the whole circle of sciences, as far as the allotted period of time would allow, did not appear to be an object beyond the comprehension of youthful minds. Schools then, which professed to embrace all the sciences within their walls, and to appoint masters to each, were properly denominated Universities".--Berringtou's Middle Ages, p. 354.

12. "Hitherto only the Trivium and Quadrivium had been taught in these schools, but the newly awakened zeal for philosophical theology now led distinguished men to establish courses of lectures on this subject apart from the cathedral and conventual schools, though in a certain degree connected with them. To these were added, one after another, lectures on canon law, on medicine, and the arts, and in this way the first University was formed by a congregating together of these various teachers".--Gieseler, Text. Book, vol. ii. p. 313, ed. 1836.

13. "The most celebrated was that of Paris. It was adorned more than any other by the multitude, the rank, and the diligence of its students, and by the abilities and various acquirements of its professors; and since, while other academies confined their instructions to particular branches of science, that of Paris alone pretended to embrace the entire range, it was the first which took the title of University".--Waddington's Ch. Hist., p. 469.

p. 384 3. Mere acquirement is not real knowledge.

I DO not know that it is worth while to say in the words of others what is so evident when stated by any one; but as I am engaged in referring to authors who have gone before me, I will set down two passages on this subject.

"Much we are told from day to day", says Dr. Copleston, "of the folly of pedantry. The folly

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l. 7 is indeed ridiculous, and it is seldom spared. But the pedant in chemistry, or in physics, is at least as disagreeable an animal as the pedant in classical learning; and the pedant in political economy is not disagreeable only, but dangerous. . . Never, while the world lasts, will it be wholly disabused of that specious error, that the more there is crammed into a young man's mind, whether it stays there or not, whether it is digested or not, still the wiser he is. . . A half-educated father hears that Lectures are read in Chemistry, Botany, Mineralogy, etc., etc., at one place, and his son is learning nothing of this sort at school. Incapable of judging how mental powers are improved by continual exercise, and how the moral character is in a great measure formed by the study of good authors, he fancies that when the grammar of a language is learned, all further attention to that language is lost time, and then there is nothing new gained, because there is no new name. If the boy is captivated by the novelty and variety of the studies which is presented to him, he seldom returns with any relish to philological pursuits. He may become a skilful agriculturist, an improver of manufactures, an useful inspector of roads, mines, and canals; but all that distinguishing grace which a liberal education imparts, he foregoes for ever. It cannot be acquired in a late period of life, if the morning of his days have been occupied with other cares, or the intellectual habits already settled in different forms and postures. If, as too often happens, these matters are received into the ear, but take no possession of the mind, there is not only a moral blank, but an intellectual barrenness, a
p. 385 poverty of fancy and invention, a dearth of historical and poetical illustration, a void of all those ideas which decorate and enliven truth, which enable us to view over again the times that are past, to combine the produce of widely-distant ages, and to multiply into one another the component parts of each. The experiment is a correct one. I have seen it tried; and have witnessed the melancholy and irreparable result".--Reply to the Edinburgh Review.

An interesting Essay on University Education has lately been published by Dr. Tappan of New York. As, however, is to be expected in a work of his school,

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l. 10 there are many opinions expressed in it, which a Catholic will think not only false, but extravagant and unreal; but still passages may be found there, which I gladly would quote in illustration of the views I have been maintaining, and the more readily, because they are the result of experience in national experiments in education. He has a keen sense, for instance, of the evils of which I am at present speaking. "We have destroyed the charm of study", he says, speaking of his own country, "by hurry and unnatural pressure, and we have rendered our scholarship vague and superficial. We have not fed thought by natural supplies of knowledge. We have not disciplined mind by guiding it to a calm and profound activity; but we have stimulated acquisition to preternatural exertions, and have learned, as it were, from an Encyclopedia the mere names of sciences, without gaining the sciences themselves. . . . . The highest institutions will set the tone of education. And this we see realized in schools of every grade for both sexes. Our schools for boys, our schools for girls, present on the prospectus a formidable curriculum of studies, and immature beings of sixteen or seventeen are carried through the mathematics, the natural sciences, general history, the philosophy of history, belles-lettres, and metaphysics, together with two or three languages, and various polite accomplishments. These higher branches too, are often taught in lectures adapted rather to Universities than to elementary schools. The popular growth of education is not the orderly and gradual growth of
p. 386 mind according to its own innate laws fixed by God himself, but an immense and voracious deglutition of knowledge, where the mental digestion is estimated according to the rapidity with which these subjects are disposed of. The more masters, the more books, the more branches of knowledge in a given time, the faster the process goes on .... We forget, that, although we can quicken the labours of our hands, and increase the power and scope of our machinery, we may not overlay the organific power of nature; and that, as trees have their time to grow, and harvests their time to ripen, so the mind of man must grow from infancy to childhood, from childhood to youth"--&c., pp. 51,54.

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l. 11 This evil is of long standing in America. I had occasion myself to remark on it nearly thirty years ago in a review of a book of Travels, in which just a similar mode of education, if it can so be called, was praised. "We find that, in the space of four years, the student, whose age need not exceed fourteen, in addition to a long and varied list of books, attends lectures in chemistry, mineralogy, geology, natural philosophy, metaphysics, ethics, and theology, engages in forensic disputations, and is moreover expected to be connected with one or other of 'three literary societies', established among them. A range of literature and science of this nature is not only unfavourable to the acquisition of classical learning, but detrimental to application of any kind. Mr. Duncan indeed is of opinion, that, although Yale College, in the United States, may not 'produce many writers in mathematics to surpass those of Cambridge, or giants in Greek literature to wrest the palm from those of Oxford, it is very probable that it will send forth a greater proportion of men, whose minds are steadily trained to order and activity, and stored with those elements of knowledge, which are available in almost every situation, and which may be said to insure to their possessor a reasonable degree of success in any train of thinking or research to which, by his inclination or the exigencies of his future life, he may be led'. To us, however, such a course seems likely rather to confuse the youthful mind by its variety, than to enrich it with its abundance. Those who aim at too much often
p. 387 end in doing nothing. To enforce quickness in investigation and patience in research, to give the power of grappling with difficulties, accuracy of thought, and clearness of reasoning, to form the judgment, to refine the taste, to instil delicacy of feeling and a quick perception of poetical beauty,--objects such as these have surely range enough to fill the most capacious mind, and magnificence enough to satisfy the most exalted spirit, even if the student left the scene of study with little besides the accidental knowledge, which discipline of this nature could not fail to impart".

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p. 387
l. 10 4. The Branches of Knowledge form one whole.

IT is curious how negligent English writers seem to be just now of the necessity of comprehensiveness and harmony of view, in their pursuit of truth in detail. The very word Encyclopaedia ought to suggest it to them; but the alphabetical order has assimilated the great undertaking so designated to a sort of Dictionary of portions and departments of knowledge. Coleridge indeed, a man of philosophical mind, has felt the evil, and planned the Encyclopaedia with which he was connected, on a truer idea; but if I have a right to judge by such specimens as I have met with, he is an exception. Since beginning these Discourses I took down an Encyclopaedia of name, hoping it would give me light on the subject I was considering. I turned out the word "Philosophy",--there was no article on it, but a reference, "see Natural", "see Moral". I turned out Science, and found instead a notice to the effect that, whereas each science will be found discussed under its own name, there is here a vacant place for enumerating some entertaining problems or curiosities, etc., in science; and then followed some such as "the Invisible Girl", ventriloquism, sugar
p. 388 from old rags, etc., etc. I turned out various other words, but I could learn nothing about "truth", "knowledge", etc., the subjects of which I was in search. I had recourse to the article on Metaphysics, but even that did not supply the desideratum.

Really wise persons, whatever their religious feelings, have felt its importance. Hugo de St. Victore has a Treatise de Studio Legendi, in which he treats of philosophy and its parts. He says that philosophy is "Studium sapientiae"(i.3), and sapientia is "comprehensio rerum prout sunt" (vi. 14.); or more largely, "disciplina omnium rerum humanarum atque divinarum rationes plene investigans". Consequently there are as many parts of philosophy as there are "rerum diversitates" (i.5). For this reason "Philosophia est ars artium, et disciplina disciplinarum" (ii. 1), and "omnes artes ad unum Philosophiae tendunt terminum" (ii. 18). After dividing off and enumerating the arts and sciences, he continues (iii. 3, etc.):

"Ex his omnibus scientiis septem specialiter decreverant antiqui in studiis suis, ad opus erudiendorum, in quibus tantam utilitatem esse prae caeteris omnibus

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p. 388
l. 19 perspexerunt, ut quisquis harum disciplinam firmiter percepisset, ad aliarum notitiam postea inquirendo magis et exercendo, quam audiendo perveniret. Sunt enim quasi optima quaedam instrumenta et rudimenta, quibus via paratur animo ad plenam philosophicae veritatis notitiam. Hinc trivium et quadrivium nomen accepit, eo quod iis quasi quibusdam viis vivax animus ad secreta sophiae introeat. . . . . Hinc profecto accidit eo tempore [Pythagorae] tot fuisse sapientes, ut plura ipsi scriberent quam nos legere possimus. Scholastici autem nostri aut volunt aut nesciunt modum congruum in discendo servare, et idcirco multos studentes, paucos sapientes invenimus... ..Mihi videtur primum opera danda esse artibus, ubi fundamenta sunt omnium, et pura simplexque veritas aperitur, maxime his septem quas praedixi, quae totius philosophiae instrumenta sunt.....Haec quidem ita sibi cohaerent, et alternis vicissim rationibus indigent, ut, si una defuerit, caeterae philosophum facere non possint; unde mihi errare videntur, qui non attendentes
p. 389 talem in artibus cohaerentiam, quasdam sibi ex ipsis eligunt, et, caeteris intactis, his se posse fieri perfectos putant.....Sunt quidem, qui, licet ex iis quae legenda sunt, nihil praetermittant, nulli tamen arti quod suum est tribuere norunt; sed singulis legunt omnia. In grammatica de syllogismorum ratione disputant, etc., etc.....Cum legeris artes, et quod unius cujusque sit proprium agnoveris disputando et conferendo, tunc demum rationes singularum invicem conferre licebit, et ex alterna consideratione vicissim quae minus prius intellexeras investigari. Noli mul tiplicare diverticula, quoadusque semitas didiceris. Securus discurres, cum errare non timueris"--iii. 3--6.

He brings in Literature thus:--"Duo sunt genera scripturarum. Primum genus est earum quae proprie Artes appellantur; secundum est earum, quae sunt appendentia Artium. Artes sunt quae Philosophiae supponuntur, id est, quae aliquam certam et determinatam Philosophiae materiam habent, ut est grammatica, dialectica, et caetera hujusmodi. Appendentia Artium sunt, quae tantum ad Philosophiam spectant, id est, quae in aliqua extra Philosophiam materia versantur, aliquando tamen quaedam ab Artibus discerpta sparsim et confuse attingunt, vel si simplex narratio est, viam ad Philosophiam praeparant.

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l. 21 Hujusmodi sunt omnia poetarum carmina, ut sunt tragediae, comediae, satyrae, heroica quoque et lyrica, et iambica et didascalia quaedam; fabulae quoque et historiae", etc.--iii. 4.

Again, an eloquent writer in the Dublin Review gives the following account of a Tract of St. Bonaventura's: "From God, the Fontal Light, all illumination descends to man. The Divine Light, from which, as from its source, all human science emanates, is of four kinds: the inferior light, the exterior light, the interior light, and the superior light. The inferior light, that of sensitive knowledge, illuminates in respect of the natural forms of corporeal objects, which are manifested to us by the five senses. Its range does not extend beyond the knowledge of sensible things. The second, or external light of mechanical art, illuminates in respect of
p. 390 artificial forms. It embraces the whole circle of those arts which aim at protecting man from the weather, clothing, feeding, healing him when sick, and the theatrical arts directed to his recreation. Thus it includes all productions of the needle and the loom, all works in iron and other metals, stone, and wood; all products and all preparations of food; all navigation and commerce, which superintend the transit or the exchange of these; medicine in its widest sense, and music with the arts belonging to it. Manifold as are the objects of this light, it is all concerned with artificial productions; it touches only one side of human nature; it deals with man almost exclusively as an animal; it is directed to supply his bodily needs and console his bodily infirmities. The third, or interior light, is that of philosophical knowledge; its object is intelligible truth. It is threefold, for we may distinguish three sorts of verities, truth of language, truth of things, and truth of morals. . . . Lastly, the fourth, or superior light, is that of grace and of the Holy Scripture, which illuminates in respect of saving truth. . . Thus the fourfold light, descending from above, has yet six differences, which set forth so many degrees of human knowledge and science. There is the light of sensitive knowledge, the light of the mechanical arts, the light of rational philosophy, the light of natural philosophy, the light of moral

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p. 390
l. 22 philosophy, and the light of grace and Holy Scripture. 'And so', adds the saint, 'there are six illuminations in this life of ours, and they have a setting, because all this knowledge shall be destroyed. And therefore there succeedeth to them the seventh day of rest, which has no setting, and that is the illumination of glory", etc.--Dublin Review, Dec. 1851.

"Ea est ratio", says the Sacred Congregation, de Studiis moderandis, under Leo the Twelfth, "rerum et cogitationum, quae nobis naturaliter insculpta est, ut ordinis ideam nobis patefaciat. Hinc S. Augustinus, 'Ut igitur breviter aeternae Legis notionem, quae impressa nobis est, quantum valeo, vobis explicem, ea est, qua justum est ut omnia sint ordinatissima; ordo autem, sive parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio', non patitur res incondite
p. 391 vagari: sed unamquamque inter suos fines constituit. Hinc est quod in Physicis, in Metaphysicis, ac Moralibus, immo in toto scientiarum regno pulcherrima dispositio enitet, quae oculos mentemque mirum in modum perstringit. De scientiarum itaque atque Artium praecellenti harmonia pauca delibare fas erit, ut Adoescentium animos erigere, et in eis Sapientiae amorem valeamus excitare", etc.--Card. Bartazzolii Paraenesis, apud Collect. Leg. de rect. Stud. rat. Rom. 1828.

"Amongst so many great foundations of Colleges in Europe", says Lord Bacon, "I find it strange that they are all dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large. For, if men judge that learning should be referred to action, they judge well; but in this they fall into the error described in the ancient fable, in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do, nor of sense, as the head doth; but yet, notwithstanding, it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest: so, if any man think Philosophy and Universality to be idle studies, he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied. And this I take to be a great cause that hath hindered the progression of learning, because these Fundamental Knowledges have been studied but in passage"--Advancement of Learning.

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p. 391
l. 24 5. And are complements of each other.

"NULLUS est cujusdam artis adeo mediocris aut humilis quoque, ac vilis professor, qui, si sit superbus, non illam aut praecipuam omnium censeat, aut non certe existimari petat, ac contendat; illudque adeo moribus est receptum, ut efferre quem-
p. 392 que artem suam et laudibus coelo aequare, etiam aliis omnibus anteponere, licere ac pium esse arbitrentur. Grammaticus se unum putat sapere, desipere plurimos: Philosophus reliquos miseretur ut pecudes; Jurisconsultus alios omnes deridet; Theologus despicit; non quod se caeteras artes ignorare dicant, aut prae se ferant, immo nihil cunctantur confirmare sua illa una disciplina reliquas universas praestantius claudi ac contineri, quam in libris eorum qui de illis nominatim tradiderunt.

"L. Crassus apud Ciceronem omne disciplinarum atque artium genus cognitione juris contineri asseverat; et quidem, si diis placet, libello xii. tabularum; hoc idem nostri Jurisconsulti habent persuasissimum. Grammaticus totam philosophiam, quam late se diffundit, historicorum et poetarum libris contineri autumat; quos quum habeat in manibus, nihil sit quod Aristotele aut Platone indigeat. Quam artem rite percipient ac tradent, qui eam alienissimis in locis habitare censent, et illinc esse petendam, ubi vix illius sit vestigium ullum invenire? Idcirco videas falsissima atque absurdissima in omnibus artibus asseverari ab iis, qui illas violenter exprimunt ab auctoribus, qui aliquid eorum obiter et quasi aliud agentes attigerunt. Quot absurda in philosophia dogmata ab Homero traxerunt originem, quum multi veterum non illum ut ingeniosum Poetam legerent, sed ut philosophum doctissimum et gravissimum?--Ludov. de Vives, de Causis Corrupt. Art., l. 3.

"The strength of all sciences is, as the strength of the old man's faggot, in the band. For the harmony of a science, supporting each part the other, is, and ought to be, the true and brief confutation and suppression of all the smaller sorts of objections; but, on the other side, if you take out every axiom, as the sticks of the faggot, one by one, you may quarrel with them, and bend them and break them at your pleasure. . . For were it not better for a man in a fair room, to set up one great light, or branching candlestick of lights, than to go about with a

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l. 32 small watch candle into every corner?"--Bacon: Adv. of Learning, l. i.

There is a paper in the sixteenth volume of the
p. 393 Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions, very much to our purpose here, though it is too long to present before the reader except in extracts. It is entitled "Reflexions Générales sur l'Utilité des Belles-Lettres, et sur les Inconvéniens du goût exclusif, qui parâit s'établir en favour des Mathématiques et de la Physique".

It was occasioned by the same circumstances which led to Gibbon's Essay on the Study of Literature. The writer is tracing the history of modern literature, and observes:

"De la Grammaire naquit la Critique. Celle-ci entreprit d'abord de purger les anciens textes, des fautes que l'ignorance on l'inattention des copists y avaient introduites, etc. . . . Peu à peu elle s'éleva jusqu' à chercher dans les ouvrages des Grecs et des Romains, les modèles du beau et les règles du goût.

"A mesure que les connaissances s'entendaient, les objets d étude se multipliaient; la curiosité croissait. L'Histoire, considérée depuis l'origine du monde, offrit un champ immense, et fournit la matière d'un nombre infini de recherches. Religion, Loix, Coutumes, successions d'Empires, suites de Princes, migration de Peuples, fondations de Villes, naissance des Arts, progrès des Sciences; tous ces points furent approfondis; le critique discuta les faits, le Géographe détermina la position des lieux où ils s'etaient passés; le Chronologiste en fixa la date; l'Antiquaire trouva sur le marbre et sur l' airain, de quoi les éclaircir.

. . . "L'ordre naturel de leurs études, dont le plan général embrassait l'histoire et les monumens de tous les temps, les rapprocha, par degrés, de celui qu'on nomme le Moyen age; nouvelle carrière, d'autant plus intercessante que chacun d'eux croyait y voir le germe du gouvernement auquel il était soumis, et le berceau de la langue qu'il parlait", etc.

Here the author speaks of the use of the Mathematics in France, and of the exact sciences; and of the jealousy which it occasioned among the men of letters: and he proceeds to remark upon a Discourse of the Abbé du Resnel, who "se plaint dans son Memoire non que les Sciences-Exactes soient devenues florissantes

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p. 394
l. 1 parmi nous, mais que les letters aient cessé de l'être; non qu'un nouvel empire se soit élevé, mais qu'il ne s'élève que sur les ruines d'un autre. En effet, les neuf Muses sont soers: à ce titre, elles sont en droit de preténdre que la faveur public, qui fait la portion la plus précieuse de leur dot, soit partagée entre elles avec égalité".

After remarking that the various branches of Science are not so closely connected with each other, as those of Literature, he proceeds to illustrate the mutual relation and influence of the latter. "Il n' en est pas de même d l'Erudition; ses différentes branches conposent un tout presque indivisible; la plupart, au moins, sont si fort dépendantes les unes des autres, qu on ne saurait en détacher précisément une, pour la cultiver seule. Tel, par exemple, est né avec du gout pour la science de Médailles et voudrait s'y distinguer: il faut qu'à la connaissance des langues, qui, prise séparément, constitue le grammarien, il joigne la connaissance des temps, qui constitue le Chronologiste: celle des lieux, qui constitue le Géographe: la discussion des facts, qui constitue le critique; l'experience du métal, qui constitue le connoisseur: et toute fois nous n'aurons qu'un Antiquaire. Disons tout en un mot; chaque branch de l'Erudition exige le même fond d'étude; à peu de chose près, la même étendue le savoir, peut-être les mêmes talens; pour épuiser un genre, il faut les embrasser tous". Etc.

The remainder of the paper is principally on the subject of the utility of literature: the following passage, which I quote, is on the subject of philosophy, and the danger of mistaking a narrow ex parte scientific view of things for it:--

"On dit souvent, pour relever l'excellence des sciences-exactes, que ce sont elles qui out introduit das le monde l'Esprit Philosophique, ce flambeau précieux, à la faveur duquel nous savons douter et croire àpropos. Mais ce qu'on attribue aux sciences, exclusivement pourrait bien être l'ouvrage de la critique, et, par consequent, appartenir aux lettres. Car enfin, l'esprit philosophe peut se definer, 'la Raison eclairée sur les vrais principes des choses, de
p. 395 quelque nature qu'elles soient'; c'est à dire, tant de celles qui sont soumises aux sens, que de celles qui sont du ressort de l'esprit, considéré dans ses diverses facultiés. Or cette superiorité de raison

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l. 4 est le résultat des reflexions que les hommes ont faites, à mesure qu'ils ont accru le nombre de leurs idées, en acquérant de nouvelles connaissances par la voie de l'étude..... Puisque l'esprit philosophique s'étend, sans exception, a tous les objets de nos connaissances, suivant ce mot d'un ancien, 'La Philosophie est necessaire, lors même qu'on ne traite pas de la Philosophie, il faut bien se garder de se confondre avec l'esprit de calcul, qui de sa nature est renfermé dans un circle, au delà duquel on ne doit pas lui permettre d's'étendre. Nous ne dissimulerons pas que notre siècle commence à perdre de vûe cette distinction: et qu' à force de se piquer d'être Géomêtre, ou plutôt de vouloir tout ramener au calcul, d'en appliquer par-tout la méthode, de l'ériger un instrument universal, il cesse presque d'être Philosophe. Nous trouverions chez les étrangers et chez nous plus d'un exemple de cet excès, qui, dans le fond, n'est pas nouveau; les scholastiques du xiii. siècle avaient déjà transporté dans la Theologie la méthode et la style des Géomêtres".

In another Essay (t. xiii.), "Des Rapports que les Belles-Lettres et les Sciences ont entr'elles", the author, the Abbé Nauze, observes: "L'Esprit Philosophique est un talent acquis par le travail, et par l'habitude, pour juger sainement de toutes les choses du monde. C'est une intelligence à qui rien n'échappe, une force de raisonnements que rien ne peut ébranler, un goût sûr et réflechi de tout ce qu'il y a de bon ou de vicieux dans la nature. C'est la règle unique du vrai et du beau. Il n'y a donc rien de parfait dans les différents ouvrages qui sortent de la main des hommes, que ce qui est animé de cet esprit. De lui dépend en particulier la gloire des Belles-Lettres; cependant comme il est le fruit d'une science consommée, et le partage de bien peu de savants, il n'est ni possible ni nécessaire pour le succès des Lettres, qu' un talent si rare se trouve dans tous ceux qui les cultivent.
p. 396 Il suffit à une nation que certains grands génies le possèdent, et que la supériorité de leurs lumiéres les rende les arbitres du goût, les oracles de la critique, les dispensateurs de la gloire littéraire. L'esprit philosophique résidera proprement dans ce petit nombre; mais il répandra, pour ainsi dire, ses influences sur tout le corps de l'Etat, sur tous les arts, sur toutes les professions, sur tous les ouvrages de l'esprit ou

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p. 396
l. 7 de la main, et principalement sur ceux de Littérature".

"The more deeply the sciences are investigated", says Gibbon, "the more clearly is it seen that they are all connected. They resemble a vast forest, every tree of which appears, at first sight, to be isolated and separate, but, on digging beneath the surface, their roots are found to be all interlaced with each other. There is no branch of study so insignificant and unimportant, as not sometimes to afford facts, disclosures, or objections, to the most sublime and exalted sciences. I like to dwell on the reflection, that it is highly necessary to show different professions and nations their mutual wants. Point out to the English the advantages they may derive from the French; acquaint a natural philosopher with the assistance he may obtain from Literature; and self-love will perform the office of sound reasoning. Thus philosophy is extended, and human nature benefited. Before, men were rivals; now, they are brethren. All sciences are founded upon reasoning and facts. Without the latter, our studies would be chimerical: deprived of the former, they would be blind. Thus it is that the different branches of Literature are united: and all the various ramifications of the study of nature, which under an apparent meanness often hide a real magnificence, are connected together in a similar manner".--Essay on Literature.

The following instructions of Cardinal Gerdil for the establishment of an Academy of Science, strikingly illustrate what I have insisted on in the text, as to the indivisibility of the various branches of knowledge.

1. "Les Mathematiques dans toute leur étendue; la physique générale et particulière avec toutes ses
p. 397 dépendances; l'étude de la nature, les rapports qui lient les Etres entr'eux; les loix et les moyens de leur action réciproque, les phénomènes qui en résultent; l'application de ces phênomenès aux besoins de la vie; tels sont les objets dont il parait que l'Académie doive principalement s'occuper.

2. "Toute découverte réelle dans l'ordre de la nature ne peut qu'être suivie d'une utilité récelle ou immediate dans l'ordre de la société. Mais c'est

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p. 397
l. 8 moins à l'utilité en elle même, qu'à la source de l'utilité, qu'une Compagnie savante doit s'attacher. Elle doit se proposer de s'étendre la sphère des connaissances réelles, bien assurée d'en voir découler tôt on tard des avantages précieux pour l'humanité.

3. "L'Académie ne fera donc pas des arts l'objet de son travail. Ou a observé judicieusement (dans une note marginale) que le pas qu'il faut faire pour appliquer à la pratique de l'art une expérience ou un principe calculé, est ordinairement très facile, et que les observations minutieuses qui règlent la pratique des arts, nuiraient à cet essor plus relevé, qu'on est en droit d'attendre d'une Académie.

4. "Ce n'est qu'il n'y ait dans la pratique des arts, des règles ou des résultats dignes de toute l'attention d'une Academie; mais dans ce cas même, elle ne s'en occupe qu'autant que le procédé de l'art rentre dans la classe des expériences ou observations de Physique ou de Histoire naturelle, ou bien qu'il fournit matière ou à la résolution de quelque problème, ou à l'eclaircissement de quelque théorie mathematique. Eu un mot, les arts seront traités dans l'Academie scientifiquement, et non à la façon des artistes.

5. "Ou a proposé d'admettré dans l'Academie l'Etude de l'Antiquité, en dirigeant cette étude à la recherche des sciences et des arts chez les anciens. . . . Des ouvrages de cette nature éxigent nécessairement un concours de luminères pour être portés au point de perfection, donc ils sont susceptibles. Neanmoins, avant que de songer à etablir une classe d'antiquite, il convient de s'assurer d'un nombre de sujets propres à cette sort de travail et qui veuillent s'y employer.

p. 398 6. "Cet exemple peut dejà servir à expliquer en quel sens on a dit dans l'écrit cité cy-dessus, qu'il serait à propos qu'une Académie se proposat quelque plan de recherches, qu'on peut regarder comme l'ouvrage du corps, et non simplement comme le travail isolé des différents membres de l'association. Un travail commun peut être conçu de deux manières, on en tant que plusieurs co-opèrent au même travail sur un même sejet, on en tant que les travaux distincts de plusieurs se rapportent et concourent à un même objet. Que deux ou trois artistes entreprennent de peindre en commun une figure; que l'un s'applique à peindre la tête, l'autre les mains, ou que se relevant tour à tour chacun passe

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p. 398
l. 11 son coup de pinceau sur les mêmes traits, ce serait là un travail commun sur un même sujet. J'avoue qu' une telle méthode serait peu propre à donner à un ouvrage cette unité de caractère, qui en doit faire le principal mérite. . . . Mais qu'il faille étaler un spectacle sur la scène; le Poete, le Musicien, l' Architecte, le Peintre, le Machiniste, le Danseur, grand nombre d'autres artistes doivent nécessairement concourir au succès de la représentation. Voila l' idée d'un travail commun dans le second sens; je veux dire, le résultat des différents travaux très différents en eux mêmes, mais que se rapportent pourtant à un même objet. Une société savante peut former, pour l'avancement des connaissances humaines, des projets, dont l'exécution éxige différentes sortes de recherches, et par conséquent le concours des différents membres qui la composent. Dans ce cas, chaque associé s'occupe de sa partie; mais ces différents travaux, réunis par leur rapport à un même objet, forment un tout et un ensemble, qu'on peut regarder comme l'ouvrage de la société", etc.

I add a passage of a writer already quoted, who is speaking of Religion: "Religious knowledge is not merely a code of agenda or credenda, a summary of articles, or a manual of devotion. It is intimately connected with the whole course of ancient history, with philosophy and criticism, with the study of the learned languages, with moral and metaphysical philosophy. It runs parallel with the progress of the human mind in every liberal pursuit.
p. 399 The peasant may be as wise as his condition requires him to be, without the light of learning or philosophy; but the information which is sufficient for the peasant is beneath the claims which such a subject has upon the scholar and the gentleman. If indeed the mind be carefully instructed in every other branch of liberal knowledge, without a corresponding acquaintance with that which is the most momentous of all, an undue bias must be given to the judgment; the topic which is not expanded in proportion to the rest, will virtually shrink into insignificance, and be despised; its track will be forsaken, its treasures undiscovered, its domain uncultivated. We cannot, therefore, too earnestly insist upon the incompleteness of any system of education in which this main ingredient is wanting".--Copleston in Quarterly Review, December, 1825.

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p. 399
l. 14 6. Knowledge under this aspect is Philosophy or Liberal Knowledge.

"ADDUXIT ad tractandas atque excolendas artes magnitudo rei, et opus unum excellentia mentis nostrae longe dignissimum, cupiditas veri inveniendi, qua nihil est praeclarius, nec quod magis deceat hominem, sicut ignorari, falli, decipi, turpe ac miserum judicamus: quae ut evitarent, philosophatos esse priscos illos, nec alia causa, aut in alium usum, Aristoteles perhibet gravis in primis auctor.

"Admiratio hujus tanti operis ingentes illos animos ad studium et inquisitionem causarum compulit; hinc si quid se putarent novum et aliis inauditum invenisse, incredibilis sequebatur delectatio, tanquam parta victoria, et tantis difficultatibus superatis, ea delectatio detenebat eos in cura et labore, quam illi delectationem opibus, dignitatibus, et aliis omnibus vitae commodis proponebant: ergo expedierunt se varia hominum ingenia, ut in verum hoc
p. 400 quasi defodiendum ac eruendum prorsus incumberent, alta, spe praemii inducta, alia, ut fruerentur iis oblectamentis, quae ex spectatione theatri hujus naturae maxime capiuntus, varia subinde ac diuturna. Praestantia ingenia ex sublimi illa et generosa nota huc venerunt, quod, quum se tanta pectoris luce illo vigore mentis praeditos reputarent ac instructos, nulla in re alia consumi tanta bona oportere censuerunt, quam ut rem pulcherrimam scruterentur ac complecterentur, et, quatenus liceret, quam plurimis prodessent", etc. Vives, de Caus. Corr. Art., i. 2.

"Galenus medicus hac utitur sectione artium, ut 'alias' dicat 'contemptibiles vilesque, quae corporis laboribus et manibus exercentur', quas Graeci χειρουργικὰς vocarunt, 'alias honestas et homine libero dignas', de quo genere primam facit Medicinam. Hoc condonandum amori professionis, et tanquam pietati in nutricem bene meritam: addit Rhetoricam, Musicam, Geometriam, Astronomiam, Arithmeticam, Dialecticam, Grammaticam, Legum prudentiam. Nec repugnat, si quis volet huic numero adscribere eas, queis fingimus pingimusque, quod hae, tametsi citra manuum operam non obeantur, tamen non videntur egere robore illo et lacertis juvenilibus; Seneca vero non adducitur, ut in numerum liberalium artium pictorem recipiat, non magis quam statuarios, aut marmorarios

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l. 22 aut caeteros luxuriae ministros. Aeque luctatores et totam oleo ac luto constantem scientiam expellit, quod ei convenit cum Galeno; nec liberalia studia sunt, sententia Senecae, exercitationes rei militaris; venationem quoque a liberalibus Sallustius excludit. Possidonius Stoicus artes hunc in modum partiebatur, ut alias vulgares et sordidas nominaret, quae manu constarent et essent ad instruendam vitam occupatae, expertes decori atque honesti; alias indicras, quae ad voluptatem tenderent oculorum atque aurium: pueriles sunt, et aliquid habentes liberalibus simile, quas ἐλευθερίας Graeci vocant, quae non perducunt animum ad virtutem, sed expediunt; liberales vero, immo, ut inquit, solae liberae sunt, quibus est curae virtus.

"Recepta opinio est, septem esse liberales artes,
p. 401 tres de sermone, quatuor de quantitate. Has ingenuas cognominarunt, quasi has solas ingenui discerent ac exercerent. Nemo enim fere in liberis civitatibus ingenuus manuariis artibus operam accommodabat; sed puer hisce erat artibus deditus, juvenis vero militiae, campo, gymnasio, aut publicis negotiis, administrandae reipublicae, causis actitandis, et ejusmodi exercitamentis, quae sola censebant illi digna homine libero, unde illud in Comoedia, 'Fac periculum in litteris, fac in palaestra, in musicis, quae liberum scire aequum est'. Illae enim artes maxime existimabantur ingenuis hominibus ad vitae cultum et ad rempublicam gerendam congruere, ut sermo esset emundatus et purus, etc., etc. . . . Miror praetermissas ab illis Architecturam et Perspectivam ad multa utilem. . . . In nostris scholis haec quoque fundamenta sunt trium aedificiorum, Medicinae, Theologiae, et peritiae Juris, quas supremas artes disciplinasque nominamus, et usui quotidiano cum primis serviunt. Philosophiam moralem adjunximus, quae multum Theologiae adminiculatur; et ex qua jus esse ortum existimant Sacrum et Profanum; tam cognitionem Naturae rerum, sine qua Medicina manca est prorsus", etc.--Vives: de Caus. Corr. Art., i. 2.

"Sequitur post actionem quies; ratio est velut scrutatio, judicium electio, contemplatio autem inspectio quieta et tuta omnium, quae a ratione sunt collecta et exculpta, a judicio autem recepta atque approbata. Non est in ea ratiocinatio ulla, in qua omnia sunt certa jam atque exposita. Et quando

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l. 24 delectatio omnis nascitur ex proportione quadam congruentiaque objecti cum facultate, nihilque est menti congruentius quam veritas, fit ut in contemplatione magnae sint delectationes. In quo tamen spectantur veritas et ingenium, nam veritates tam sunt gratissimae quam certissimae maximeque defaecatae, prolatae simul cum suis originibus primisque causis; id vero si non concedatur, secundum est ut ad veritatem quam proxime accedant simillimaeque sint. Nemo est tam torpenti et abjecto in terram animo, quod non excitetur ad hanc vocem, 'Ego tibi hujusce rei causam patefaciam'". Vives de Anima, ii. 10.

"Neque enim ita in arctum confingendus est
p. 402 animus ut intra unam aliquam artem subsistat. Qui enim illud faciunt, iniqui profecto judices, non perspiciunt, quantum natura humani ingenii valeat; quae ita agilis est et velox, ut ne possit quidem aliquid agere tantum unum, si Fabium audimus. Non audiendi sunt homines imperiti qui humano ingenio majorem, vel inutilem et rebus gerendis adversam, πολυμάθειαν criminantur. Est igitur quaedam scientiarum cognatio et conciliatio, unde etἐγκυκλοπαίδειαν vocant graeci, ut in una perfectus dici nequeat, qui caeteras non attigerit. Sellularium, vilium, et sordidarum artium alia ratio est, quibus nulla inter se est conjunctio; ex quarum ingenio liberales illae consendae non sunt. Fabrilia qui tractat, impune ignorare sutoriam potest; at in liberalibus illis conspirant omnes manusque jungunt. In architecto quid requirat Vitruvius, novimus. Nulla poene disciplina est, quam ille non attingi velit. In Oratoribus et Poetis, perfectis scilicet, ea omnia quae in architecto suo Vitruvius, requirunt earum disciplinarum Magistri. Et has quidem scientias artesque omnes ita congerendas in Philosophum suum judicarunt Stoici, ut nec mechanicarum artium rudem esse voluerint, ac indignum eo crediderint, si aliorum ministeriis ad vitae civilis necessitates uteretur. Veniamus ad disciplinas elegantiores: ad quas junctim excolendas natura duce incitamur, ut extremo viris pudori sit, in una aliqua consenescere. Non dubium est, mediocribus etiam ingeniis hic licere esse felicibus; Inest scilicet illis ὁρμὴ πρὸς πάντα μαθήματα, qualis ingenio magno convenit, et

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l. 24 qualem nobis Plato describit. Est animorum nostrorum, si ita loqui liceat, ὄψος , quo illi vel per naturam vel assuefactionem apti sunt multa simul complecti, abstrahere a singularibus, seque ab illo humili statu in sublimem perducere. Itaque se exerit in illo, quod ἀρχιτεκτονικὸν appellare possumus, aut, ex Stoicorum disciplina, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, regio quasi spiritu, et fulminis instar omnia penetrans, et sua quadam luce omnia perlustrans..... Qui distinctas rerum ideas animo tenent, modo sibi subordinatas nec comfusas, illis non imminui, sed augeri τὸ κριτικὸν, necesse est, quod ex conciliatione omnium partium resultat. Major enim profecto ἀκρισίας metus est ab illis, qui circa ὁρισμένον μάθημα versantur, qui
p. 403 plerumque ex illius indole, etsi caeterarum rudes sint, omnia alia metiantur..... Neque tamen id volo, ut qui omni incubuit disciplinarum generi, in illis omnibus simul habitet; nam et tempore et negotiis, aliisque impedimentis excludimur, ut fieri a nobis non possit. Quare occupabimus quidem totum hunc fundum animo, affectu, impetu; sed convenientissimam ejus partem quasi limitibus quibusdam circumscribemus, quam excolamus, et in qua industriam nostram exerceamus. Excludit ipse scientiarum vastitas hospites suos; qui nunquam habitabunt, nusquam domi erunt, si ubique habitare volent, aut levi tantum percursatione plurima attinent".
Morbof. Polyhistor., i. 1. I have left out sentences here and there for the sake of brevity.

"It is an assured truth which is contained in the verses, "Scilicet ingenua didicisse fideliter', etc. It taketh away the wildness and barbarism and fierceness of men's minds; but indeed the accent had need be on fideliter; for altogether superficial learning doth rather work a contrary effect. It taketh away all levity, temerity, and insolency, by copious suggestion of all doubts and difficulties, and acquainting the mind to balance reasons on both sides, and to turn back the first offers and conceits of the mind, and to accept of nothing but examined and tried. It taketh away vain admiration of any thing, which is the root of all weakness: for all things are admired, either because they are new,

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l. 23 or because they are great. For novelty, no man that wadeth in learning or contemplation thoroughly, but will find that printed in his heart, 'Nil novi super terram'. Neither can any man marvel at the play of puppets that goeth behind the curtain, and adviseth well of the motion. And for magnitude, as Alexander the Great, after that he was used to great armies, and the great conquests of the spacious provinces in Asia, when he received letters out of Greece, of some fights and services there, which were commonly for a passage, or a fort, or some walled town at the most, he said, 'It seemed to him, that he was advertised of the battle of the frogs and mice, that the old tales went of'. So certainly, if man meditate upon the universal.
p. 404 frame of nature, the Earth with men upon it, the divineness of souls excepted, will not seem much other than an ant hill, where some ants carry corn, and some carry their young, and some go empty, and all to and fro a little heap of dust. It taketh away or mitigateth fear of death, or adverse fortune; which is one of the greatest impediments of virtue, and imperfections of manners..... And therefore Virgil did excellently and profoundly couple the knowledge of causes, and the conquest of all fears together, as concomitantia; 'Felix qui potuit'", etc. Bacon, Adv. of Learning, vol. i. p. 60, ed. 1824.

In quoting Gibbon, it is generally necessary to apologize for his irreligious tone. "With some [the philosophical talent] consists in tracing out new paths and ridiculing every prevailing opinion, merely because it is prevalent. With others it is identified with geometry, that imperious queen, who, not content with reigning, proscribes her sisters, and declares all reasoning unworthy of the name, which turns not upon lines and numbers..... The philosophical talent consists in the power of going back to simple ideas, of seizing and combining first principles. The glance of its possessor is correct, but it is at the same time extensive. Placed upon an eminence, he takes in a wide range of vision, of which he forms to himself one simple and connected idea, while other minds, as correct in apprehension, but more limited in extent, see only some portion or other of it. He may be a

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l. 24 geometrician, or an antiquary, or a musician, but still he is a philosopher; and by dint of penetrating into the first principles of his art, he becomes superior to it. He has a place among that small number of geniuses, who, at distant intervals, cultivate that chief science to which, were it perfected, all others must submit. Taken in this view, the talent is extremely rare. There are plenty of minds capable of correctly apprehending particular ideas; but there are very few who can collect into one abstract idea a numerous assemblage of others of a less general nature. What study can confer this talent? None that I know of. It is a
p. 405 gift conferred by Heaven; the majority of mankind are ignorant of, and despise it; it is wished for by the wise; has been given to few; has been acquired by none; but I think that the study of Literature, that habit of alternately becoming a Greek or a Roman, a disciple of Zeno or of Epicurus, is admirably adapted to develop and exercise it. Throughout all these infinitely diversified minds, may be observed a general conformity between those who, by the similarity of their times, countries, and religions, have acquired very nearly the same manner of looking at objects. Those minds which are least imbued with prejudice, cannot be entirely free from it. Their ideas have a paradoxical appearance; and, even when breaking their fetters, you perceive that those ideas were once shackled by them. Among the Greeks I look for favourers of democracy; among the Romans for enthusiastic lovers of their country; among the subjects of a Commodus, a Severus, or a Caracalla, for apologists for despotic power; and among the ancient Epicureans, for inveighers against the religion of the times. How striking a spectacle for a truly philosophic mind, to see the most absurd opinions received among the most enlightened people; barbarians attaining to the knowledge of the most sublime truths; legitimate but incorrect consequences drawn from most erroneous premisses; admirable principles continually approaching nearer to truth without ever quite reaching it; language formed by ideas, and ideas corrected by language; the sources of morality always the same; the opinions of the quarrel-

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l. 25 some metaphysician always varying, generally extravagant, clear only while they are superficial, and subtle, obscure, and uncertain whenever they pretend to be profound. [In History] the philosophic mind sees a system, connexions, and consequences, where others can discern only the caprices of fortune. It considers this science as one of causes and rules, not to enable genius to bud forth, but to guard it from mistakes. Perhaps, if this had always been well weighed, cunning would not so often have
p. 406 been mistaken for penetration, obscurity for depth, and an air of paradox for a creative genius". Essay on the Study of Literature.

To enter into the opinions of others, and to be sceptical about the truth of any, are not, as Gibbon supposes, synonymous. For surely it is no paradox to say, "I understand you, but I think the contrary of your opinion true". Here it will save me trouble, if I express my meaning in my own words on a former occasion.

"There are many men of one idea in the world; your unintellectual machine, who eats, drinks, and sleeps, is a man of one idea. Such, too, is your man of genius, who strikes out some new, or revives some old view in science or in art, and would apply it as a sort of specific or interpretation to all possible subjects, and will not let the world alone, but loads it with bad names, if it will not run after him and his darling fancy..... Such again are the benevolent persons, who, with right intentions, but yet, I think, narrow views, wish to introduce the British constitution and British ideas into every nation and tribe upon Earth; differing, how much, from the wise man in the Greek epic, whose characteristic was that he was 'versatile', for he had known 'the cities and the mind of many men'. History and travel expand our views of man and of society; they teach us that distinct principles rule in different countries and in distant periods; and though they do not teach us that all principles are equally true, or, what is the same thing, that none are either true or false, yet they do teach us that all are to be regarded with attention and examined with patience, which have prevailed to any great extent among mankind. Such is the temper of

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l. 28 a man of the world, of a philosopher. He may hold certain principles to be false and dangerous, but he will try to enter into them, to enter into the minds of those who hold them; he will consider in what their strength lies, and what can be said for them; he will do his best to analyze and dissect them; he will compare them with others; and he will apply himself to the task of exposing and disproving them. He will not ignore them"; etc.

p. 407 It is not to be supposed that any Catholic can endure Sharon Turner, though he was after all fairer than his generation; but still it is pleasant to find him, after a contemptuous mention of the Trivium and Quadrivium, give utterance to the following just sentiment:--"The classical minds whom we are accustomed to venerate, were not formed merely from the literature which preceded them, but from the general intellect, business, conversation, and pursuits of their day. It is a mistake to imagine that a man of great intellectual eminence is made only from his library; he is the creature of the improvement of society about him, reflecting upon him the rays of a thousand minds, and pouring into him information from a thousand quarters. Every hour his understanding, if it has the capacity, is insensibly directed, enriched, and exercised, by the knowledge and talent that is everywhere breathing, acting, and conferring around him. His mind expands, without his own consciousness of its enlargement; his ideas multiply independently of his will; his judgment rectifies, his moral and political wisdom increases with his experience; and he at last becomes a model imperceptibly benefiting others, as he has been benefited himself". Middle Ages, vol. iv. p. 241.

From an exceedingly able article in the British Critic for January, 1841, on "Utilitarian Moral Philosophy", I select the following passage, as having an immediate bearing on our subject: "[Comprehensiveness of view] is the power of embracing without confounding a variety of facts, past, present, and to come, of holding in the mind a number of ideas, each perfect in itself, yet each with relation to the rest, of uniting an indefinite number of objects in one view as a whole. This power is to a certain extent exer-

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l. 29 cised in any, the commonest case of comparison, every time we assert any kind of likeness or unlikeness, preference or relation; at the same time, it is perhaps in this more than any other exercise of the intellect, that we are able to feel distinctly how far our natural ability falls short of our capacities. Illustrations may be taken from any quarter. In music, we are first able to
p. 408 distinguish a pleasing from an unpleasing sound, and that is all; shortly we become able to remember the sounds which led to it, and to view each present note coloured by those which we hold still in our memory, to understand, that is, a simple air; next, we detect simultaneous sounds and melodies as they combine to form one harmony; and so on, till the accomplished musician is enabled to embrace in one grasp, as it were, a whole musical movement, with all the history and relations of the various threads of melody, which appear and disappear, are echoed, varied, entangled, and disentangled, enforced and overwhelmed through the whole composition. Thus, too, in examining a piece of mechanism, after we have mastered one by one the various ingenious contrivances by which minor difficulties are obviated, and the forces applied to their different destinations, we stop and try to see them for a moment all at once, to embrace in one glance all the complicated movements of the parts, as subordinate and ministering to the common purpose of the whole, By such an effort we seem to gain a kind of double power of dividing and concentrating our mind, so that even while we direct our main attention to any one part, we yet do so with a kind of active and real, though perhaps unconscious, recollection of a variety of other objects, to which it has or may have reference. The same might be said of our mode of feeling the composition of a picture or poem; but with even more weight and truth, of history and philosophy; and here it is that we may most truly feel what we may have done for our own minds, and how very much remains to do, when, after having run through a line of history, a philosophical system, or even a train of argument, we try so to fix our attention on the whole, as, without dropping the particulars, to grasp and unite them all in one view, in one course or

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l. 29 group. In such an effort we ordinarily succeed a little, and fail a great deal; and while in our mode of failure we seem to feel very clearly where it is that we fail, so our success, such as it is, seems to teach us how much our nature might be made capable of, by the mere extension of its present faculties. We seem to have some clue given us to a
p. 409 conception of those powers, which it is not impossible may some day be given to man, of embracing in one sweeping and piercing glance the real living truth of all those vast dispensations which he has wondered at in history, embracing them as well in their vastness as in their minute details, from their relation to each other, and effects on the course of human history, down to the capricious human passions, as we call them, and paltry accidents, which were the instruments of their accomplishment. And this indeed is but a small part of what is conceivable. There is plainly no limit to the extent, to which the mere faculties, which we now have in a weak imperfect state, may be exalted and extended. There is no contradiction in supposing our present faculties so strengthened as to enable mere man to grasp without conscious effort the whole system of the universe, and to carry it about with him, colouring aright all the particulars on which he fixes his attention, as easily and naturally as music, which we hear without recognizing, may give life to what we are reading, or as a purpose quickens our interest in what surrounds us, even when we are least distinctly aware of its presence. At the same time, it is but conceivable; for, as we cannot confine, so we cannot presume to push forward to any assumed limit, the degree to which creatures may be allowed to partake of those vast attributes of divinity, which are now granted us only in such measure as to help us in conceiving them.

"It is by mimicking this power to which it should subserve, that Science is apt to make itself ridiculous; when, not content with its own legitimate power of laying out materials for thought, it claims for its abstractions a reality which they do not and cannot possess; proud of a kind of second-rate comprehensiveness, a comprehensiveness obtained not by enlarging our powers, but by paring out to a portable form the

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l. 30 subject-matter which we would grasp, embracing a great many objects by neglecting all in which they differ, and then perhaps, as if conscious of the meagreness, which is the necessary result of casting away so much of the essence of each subject which it contemplates, trying to regain its lost reality by a multitude of arbitrary subdivisions;
p. 410 each, it is true, adding something to the original bare idea, but at the same time not founded on the real mass of complicated relations which subsist between thing and thing", etc., etc.

I have eagerly looked for exact information and instruction on the subject, in the works of the learned and well-principled writer, from whom the following short passages are extracted: "The object of a Liberal Education is to develop the whole mental system of man, and thus to bring it into consistency with itself, to make his speculative inferences coincide with his practical convictions, to enable him to render a reason for the belief that is in him, and not to leave him in the condition of Solomon's sluggard, who is wiser in his own conceit, than seven men that can give a reason". --Whewell on English University Education, p. 139.

"All exact knowledge supposes the mind to be able to apply, steadily and clearly, not only the processes of reasoning, but also certain fundamental ideas; and it is one main office of a Liberal Education to fix and develop these ideas".--Ibid., p. 173.

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7. Liberal Knowledge acts partly on the side of Christianity, partly against it.

I AM led here to quote a passage on the subject of the ethical aspect of ancient philosophy, which occurs in a sketch I wrote many years ago of the writings of Cicero. "Some writers, as Lyttleton, have considered it an aggravation of Cicero's inconsistencies, that he was so perfectly aware of what was philosophically upright and correct. It might be sufficient to reply, that there is a wide difference between calmly

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l. 27 deciding on an abstract point, and acting on that decision in the hurry of real life; that Cicero in
p. 411 fact was apt to fancy (as all will fancy when assisted by interest or passion) that the circumstances of his case constituted it an exception to the broad principles of duty. . . . But the argument of the objection proceeds on an entire misconception of the design and purpose with which the ancients prosecuted philosophical studies. The motives and principles of morals were not so seriously acknowledged as to tend to a practical application of them to the conduct of life. Even when they proposed them in the form of precept, they still regarded the perfectly virtuous man as the creature of their imagination, rather than a model for imitation, an idea which it was a mental recreation rather than a duty to contemplate; and if an individual here or there, as Scipio or Cato, attempted to conform his life to his philosophical conceptions of virtue, he was sure to be ridiculed for singularity and affectation.

"Even among the Athenians, by whom philosophy was, in many cases, cultivated to the exclusion of every active profession, intellectual amusement, not the discovery of Truth, was the principal object of their discussions. That we must thus account for the ensnaring questions and sophistical reasonings, of which their disputations consisted, has been noticed in our article on Logic; and it was their extension of this system to the case of morals, which brought upon their sophists the irony of Socrates, and the sterner rebuke of Aristotle. But, if this took place in a state of society in which the love of speculation pervaded all ranks, much more was it to be expected among the Romans, who, busied as they were in political enterprises, and deficient in philosophical acuteness, had neither time nor inclination for abstruse investigations, and who considered philosophy simply as one of the many fashions introduced from Greece, 'a sort of table furniture', as Warburton well expresses it, a mere refinement in the arts of social enjoyment. This character is borne both among friends and enemies. Hence the popularity which attended the three

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p. 411
l. 32 Athenian philosophers, who had come to Rome on an embassy from their native city; and hence the inflexible determination with which Cato procured
p. 412 their dismissal, through fear, as Plutarch tells us, lest their arts of disputation should corrupt the Roman youth. And when at length, by the authority of Scipio, the literary treasures of Sylla, and the patronage of Lucullus, philosophical studies had gradually received the countenance of the higher classes of their countrymen, we still find them, in consistency with the principle above laid down, determined in the adoption of this or that system, not so much by the harmony of its parts, or by the plausibility of its reasonings, as by its suitableness to the profession and political station to which they respectively belonged. Thus, because the Stoics were more minute than other sects in inculcating the moral and social duties, we find the Jurisconsults professing themselves followers of Zeno; the Orators, on the contrary, adopted the disputatious system of the late Academies; while Epicurus was the master of the idle and the wealthy. Hence too, they confined the profession of philosophical science to Greek teachers; considering them the sole proprietors, as it were, of a foreign and expensive luxury, which the vanquished might have the trouble of furnishing, but which the conquerors could well afford to purchase".--Art. Cicero, Encycl. Metropol., 1824.

The learned Dissertation on medieval society with which Mr. Hallam concludes his "Middle Ages", supplies us another illustration of literary or philosophical ethics as distinct from Christian; an illustration contained partly in the historical facts he puts before us, and partly in his own personal sentiments about them. He considers the ethics of Catholicism simply defective and incomplete, when suffered to prevail without restraint, almost ruinous of true morality, but admitting and commonly receiving correction from the true morality of literature, philosophy, romance, heresy, and gentlemanlike feeling. He cautiously observes that "whether the superstition of" the dark ages "had actually passed that

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l. 32 point, where it becomes more injurious to public morals and the welfare of society than the entire absence of all religious notions, is a very complex
p. 413 question, upon which I would by no means pronounce an affirmative decision". Vol. iii., p. 249. Then he is candid enough to state the favourable side of the question, telling us that ecclesiastical ethics, indeed, did not make much account of "justice and veracity", yet they were characterised by precepts of meekness, self-denial, and charity, which could never be wholly effaced, and especially by the eleemosynary spirit (as indeed was Mohammedism) and the still higher praise of championship of the oppressed. On the whole, however, "religion lost almost every quality which renders it conducive to the good order of society": though "there are a few great land-marks of moral distinctions so deeply fixed in human nature, that no degree of rudeness can destroy, nor even any superstition remove them". Now, that the state of society and of morals in the middle ages was lamentably low, I have no need here to deny; I am not denying that it is to be traced, as far as found, to the "rudeness of semi-barbarous populations"; what I do deny, and what I am saying that the author affirms, is, that it was owing to the "superstition" of Catholicism.

Such then being the poverty, to use a mild word, of ecclesiastical ethics, let us see what it is that Mr. Hallam considers their historical restoration. Not the teaching of the Catholic Church, but first the abolition of slavery, and the enforcement of fixed laws and a system of police; and next, the rise and spread of the Manichees, Catharists, Albigenses, and other heretical sects, whose belief, though "certainly a compound of strange errors with truth, was attended by qualities of a far superior lustre to orthodoxy, by a sincerity, a piety, and a self-devotion, that almost purified the age in which they lived". Thirdly, he attributes much to the influence of the institution of chivalry; and it is to this part of his Dissertation I would direct particular attention, for we shall find that that institution did both service and disservice to the ethical teaching of Catholicism, of the same kind as, in Discourse IX., is attributed to literature,

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l. 33 civilization, and philosophy.

He says then, that "the best school of moral discipline", that is, in contradistinction to
p. 414 Catholicism, "which the middle ages afforded, was the institution of chivalry. There are, if I may so say, three powerful spirits, which have from time to time moved over the face of the waters, and given a predominant impulse to the moral sentiments and energies of mankind. These are the spirits of liberty, of religion, and of honour. It was the principal business of chivalry to animate and cherish the last of these three. And, whatever high magnaminous energy the love of liberty or religious zeal has ever imparted, was equalled by the exquisite sense of honour which this institution preserved".

Now let us see the mingled character, partly protective, partly destructive, of Christian morality, which marks this creation of the natural man. We shall see, in the course of his account of it, that the author parallels it, and justly, as a principle of influence, to the sentiments found existing in the religion of Homer, Mahomet, and the Red Indians.

"The soul of chivalry was individual honour, coveted in so entire and absolute a perfection, that it must not be shared with an army or a nation. Most of the virtues it inspired were what we may call independent, or opposed to those which are founded upon social relations. The knights-errant of romance perform their best exploits from the love of woman, or from a sort of abstract sense of justice, rather than from any solicitude to promote the happiness of mankind. If these springs of action are less generally beneficial, they are, however, more connected with elevation of character, than the systematic prudence of men accustomed to social life. This solitary and independent spirit of chivalry, dwelling, as it were, upon a rock, and disdaining injustice or falsehood from a consciousness of internal dignity, without any calculation of their consequences, is not unlike what we sometimes read of Arabian chiefs or the North American Indians. These nations, so widely remote from each other, seem to partake of that moral energy which, among European nations, far remote from both of them, was excited by the spirit of chivalry. But the most beautiful picture that was ever pourtrayed of this character, is the

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l. 1 Achilles of Homer, the representative of chivalry in its most general form, with all its sincerity and unyielding rectitude, all its courtesies and munificence. Calmly indifferent to the cause in which he is engaged, and contemplating with a serious and unshaken look the premature death that awaits him, his heart only beats for glory and friendship".

Then, after alluding to the spirit of devotion and of gallantry, which were the animating principles of chivalry, and observing that the latter, so far from conducing to the moral improvement of society, actually debased it, he goes on to mention the special virtues of a knight,--loyalty, courtesy, and munificence.

1. "The first of these, in its original sense, may be defined, fidelity to engagements; whether actual promises, or such tacit obligations as bound a vassal to his lord, and a subject to his prince. It was applied also, and in the utmost strictness, to the fidelity of a lover towards the lady he served. Breach of faith, and especially of an express promise, was held a disgrace that no valour could redeem. False, perjured, disloyal, recreant, were the epithets which he must be compelled to endure, who had swerved from a plighted engagement, even towards an enemy. This is one of the most striking changes produced by chivalry. Treachery, the usual vice of savage, as well as corrupt nations, became infamous during the rigour of that discipline. As personal rather than national feelings actuated its heroes, they never felt that hatred, much less that fear of their enemies, which blind men to the heinousness of ill faith. . . . .

2. "A knight was unfit to remain a member of the order, if he violated his faith; he was ill acquainted with its duties, if he proved wanting in courtesy. This word expressed the most highly refined good breeding, founded less upon a knowledge of ceremonious politeness, though this was not to be omitted, than on the spontaneous modesty, self-denial, and respect for others, which ought to spring from his heart. Besides the grace which this beautiful virtue threw over the habits of social life, it softened
p. 416 down the natural roughness of war, and gradually introduced that indulgent treatment of prisoners which was almost unknown to antiquity.... After the battle of Poitiers, 'the English and Gascon knights',

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p. 416
l. 4 says Froissart, 'having entertained their prisoners, went home each of them with the knights or squires he had taken; whom he then questioned upon their honour, what ransom they could pay without inconvenience, and easily gave them credit; and it was common for men to say, that they would not straiten any knight or squire, so that he should not live well, and keep up his honour'.

3. "Liberality indeed, and disdain of money, might be mentioned, as I have said, among the essential virtues of chivalry. All the romances inculcate the duty of scattering this wealth with profusion, especially towards minstrels, pilgrims, and the poorer members of their own order. . . . .

"Valour, loyalty, courtesy, munificence, formed collectively the character of an accomplished knight, so far as was displayed in the ordinary tenor of his life, reflecting these virtues as an unsullied mirror. Yet something more was required for the perfect idea of chivalry, and enjoined by its principles; an active sense of justice, an ardent indignation against wrong, a determination of courage to its last end, the prevention or redress of injury. It grew up as a salutary antidote in the midst of poisons, whilst scarce any law but that of the strongest obtained regard, and the rights of territorial property, which are only right as they conduce to general good, became the means of general oppression. . . . .

"The characteristic virtues of chivalry bear so much resemblance to those which eastern writers of the same period extol, that I am a little disposed to suspect Europe of having derived some improvement from imitation of Asia. Though the Crusades began in horror of infidels, the sentiment wore off in some degree before their cessation; and the regular intercourse of commerce, sometimes of alliance between the Christians of Palestine and the Saracens, must have removed part of the prejudice, while experience of their energies, courage, and generosity in war, would
p. 417 with these gallant knights serve to lighten the remainder. . . . . Certainly, excepting that romantic gallantry towards women, which their customs would not admit, the Mahomedan chieftains were, for the most part, abundantly qualified to fulfil the duties of European chivalry....

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p. 417
l. 5 "I have already mentioned the dissoluteness which almost unavoidably resulted from the prevailing tone of gallantry. . . . An undue thirst for military renown was another fault that chivalry must have nourished; and the love of war, sufficiently pernicious in any shape, was more founded as I have observed, on personal feelings of honour, and less on public opinion, than in the citizens of free states. A third reproach may be added to the character of knighthood, that it widened the separation between the different classes of society, and confirmed that aristocratical spirit of high birth, by which the larger mass of mankind were kept in unjust degradation. . . .

"Tournaments may be considered to have arisen about the middle of the eleventh century. . . . The Church uttered her excommunication in vain against so wanton an exposure to peril; but it was more easy for her to excite, than to restrain that martial enthusiasm".

Writers of the nineteenth look back upon the deeds of six or seven centuries before them, and are able to trace the points distinctly, in which their deeds and their principles were agreeable or contrary to right reason, and (whether they are Catholics or not) to Catholicism. In like manner the world, some centuries hence, if it lasts so long, will dispassionately contemplate the theories and measures of this day, and pass judgment upon its commercial, its gentlemanlike, and its selfish ethics, both according to the standard of common sense and Christianity. The author I have quoted proceeded to run the chivalrous into the gentlemanlike spirit, and there he leaves it.

"The spirit of chivalry left behind it a more valuable successor. The character of knight gradually subsided into that of gentleman; and the one distinguished European society in the sixteenth and
p. 418 seventeenth centuries, as much as the other did in the preceding age. A jealous sense of honour, less romantic, but equally elevated, a ceremonious gallantry and politeness, a strictness in devotional observances, an high pride of birth, and feeling of independence upon a sovereign for the dignity it gave, a sympathy for martial honour, though now subdued by civil habits, are the lineaments which prove an indisputable descent. The cavaliers of Charles the First were

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l. 8 genuine successors of Edward's knights; and the resemblance is much more striking if we ascend to the civil wars of the League".

The following are extracts from a very able article which appeared in the Edinburgh Review, in 1829. The writer is a disciple of what may be called (generically and mutatis mutandis) the Shaftesbury School, in contrast with the School of Locke or Bentham. Here is the theory of Beauty denouncing the theory of Utility. I need not observe that every Catholic will pronounce his theory indefinitely higher than the theory he exposes; still (as I have said in the text), Beauty and Utility easily lose themselves in each other, and (without entering into a metaphysical argument, in which accuracy of thought is not to be struck off currente calamo), when the author places hope of reward and fear of punishment (i.e. the sense of a moral Lawgiver) in what he calls the "Mechanics", and not the "Dynamics" of our moral nature, he seems to inherit the errors as well as the excellences of Shaftesbury.

After characterising "this age of ours, as not an heroical, devotional, philosophical, or moral, but above all others, the Mechanical Age", and showing this to be true, not only as regards its material works, but as regards education, ecclesiastical matters, the fine arts, literature, science, and politics, the writer continues:

"To speak a little pedantically, there is a science of Dynamics in man's fortunes and nature, as well as of Mechanics. There is a science, which treats of, and practically addresses, the primary, unmodified forces and energies of man, the mysterious
p. 419 springs of Love, and Fear, and Wonder, of Enthusiasm, Poetry, Religion, all which have a truly vital and infinite character; as well as a science which practically addresses the finite, modified developments of these, when they take the shape of immediate motives, as hope of reward and fear of punishment.

"Now it is certain, that in former times the wise men, the enlightened lovers of their kind, who appeared as moralists, poets, or priests, did, without

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l. 8 neglecting the Mechanical province, deal chiefly with the Dynamical; applying themselves chiefly to regulate, increase, and purify the inward primary powers of man; and fancying herein lay the chief difficulty, and the best service they could undertake. But a wide difference is manifest in our age. For the wise men, who now appear as Political Philosophers, deal exclusively with the Mechanical province; and occupying themselves in counting up and estimating men's motives, strive, by curious checking and balancing and other adjustments of Profit and Loss, to guide them to their true advantage; while, unfortunately, these same 'motives' are so innumerable, and so variable in every individual, that no really useful conclusion can ever be drawn from their enumeration. But though Mechanism, wisely contrived, has done much for man, in a social and moral point of view, we cannot be persuaded that it has ever been the chief source of his worth or happiness. Consider the great elements of human enjoyment, the attainments and possessions that exalt man's life to its present height, and see what part of these he owes to institutions, to Mechanism of any kind; and what to this instinctive, unbounded force, which Nature herself lent him, and still continues to him. Shall we say, for example, that Science and Art are indebted principally to the founders of Schools and Universities? Did not Science originate rather, and gain advancement, in the obscure closets of the Roger Bacons, Keplers, Newtons: etc., etc.?. . . . or to take an infinitely higher instance, that of the Christian Religion, ... how did Christianity noise and spread abroad among men? was it by the institutions and establishments, and well-arranged systems of
p. 420 Mechanism? Not so; .... man's highest attainment was accomplished, dynamically, not mechanically. Nay, we will venture to say that no high attainment, not even any far-extending movement among man, was ever accomplished otherwise.... The Crusades took their rise in Religion; their visible object was, commercially speaking, worth nothing. It was the boundless, invisible world that was laid bare in the imaginations of those men; and in its burning light, the visible shrunk as a scroll.... No dining at Freemasons'

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p. 420
l. 8 Tavern.... only the passionate voice of one man, etc., etc. . . . The Reformation had an invisible, mystic, and ideal aim: . . . . our English Revolution, too, originated in Religion; men did battle, even in those days, not for purse sake, but for conscience sake. . . . The French Revolution itself had something higher in it than the cheap bread and Habeas Corpus act. Here too was an idea; a dynamic, not a mechanical force, etc., etc.....

"Thus does man, in every age, vindicate, consciously or unconsciously, his celestial birthright. Thus does Nature hold on her wondrous unquestioned course..... When we can drain the Ocean into our mill ponds, and bottle up the force of Gravity, to be sold by retail, in our gas jars, then may we hope to comprehend the infinitude of man's soul under formulas of Profit and Loss; and rule over this too, as over a patent engine, by checks, and valves, and balances.

"Nay, even with regard to Government itself, can it be necessary to remind any one that Freedom, without which indeed all spiritual life is impossible, depends on infinitely more complex influences than either the extension or the contractment of the democratic interest?... Institutions are much; but they are not all. The first and highest spirits of the world have been often found under strange outward circumstances; St. Paul and his brother apostles were politically slaves; Epictetus was personally one, etc.....

"To define the limits of these two departments of man's activity, which work into each other, and by means of one another, so intricately and inseparably, were, by its nature, an impossible attempt.... It
p. 421 seems clear enough that, only in the right co-ordination of the two, and the vigorous forwarding of both, does our true line of action lie. Undue cultivation of the inward or dynamical province leads to idle, visionary, unpractical courses; and especially, in rude ages, to Superstition and Fanaticism, with their long train of baleful and well-known evils. Undue cultivation of the outward, again, though less immediately prejudicial, and even for the time productive of many palpable benefits, must, in the

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p. 421
l. 9 long run, by destroying moral force, which is the parent of all other force, prove not less certainly, and still more hopelessly pernicious.

"We shall find this faith in Mechanism has now struck its roots deep into men's most intimate, primary sources of conviction; and is thence sending up, over his whole life and activity, innumerable stems, fruit-bearing and poison-bearing. The truth is, men have lost their belief in the Invisible, and believe, and hope, and work only in the Visible; or to speak it in other words, this is not a Religious Age. Only the material, the immediately practical, not the divine and spiritual, is important to us. The infinite, absolute character of Virtue has passed into a finite, conditional one; it is no longer a worship of the Beautiful and Good; but a calculation of the Profitable. Worship, indeed, in any sense is not recognized among us, or is mechanically explained into the fear of pain or hope of pleasure. Our true Deity is mechanism. It has subdued external Nature for us, and, we think, it will do all other things. We are Giants in physical power; in a deeper than a metaphorical sense, we are Titans, that strive, by heaping mountain on mountain, to conquer Heaven also.....

" 'Cause and effect' is almost the only category under which we look at, and work with, all Nature. Our first question with regard to any object is not, 'What it is?' but 'How it is?" We are no longer instinctively driven to apprehend and lay to heart what is Good and Lovely, but rather to inquire, as onlookers, how it is produced, whence it comes, whither it goes?... A Euphuist of our day differs much from his pleasant predecessors. An intellectual dapperling
p. 422 of these times boasts chiefly of his irresistible perspicacy, his 'dwelling in the daylight of truth', and so forth. . . . . Wonder, indeed, is on all hands dying out; it is the sign of uncultivation to wonder ..... It is the force of circumstances that does every thing; the force of one man can do nothing.... Religion, in most countries, more or less in every country, is no longer what it was and should be, a thousand-voiced psalm from the heart of man to his Invisible Father, the Fountain of all Goodness, Beauty,

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p. 422
l. 8 Truth, and revealed in every revelation of these; but for the most part a wise prudential policy grounded on mere calculation; a matter, as all others now are, of expediency and utility, whereby some smaller quantum of earthly enjoyment may be exchanged for a far larger quantum of celestial enjoyment. Thus Religion too is Profit; a working for wages: not Reverence, but vulgar Hope and Fear..... Let us look at the higher regions of Literature, where, if any where, the pure melodies of Poetry and Wisdom should be heard...what is the song they sing? Is it a tone of the Memnon statue, breathing music as the high priest touches it? a 'liquid wisdom', disclosing to our sense the deep, infinite harmonies of Nature and man's soul? alas! no. It is not a matin or vesper hymn to the Spirit of all Beauty, but a fierce clashing of symbols and shouting of multitudes, as children pass through the fire to Moloch. Poetry itself has no eye for the Invisible. Beauty is no longer the god it worships, but some brute image of strength, which we may well call an idol, for true strength is one and the same with Beauty, and its worship also is a hymn.....

"Again, with respect to our moral condition; here also he who runs may read that the same physical, mechanical influences are every where busy. For the 'superior morality' of which we hear so much, we too would desire to be thankful; at the same time, it were but blindness to deny that this 'superior morality' is properly rather an 'inferior criminality', produced, not by greater love of virtue, but by greater perfection of Police; and of that far subtler and stronger Police, called Public Opinion. This last watches over us
p. 423 with its Argus eyes more keenly than ever; but the inward eye seems heavy with sleep. Of any belief in invisible, divine things we find as few traces in our morality as elsewhere. It is by tangible, material considerations, that we are guided, not by inward and spiritual. Self-denial, the parent of all virtue, in any true sense of that word, has perhaps seldom been rarer; so rare is it, that the most, even in their abstract speculations, regard its existence as a chimera. Virtue is pleasure, is profit: no celestial but an earthly thing. Virtuous men, philanthropists, martyrs,

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p. 423
l. 9 are happy accidents; their 'taste' lies the right way. In all cases, we worship and follow after Power, which may be called a physical pursuit. No man now loves Truth, as Truth must be loved, with an infinite love; but only with a finite love, and as it were par amours. Nay, properly speaking, he does not believe and know it, but only 'thinks' it, and that 'there is every probability'. He preaches it aloud, and rushes courageously forth with it, if there is a multitude huzzaing at his back; yet ever keeps looking over his shoulder, and the instant the huzzaing languishes, he too stops short".
Etc., etc. . . . .

This brilliant essay illustrates what I have said in Discourse IX. on the ambiguous position of the Religion of Philosophy relatively to Catholicism. I have not a suspicion who the author is, nor am I presuming to judge what was the real state of mind under which he wrote; but, in spite of all he says so well and truly, it is impossible from his language to tell whether he was a believer in Christianity.

In order to illustrate further the Philosophical character in its contrast to the Christian, I will make some extracts, in the order in which they meet the reader, from the "Characteristics of Goethe" (London, 1833), from the German of Falk and Von Muller.

"His Metamorphosis of Plants, his Doctrine of Colours, are beautiful monuments of his calm spirit of investigation: they are, so to speak, filled with the inspired glimpses of the seer, reaching deep
p. 424 into hidden ages, and into the hidden domains of science; while, on the other hand, his biographical delineations of two characters so utter different from his own as those of Wieland and J. H. Voss, sufficiently manifest, not so much his literary skill, as his own beautiful nature, which could take in every object in all its genuiness and purity, and reflect it back like a clear, spotless mirror. . . . As this lofty talent of Goethe has been universally acknowledged, so, on the other hand, has he been as loudly reproached with the lukewarmness of his moral sentiments, as far as these

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l. 10 can be inferred from his writings. . . . It appears to me that the disputants on both sides overlooked a main point throughout the whole discussion. A mind like that of Goethe, in which a calm observation of all things was an innate and characteristic quality, could by no possibility fall into that moral enthusiasm which the age exacted, and which it was too much inclined to consider as the highest possible prerogative of human nature. Goethe was born to identify himself with things, not things with himself. From the moment in which the public enters the lists with passion against real or supposed evil, it cares little to examine the good sides which this very evil, if considered with perfect calmness, might perhaps present to the eye of the observer".
Vol. i., p. 14.

"In society he would rather talk of one of Boccacio's tales, than of matters on which the welfare of Europe was thought to depend. Many attributed this way of thinking to cold, unsympathizing indifference of temper; assuredly with injustice. To be other than he was, to share the universal ardour and struggle for a new order of things,...Goethe must have ceased to be himself, and have suddenly and utterly renounced the many-sided observation with which he was wont to regard, and the mature deliberation with which he was wont to weigh, all things, and consequently this historical phenomenon among the rest. Certainly, the tranquil observer of all the events of this moving and checquered life, and the actual participant, whether doer or sufferer, in the strife and tumult, are
p. 425 characters essentially distinct and incompatible. The latter can by no possibility form an accurate and impartial estimate of his own situation. There is no point of neutral ground on which he can gain a footing. It would be absurd to ask the dove to write the natural history of the eagle; it must be one-sided. There is wanted some third nature, elevated far above both; truly god-like; which receives both into its bosom, and discriminates their respective excellencies and deficiencies; acknowledges the former, and, if it cannot love the latter, at least strives to bear and even to excuse them. It is only by taking a firm stand on this elevated and commanding point whence the

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p. 425
l. 11 low game of human life, with all its contradictions, is seen to roll up beneath our feet, (like the many-coloured curtain of a theatre), that we can either form an idea of the soul which animates Goethe's works, or acquire the least right to form a judgment of our own on so extraordinary and unique a man". Ibid., p. 19.

"Goethe, by his very nature, cannot, must not, will not, set a single step which may compel him to quit the territory of experience, on which he has so firmly and so happily planted his foot and taken root, for more than half a century. All conclusions, observations, doctrines, opinions, articles of faith, have value in his eyes, only in so far as they connect themselves with this territory, which he has so fortunately conquered. The blue horizon beyond it, which man is wont to paint to himself in such beautiful colours, troubled him little; indeed he shunned it, knowing, as he did, that it is the abode of all brain-woven fantasies, and that all the phantoms of dim and gloomy superstition, which he hated, held their throne there. . . .

"Even virtue, laboriously and painfully acquired, was distasteful to him. I might almost affirm that a faulty but vigorous character, if it had any real native qualities as its basis, was regarded by him with more indulgence and respect than one which at no moment of its existence is genuine; which is incessantly under the most unamiable constraint, and
p. 426 consequently imposes a painful constraint on others. 'Oh', said he sighing, on such occasions, 'if they had but the heart to commit some absurdity!' " etc., p. 27.

"With questions concerning time, space, mind, matter, God, immortality, and the like, Goethe occupied himself little. Not that he denied the existence of beings superior to ourselves. By no means; they were foreign to his pursuits, only because they lay out of the region of experience, to which, upon system, he exclusively devoted himself. Repugnance to the super-sensual was an inherent part of his mind". P. 30.

" 'Our scientific men', he said, 'are rather too fond of details. They count out to us the whole

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l. 12 consistency of the Earth in separate lots, and are so happy as to have a different name for every lot. This is argil, that is quartz; but what am I the better, if I am ever so perfect in all their names? . . . Every thing in science is become too much divided into compartments. In our professors' chairs, the several provinces are violently and arbitrarily severed, and allotted out into half-yearly courses of lectures, according to fixed plans!". P. 36.

"He laid down the proposition, that Nature, accidentally, and as it were against her will, became the tell-tale of her own secrets. That everything was told, at least once; only not in the time and place at which we looked for, or suspected it; we must collect it here and there, in all the nooks and corners in which she had let it drop. Hence the Mysterious, the Sybiline, the Incoherent, in our observations of Nature. That she was a book of the vastest, strangest contents; from which, however, we might gather, that many of its leaves lay scattered around in Jupiter, Uranus, and other planets. To come at the whole would be difficult, if not utterly impossible. On this difficulty, therefore, must all systems suffer shipwreck". P. 64.

"On the day of Wieland's funeral, I remarked such a solemn tone in Goethe's whole manner, as we were seldom accustomed to see in him. . . . For the super-sensual Goethe commonly showed a repugnance, if not a
p. 427 contempt; completely on principle, as it appears to me; for it was more consonant with his natural disposition rather to confine himself to the Present, and to all agreeable and beautiful objects which Nature and Art offer to the eye and the observation, in paths accessible to us. . . . I asked him. . . 'And what do you think is at this moment the occupation of Wieland's soul?' 'Nothing petty, nothing unworthy, nothing out of keeping with that moral greatness which he all his life sustained', was the reply. . . . 'It is something to have passed a life of eighty years in unblemished dignity and honour; it is something to have attained to that pitch of refined wit, of tender, elegant thought, which predominated so delightfully in Wieland's soul: it is something to have possessed that industry, that iron

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p. 427
l. 13 persistency and perseverance, in which he surpassed us all. . . Wieland's soul is one of Nature's treasures: a perfect jewel. . . I should be little surprised, inasmuch as I shall find it entirely agreeable to my views of the subject, if, a thousand years hence, I were to meet the same Wieland as the monas of a world; as a star of the first magnitude; even to see him, and be witness how he quickened and cheered everything that approached him by his beautiful light. To fashion the misty substance of some comet into light and clearness, that were truly a welcome, gladsome task for the monas of our Wieland; as indeed, speaking generally, if we suppose the eternity of the actual state of the world, we can admit no other distinction for monades, than, as blessed co-operating powers, to share eternally in the immortal joys of gods. The work of creation is intrusted to them. Called or uncalled, they flock together of themselves; on every way, from all mountains, out of all seas, from all stars,--who may stop them? I am certain, as you here see me, that I have been there a thousand times already, and hope to return thither a thousand times again". Pp. 66--82.

After speaking of certain philosophies, he went on to say, "Of popular philosophy I am just as little an admirer. There are mysteries in philosophy, as well as in religion. The people ought to be spared all discussions on such points; at least, they ought
p. 428 by no means to be forcibly dragged into them. Epicurus somewhere says, 'This is right, precisely because the people are displeased at it'. It is difficult to foresee the end of those unprofitable and unpleasing mental vagaries which have arisen among us since the Reformation; from the time that the mysteries of Religion were handed over to the people to be pulled about, and set up as a work for the quibbling and cavilling of all sorts of one-sided judgments. The measure of the understandings of common men is really not so great, that one needs set them such gigantic problems to solve, or choose them as judges in the last resort of such questions. The mysteries, and more especially the dogmas, of the Christian Religion, are allied to subjects of the deeper and more

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l. 12 intricate philosophy; and it is only the positive dress with which it is invested that distinguishes the former from the latter. . . . . The multitude, however, are never so well satisfied as when they can repeat, in a still louder tone, the loud declamations of some few who give the cry. By this process the strangest scenes are produced, and there is no end to the exhibition of presumption and absurdity. A half educated, 'enlightened' man, often, in his shallowness and ignorance, jests on a subject before which a Jacobi, a Kant, the admitted ornaments of our country, would bow in reverential awe.

"The results of philosophy, politics, and religion, ought certainly to be brought home to the people: but we ought not to attempt to exalt the mass into philosophers, priests, or politicians. It is of no avail. If Protestants sought to define more clearly what ought to be loved, done, and taught; if they imposed an inviolable, reverential silence on the Mysteries of Religion, without compelling any man to assent to dogmas, tortured with afflicting presumption into a conformity to this or that rule; if they carefully refrained from degrading it in the eyes of the many by ill-timed ridicule, or from bringing it into danger by indiscreet denial, I should myself be the first to visit the Church of my brethren in religion, with sincere heart, and to submit myself with willing edification to the general, practical confession of
p. 429 a faith, which connected itself so immediately with action". P. 100.

"In Goethe, all ideas became forms. He would have liked to renounce the imperfect medium of language, to speak, like Nature, in symbols, and to throw his whole imagination, with the vividness and reality of sense, into the existence of a flower or a star. To him, as to Nature, it sufficed to revel in uninterrupted solitude, and to pass from one agreeable state of existence to another, through all forms and modes of life. At such moments, he disliked even the mention of Herder, whose northern severity led him to insist on overshadowing those gay, delightful visions of art and imagination, with

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p. 429
l. 12 the thunderclouds and mists of politics and of actual life. These, as Goethe truly remarked, were two totally different and widely-severed spheres; it was absolutely necessary to keep them quite distinct, and to let every man take care of himself, and God of us all. Thus what seemed to Goethe narrow and partial, Herder called noble and philanthropic; while, on the contrary, what Herder admired as the infinitude of a great idea, revealing itself to man, in various godlike emanations, in the valour of the hero, the wisdom of the legislator, the inspiration of the poet, or the events of a world, this sort of elevation moved Goethe so little, that such characters as Luther and Calvin excited in him a sort of uncomfortable feeling, which could be satisfactorily explained only on the hypothesis that their nature stood in a mysterious sort of opposition with his. Goethe's genius and disposition were for the Beautiful, Herder's for the Sublime". Vol. ii., p. 36.

"The mind that wrought so powerfully on mine", said Goethe, "and had so powerful an influence on the whole frame of my opinions, was Spinoza's. After I had looked around the world in vain, for means of shaping my strange moral being, I fell at length on the Ethics of this man. What I read in this work, what I thought I read in it, I can give no account of; enough, that I found there a calm to my passions; it seemed to open to me a wide and free
p. 430 view over the sensual and the moral world. But what peculiarly riveted me, was the boundless disinterestedness that beamed forth from every sentence. Those wondrous words, 'He who loves God aright, must not require that God should love him in return', with all the principles on which they rest, with all the consequences with which they teem, filled my whole mind. To be disinterested in all, most of all, in love and in friendship, was my highest desire, my passion, my task; so that those daring words which follow, 'If I love you, what is that to you?' were the true language of my heart", etc. P. 194.

"His intimacy with Herder first led him to penetrate into the lofty sentiment of the Italian school of art, and to become acquainted with poetry

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l. 13 under a totally new aspect, and one much more in harmony with his character. . . . . During his first era, he had inclined to the Flemish school of art, to which indeed he never ceased to do justice; but Italy opened his eyes to the full perception of high art; his rich, fertile spirit, which embraced at once the Lofty and the Child-like and the Lovely; his delicate, and at the same time profound, taste for nature and for art, now turned with love to the Noble and the Elevated. In the place of his former principle of naturalness or reality, now arose that of ideality; but that pure ideality which transports nature into the region of ideas and of pure Beauty". Vol. iii., pp. 227--233.

"By means of his passionless, serene, objective way of looking upon the world and upon life, a view of human things had been opened to him equally removed from traditional one-sided narrowness, and from preconceived theories; this led him to regard everything as fitted to its place; to see the Individual in its connexion and co-operation with the Whole; and, in human life, effort and action as the main duty and happiness. Of necessity, this threw a milder light on that dark point at which the threads of human existence are knit to a dim and fathomless destiny. This at length raised him to the idea of a Theodicea", etc. Vol. iii., p. 234.

" 'The greatest genius', he said, 'will never be
p. 431 worth much, if he pretends to draw exclusively from his own resources. What is genius, but the faculty of seizing and turning to account every thing that strikes us; of co-ordinating and breathing life into all the materials that present themselves; of taking here marble, there brass, and building a lasting monument with them? . . The most original young painter, who thinks he owes every thing to his invention, cannot, if he really has genius, come into the room in which we are now sitting, and look around at the drawings with which it is hung, without going out a different man from what he came in, and with a new supply of ideas. What should I be, what would remain to me, if this art of appropriation were considered as derogatory to genius? What have I done? I have collected and turned to account all that I have

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l. 13 seen, heard, observed; I have put in requisition the works of nature and of men. Every one of my writings has been furnished to me by a thousand different persons, a thousand different things, the learned and the ignorant, the wise and the foolish, infancy and age, have come in turn, generally without having the least suspicion of it, to bring me the offering of their thoughts, their faculties, their experience; often they have sowed the harvest I have reaped; my work is that of an aggregation of beings taken from the whole of nature; it bears the name of Goethe'". Vol. iii., p. 75.

"He held fast to order and obedience to law as to the main pillars of the public weal. Whatever threatened to retard or to trouble the progress of moral and intellectual improvement, and the methodical application and employment of the power of nature, or to abandon all that is best and highest in existence to the wild freaks of unbridled passion and the domination of rude and violent men, was to him the true tyranny, the moral foe of freedom, the utterly insufferable evil. This was the persuasion which dictated all his endeavours to influence the minds of others by conversation or by writing; to suggest, to instruct, to encourage, to restrain; to represent the False, the Distorted, the Vulgar, in all their nothingness", etc. P. 284.

p. 432 " 'You young people', he used to say, 'easily recover when any tragical explosion gives you a transient wound; but we old gentlemen have all possible reasons for guarding ourselves against impressions which produce a violent effect upon us, and interrupt the course of steady employment to no purpose'. When his mind was filled with any great thought, or any new work, he would sometimes refuse to hear a word read from newspapers or public prints". P. 288.

"Around him all must acquire life, form, motion; all must lend itself to energetic action. The Symmetrical must be sought out and brought home, must be thoroughly apprehended, must be modelled anew into fresh forms. Without assuming the pedagogue or the pedant, he impressed a peculiar stamp on all who surrounded or assisted him; he knew

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l. 14 how to keep every man within the limits of his own appropriate sphere; but, within that, to urge him on to excellence and to productiveness; to engraft in his mind invariable maxims of order, steadiness, and consistency, out of which the germs of a higher culture might gradually and spontaneously unfold themselves". P. 291.

"Every thing that was sent out in writing, the smallest note of invitation, must be written, folded, and sealed with the greatest possible care, neatness, and elegance. Every thing unsymmetrical, the slightest blot or scratch, was intolerable to him. His enjoyment from the sight of the most beautiful engraving was disturbed, if he saw it awkwardly handled, or at all crumpled; for all that surrounded him, and all that proceeded from him, must be in unison with the symmetry and clearness of his inner perceptions, and nothing must be allowed to trouble the harmony of the impression". P. 298.

"'In the hundreds of things which interest me', says he, 'one always places itself in the centre, as chief pleasure, and the remaining quodlibet of my life revolves around it in various moon-like shapes, until at length one or other of them succeeds in working itself into the centre in its turn'. Not always, however, could he obtain this instantaneous
p. 433 self-concentration; and fully conscious of his vehement susceptibility and irritability, he then seized on the extremest means, and suddenly and inexorably, as if in a state of siege, cut off all communication from without. Scarcely, however, had solitude delivered him of the full torrent of crowding thoughts, than he declared himself free again, and accessible to new objects of interest; carefully knit up the threads he had let drop, and floated and bathed in the fresh element of widely extended Being and Acting; till a new irresistible crisis of inward metamorphosis transformed him once more into a hermit". P. 300.

"He took great and manifold interest in the missionary reports from Halle, as he did indeed in all endeavours to diffuse higher feelings of morality by religious means; and if his nearest friends were sometimes surprised at finding him engaged in the theo-

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l. 15 logical writings of Daub, Kreutzer, Paulus, Marheineke, Rohr, or even poring over the folios of the fathers of the Church, his admirers will perhaps be still more so, when they learn, that at the time of the jubilee of the Reformation, he was most intensely busied on an historical cantata on Luther and the Reformation, a complete sketch of which, in all its parts, was found among his papers". P. 306.

"One of his greatest and most peculiar enjoyments was the weekly visit which both the deceased Grand Duchess Louisa and the reigning Grand Duchess and Grand Princess Maria, constantly paid him on a fixed day and hour. . . . If ever some inevitable obstacle to the wonted visit occurred, he seemed to feel a chasm in his existence; for it was exactly the constancy, the punctual recurrence of those days and hours, which to him gave them their peculiar charm; which had the most animated effect on him through the whole week. Amid the vast variety of external impressions and internal workings, he found in the steadiness of this beautiful, pure, and noble connexion, not only a cheering object, but a beneficial resting place, whence his mind rose refreshed, to devote itself with more varied powers to the tranquil observation of all things.

p. 434 "For it was an absolute want of his nature to gain a clear conception of every subject, however, heterogeneous; and the incredible readiness with which he could transform every incident, every personal state or situation, into an Idea, must be regarded as the main foundation of his practical wisdom and good sense; and certainly contributed, more than any other quality, to preserve a man by nature so passionate, so easily and so deeply excitable, in secure equanimity amid all the catastrophes of life. As he invariably referred every passing and particular incident to some higher and universal standard, and sought to bring it under some exhaustive formula, he could strip it of all that was startling or repulsive, and could then calmly regard it as an example of conformity to the general rules of nature, or neutralize

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p. 434
l. 13 it as a simply historical fact, an addition to his stock of ideas. How often have I heard him say, 'That may now turn out as it will; the conception of it I have got fast hold of: it is a strange complicated affair, but it is perfectly clear to me now'". P. 309.

"When Goethe had to bear the death of his only son, he wrote to Zelter thus:--'Here the mighty conception of duty alone holds us erect. I have no other care than to keep myself in equipoise. The body must, the spirit will; and he who sees a necessary path prescribed to his will, has no need to ponder much'. Thus did he shut up the deepest grief within his breast, and hastily seized upon a long postponed labour, 'in order entirely to lose himself in it'. In a fortnight, he had nearly completed the fourth volume of his life, when nature avenged herself for the violence he had done her; the bursting of a bloodvessel brought him to the brink of the grave". P. 314.

"'I feel myself surrounded, nay, besieged, by all the spirits I ever conjured up', he was heard to say. As a relaxation, he had Plutarch read aloud to him quite through. He would try his judgment too upon the present state of the world, and took up the modern French literature, that 'literature of despair', as he called it, with as much patience and ardour as if he had had still many lustres in which
p. 435 to look on at the motley game of life. . . . . Then did the silent, peaceful genius [Death] unexpectedly draw near, and in the midst of the most cheerful industry, of the most zealous and benevolent schemes and actions we saw him summoned to that higher and more perfect sphere of activity, where that grand solving word, which he uttered to his friends a year before, shall be fulfilled,

'Es gilt am Ende, doch nur vorwarts'".
Vol. ii., p. 318.

"The year 1827 inflicted upon Goethe the heaviest blows he was doomed to feel; the Grand Duke ended his long and beneficent life in the course of a journey. . . . . He was so overpowered by this irreparable loss

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l. 12 that, contrary to his custom and to the rules he had laid down to himself, he yielded to his grief, and even gave vent to it in his correspondence. These rules were not the offspring of selfishness, but the result of observation and of a great force of will. Susceptible to a high degree, he would have obeyed every impulse, he would have been the sport of passions which would have poisoned and shortened his life, had he not early acquired the habit of opposing labour and study to affliction and regret; only, as we have already remarked, his labour changed its nature. Goethe ceased to create,--a thing impossible in the hour of real suffering,--but he resumed the task of observation and inquiry, and sought the consolation he needed in the contemplation of the works of nature". Vol. iii., p. 47.

"It has been truly remarked that he avoided conversation on painful or agitating subjects; but this did not arise from feebleness or pusillanimity; it was the result of reflection and of the highest degree of self-knowledge. Intensely susceptible, as we have remarked, to all impressions, subjugated by any new and striking ideas, he had above any man to dread those which might have turned him aside from his track, and given up his warm imagination to uncurbed wanderings. Nor did he like people to dwell in his presence on gloomy thoughts or lamentable occurrences, unless some practical end was to be answered by such conversation. It was for
p. 436 this reason that he avoided the common gossip of society; and that those around him took care not to fatigue his ears with sinister rumours of political troubles, cholera, or other disasters. But we heard him question M. Walter, physician, etc. . . In this case he was sure of being rewarded by valuable information, etc. . . . It was the same with the thought of death: he never forgot his age, nor the necessity of yielding to the universal law; he only calculated the chances which still remained to him of life and enjoyment, and the means he might employ for increasing them; among the foremost of which he placed care in keeping at a distance all gloomy thoughts, all exaggerated anxiety; as well as constant exercise of the intellectual faculties to

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l. 12 preserve them from torpor and decay. When an irreparable calamity overtook him, he compelled himself to neutralize the pernicious effects of long regrets by zealous application to study. There were moments when, to a superficial observer, he might have appeared insensible, whilst the most painful conflict agitated his soul. In such a case you might be certain to guess what was passing within, by taking the very contrary of his conversation: thus he related one anecdote after another with excessive vivacity, at a time when all his thoughts were concentrated on one point.

. . . . "He spoke to his friends several times of his death, and of the means of warding it off to a remote age. 'Yes', said he, 'we can make head against him for sometime as yet; as long as one creates there is no room for dying; but yet, the night, the great night, will come, in which no man shall work'. He used to call that solemn hour 'the undetermined hour'. Vol. iii., p. 82.

"All his conversation showed, that, if he thought himself dying, he did not fear death. Faithful to his principles, he constantly occupied himself, that he might not give the thinking faculty time to grow dull and inactive. Even when he had lost the power of speaking, his hand preserved the character of his life; his voice was mute, but he traced characters in the air; and when his hand sank slowly on his knee, the radiant star sunk beneath our horizon". Vol. iii., p. 92.

p. 437 "Goethe died the most blessed death that man can die, conscious, cheerful to the last breath, perfectly painless. It was an universal gentle sinking and going out of the flame of life; harmonious, without struggle. 'Light' was his last request. Half an hour before the end he said, 'Open the shutters that more light may come into the room'". P. 93.

One of the most miserable, yet natural, characteristics of this love of the Beautiful, is its connexion with sensuality. This will most obviously take place through the medium of the Fine Arts. It is often invested with an odious affectation of philosophy, as in Dryden's Cymon and Iphigenia. On this Lord

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l. 11 Chesterfield remarks, "Mr. Dryden, who knew human nature, perhaps as well as any man who ever studied it, has given us a just picture of the force of female charms in the story of Cymon and Iphigenia. Boccacio, from whom he took it, had adorned it with all the tinsel finery an Italian composition is capable of. The English poet, like most English travellers, gave sterling silver in exchange for that superficial gilding; and bestowed a moral, where he found a tale. He paints in Cymon, a soul buried in a confusion of ideas, inflamed with so little fire, as scarce to struggle under the load, or afford any glimmerings of sense. In this condition he represents him struck with the rays of Iphigenia's beauty; kindled by them, his mind asserts its powers, its intellectual faculties seem to awake, and that uncouth ferocity of manners, by which he had hitherto been distinguished, gave way to an obliging behaviour, the natural effects of love". Polite Philosopher. I am sorry to say, Dryden was a Catholic, when he published this poem.

Again, take the following passage from a tale of Tieck's: "She stumbled, and quickly as he sprang forward, he could not hinder but that for a moment she, in the most charming posture, lay kneeling at his feet. He raised her, etc. . . . He followed her into the Church, and saw only the image as she knelt before him, and, etc. . . . His existence was hallowed; his heart floated for ever in the fairest emotion. Nature was now friendly to him, and, her
p. 438 beauty revealed to his meditation, he felt himself no longer a stranger to devotion and religion; and now he trod this threshold, the mysterious dimness of the temple, with far other feelings than in those days of levity. . . . He held towards her the holy water; her white fingers trembled as they touched his; she bowed graciously. He followed her and knelt near her. His whole heart melted away in melancholy and love. It seemed to him as if, from the wounds of longing, his existence was bleeding away in ardent prayers. Every word of the priest thrilled through him; every tone of the music gushed devotion into his bosom; his lips quivered, as the fair one pressed the Crucifix of her rosary to her ruby mouth. How had he not been

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l. 12 able to comprehend this faith and this love before? The priest raised the Host, and the bell sounded. She bowed herself more humbly, and crossed her breast. Like lightning it struck through all his powers and feelings; and the altar-picture seemed alive; the coloured dimness of the windows as a light of Paradise. Tears streamed profusely from his eyes, and allayed the inward burning of his breast. Divine service was ended. He again offered her the holy font", etc.--Romantic Fiction, London, 1843. Which is the object of worship here--the true Incarnate Lord, or the dust and ashes?

In the following passage religious fear is represented simply as a corruption of Christianity; and heathen security and indifference is held up to imitation as the healthy state of mind.

" 'Euthanasia! Euthanasia! an easy death!' was the exclamation of Augustus; it was what Antoninus Pius enjoyed; and it is that for which every wise man will pray, said Lord Orrery, when perhaps he was contemplating the close of a Swift's life.

"The Ancients contemplated death without terror, and met it with indifference. . . . . Though they did not court the presence of death in any shape, they acknowledged its tranquility; in the beautiful fables of their allegorical religion, Death was the daughter of Night, and the sister of Sleep; and was the friend of the unhappy. To the eternal sleep of death they dedicated their sepulchral monuments,--Aeternali
p. 439 Somno. If the full light of revelation had not yet broken on them, it can hardly be denied that they had some glimpses and a dawn of the life to come, from the many allegorical inventions which describe the transmigration of the soul, a butterfly, etc., etc. . . . . They did not pollute their imagination with the contents of a charnel house. . . . .

"It would seem that the Romans had even an aversion to mention death in express terms, for they disguised its very name by some periphrasis, such as 'discessit e vita'.

"The ancient Artists have so rarely attempted to personify death, that we have not discovered a single revolting image of this nature in all the works of

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l. 12 antiquity. To conceal its deformity to the eye, as well as to elude its suggestion to the mind, seems to have been a universal feeling, and it accorded with a fundamental principle of ancient art. . . . . Catullus ventured to personify the Sister-Destinies as three crones; 'but in general', Winkelmann observes, 'they are represented as beautiful virgins', etc. . . . . Death was a nonentity to the ancient artist. Could he exhibit what represents nothing? Could he animate into action that which lies in a state of eternal tranquility? Elegant images of repose and tender sorrow were all he could invent, to indicate the still of death. . . . .

"When the Christian Religion spread over Europe, the world changed. The certainty of a future state of existence, by the artifice of wicked worldly men, terrified instead of consoling human nature; and, in the Resurrection, the ignorant multitude seemed rather to have dreaded retribution, than to have hoped for remuneration. The Founder of Christianity everywhere breathes the blessedness of social feelings. It is 'Our Father', whom He addresses. . . . . Amid this general gloom of Europe, their troubled imaginations were frequently predicting the end of the world. It was at this period that they first beheld the grave yawn, and Death, in the Gothic form of a gaunt anatomy, parading through the universe. The people were frightened, as they viewed everywhere hung before their eyes, in the twilight of their Cathedrals, and their 'pale cloisters', the most revolting emblems of death.... Their barbarous taste
p. 440 perceived no absurdity in giving action to a heap of bones, which could only keep together in a state of immovability and repose; nor that it was burlesquing the awful idea of the Resurrection, by exhibiting the incorruptible spirit under the unnatural and ludicrous figure of mortality drawn out of the corruption of the grave". Disraeli's Curiosities of Literature.

Sentiments such as these suggest to us the possibility of the "elegant mythology of the Greeks", as paganism has been called, commending itself to

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l. 9 educated minds in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. Hume and Gibbon have both shown a kind feeling towards it; so, it is scarcely necessary to say, did many of their French contemporaries. This subject has been touched upon in one of my Tracts for the Times.

"Will Antichrist profess any religion at all? Neither true God, nor false God, will he worship; so far is clear, and yet something more, and that obscure, is told us. Indeed, as far as the prophetic accounts go, they seem at first sight incompatible with each other. Antichrist is to 'exalt himself over all that is called God or worshipped'. He will set himself forcibly against idols and idolatry, as the early teachers agree in declaring. Yet in the book of Daniel* we read, 'In his estate shall he honour the god of forces; and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones and pleasant things. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he will acknowledge and increase in glory'. What is meant by the words translated 'god of forces', and afterwards called 'a strange god', is quite hidden from us, and probably will be so till the event; but any how some sort of false worship is predicted as the mark of Antichrist, with this prediction the contrary way, that he shall set himself against all idols, as well as against the true God. Now it is not at all extraordinary that there should be this contrariety in the prediction, for we know generally that infidelity leads to superstition, and that the men most reckless in their blasphemy are cowards also. They cannot be consistent, if they would. But let me notice here again a remarkable coincidence, which is contained in the history of the last fifty years", [the Tract is dated 1838] "a coincidence between actual events and prophecy sufficient to show us that the apparent contradiction in the latter may easily be reconciled, though beforehand we may not see how; sufficient to remind us that the

*Not the Vulgate.

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l. 8 all-watchful Eye, and the all-ordaining Hand of God is still over the world, and that the seeds sown in prophecy above two thousand years since, are not dead, but from time to time, by blade and tender shoot, give earnest of the future harvest. Surely the world is impregnated with unearthly elements, which ever and anon, in unhealthy seasons, give lowering and muttering tokens of the wrath to come!

"In that great and famous Nation which is near us, once great for its love of Christ's Church, since memorable for deeds of blasphemy, (which leads me to mention it,) in the capital of that powerful and celebrated Nation, there took place, as we all well know, within the last fifty years, an open apostasy from Christianity; nor from Christianity only, but from every kind of worship which might retain any semblance or pretence of the great truths of religion. Atheism was absolutely professed;-- yet in spite of this (it seems a contradiction in terms to say it), a certain sort of Worship, and that, as the prophet expresses it, 'a strange worship', was introduced Observe what this was.

"I say, they avowed, on the one hand, Atheism. They prevailed upon an unhappy man, whom their proceedings had forced upon the Church as an Archbishop, to come before the public, and declare that there was no God, and that what he had hitherto taught was a fable. They wrote up over the burial places, that death was an eternal sleep. They closed the churches, they seized and desecrated the gold and silver plate belonging to them, turning those sacred instruments, like Belshazzar, to the use of their revellings; they formed mock processions, clad in priestly garments, and singing prophane hymns. They annulled the divine ordinance of
p. 442 marriage, resolving it into a mere civil contract to be made and dissolved at pleasure. These things are but a part of their enormities.

"On the other hand, after having broken away from all restraint of God and man, they gave a name to the reprobate state itself into which they had thrown themselves, and exalted it, that very negation of religion, or rather that real and living blasphemy,

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l. 6 into a kind of god. They called it Liberty, and they literally worshipped it as a divinity. It would almost be incredible, that men, who had flung off all religion, should be at the pains to assume a new and senseless worship of their own devising, whether in superstition or in mockery, were not events so recent and so notorious. After abjuring our Lord and Savious, and blasphemously declaring Him to be an impostor, they proceeded to decree, in the public assembly of the nation, the adoration of Liberty and Equality as divinities; and they appointed festivals besides, in honour of Reason, the Country, the Constitution, and the Virtues. Further, they determined that tutelary gods might be worshipped; and they enrolled in the number of those some of the most notorious infidels and profligates of the last century. The remains of the two principal of these were brought in solemn procession into one of their churches, and placed upon the holy altar itself; incense was offered to them, and the assembled multitude bowed down in worship before one of them, before what remained on Earth of an inveterate enemy of Christ. . . .

"Further, let it be remarked, that there was a tendency to introduce the old Roman democratic worship, as if further to show us that Rome, the fourth monster of the Prophet's vision, is not dead. They even went so far as to restore the worship of one of the Roman divinities (Ceres) by name, raised a statue to her, and appointed a festival in her honour. . . . Still further, it is startling to observe, that the former apostate in the early times, the Emperor Julian, he too was engaged in bringing back Roman Paganism. Further still, let it be observed that Antiochus too, the Antichrist before Christ, the persecutor of the Jews, he too signa-
p. 443 lized himself in forcing the Pagan worship upon them, introducing it even into the Temple."--Tracts for the Times, No. 83.

I am induced to add some extracts from a Protestant sermon of my own, written just twenty years ago, both for its special connexion with the

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l. 5 above extracts, and also as a sort of illustration of what I have said above, in Discourse I., concerning the long hold which the class of opinions, which I have here been advocating, have had upon my mind.

"In every age of Christianity since it was first preached, there has been what may be called a Religion of the world, which so far imitates the one true religion, as to deceive the unstable and the unwary. The world does not oppose Religion as such. I may say, it never has opposed it. In particular, it has, in all ages, acknowledged in one sense or other the Gospel of Christ, fastened on one or other of its characteristics, and professed to embody this one in its practice; while, by neglecting the other parts of the holy doctrine, it has, in fact, disturbed and corrupted even that portion of it, which it has exclusively put forward, and so has contrived to explain away the whole; for he who cultivates only one precept of the Gospel to the exclusion of the rest, in reality attends to no part at all. Our duties balance each other; and, though we are too sinful to perform them all perfectly, yet we may in some measure be performing them all, and preserving the balance on the whole; whereas, to give ourselves only to this or that commandment is to incline our minds in a wrong direction, and at length to pull them down to the earth, which is the aim of our adversary the Devil.

"It is his very aim to break our strength; to force us down to the earth, to bind us there. The world is his instrument for this purpose; he is too wise to set it in open opposition to the word of God. No! he affects to be a prophet like the prophets of God. He calls his servants also prophets; and they mix with the scattered remnant of the true Church, with the solitary Michaiahs who were left upon the Earth, and speak in the Name of the Lord. And in one sense they speak the truth;
p. 444 but it is not the whole truth; and we know even from the common experience of life, that half the truth is often the most gross and mischievous of

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l. 3 falsehoods'.

Then I allude, first, to the Neo-platonists, to Ammonius, his connexion with Origen and the school of Alexandria, to Julian, etc.

"Even in the first ages of the Church, while persecution still raged, he set up a counter-religion among the philosophers of the day, partly like Christianity, but in truth a bitter foe to it; and it deceived and shipwrecked the faith of those who had not the love of God in their hearts".

Next I allude to the superstitions of the middle ages, as ordeals, the savage feudalism, the fanaticism of chivalry, the wild excesses of the era of the Crusades, the Flagellants, and the cruel and bloody persecutions of Jews and heretics, all of which a Catholic condemns, though here I ignorantly implicate the Church in them.

"Time went on, and he devised a second idol of the True Christ, and it remained in the temple of God for many a year. The age was rude and fierce. Satan took the darker side of the Gospel; its awful mysteriousness, its fearful glory, its sovereign inflexible justice; and here his picture of the truth ended. 'God is a consuming fire'; we know it. But we know more, viz., that God is love also; but Satan did not add this to his religion, which became one of fear. The religion of the world was then a fearful religion. Superstitions abounded, and cruelties. The noble firmness, the graceful austerity of the true Christian were superseded by forbidding spectres, harsh of eye, and haughty of brow; and these were the patterns or the tyrants of a beguiled people".

Then I come to the Religion of Civilization, which is the subject of the Ninth Discourse in this volume.

"What is Satan's device in this day? a far different one; but perhaps a more pernicious. . . . What is the world's Religion now? It has taken the brighter side of the Gospel, its tidings of comfort, its precepts of love; all darker, deeper views of man's condition and prospects being comparatively forgotten. This is the religion natural to a civilized age, and well has Satan dressed and

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l. 1 completed it into an idol of the Truth. As the reason is cultivated, the taste formed, the affections and sentiments refined, a general decency and grace will of course spread over the face of society, quite independently of the influence of Revelation. That beauty and delicacy of thought, which is so attractive in books, extends to the conduct of life, to all we have, all we do, all we are. Our manners are courteous; we avoid giving pain or offence; our words become correct; our relative duties are carefully performed. Our sense of propriety shows itself even in our domestic arrangements, in the embellishment of our houses, in our amusements, and so also in our religious profession. Vice now becomes unseemly and hideous to the imagination; or, as it is sometimes familiarly said, 'out of taste'. Thus elegance is gradually made the test and standard of virtue, which is no longer thought to possess intrinsic claims on our hearts, or to exist further than it leads to the quiet and comfort of others. Conscience is no longer recognized as an independent arbiter of actions; its authority is explained away; --partly it is superseded in the minds of men by the so-called moral sense, which is regarded merely as the love of the beautiful; partly by the rule of expediency, which is forthwith substituted for it in the details of conduct. Now conscience is a stern gloomy principle; it tells of guilt and of prospective punishment. Accordingly, when its terrors disappear, then disappear also, in the creed of the day, those fearful images of divine wrath with which the Scriptures abound. They are explained away. Every thing is bright and cheerful. Religion is pleasant and easy; benevolence is the chief virtue; intolerance, bigotry, excess of zeal, are the first of sins. Austerity is an absurdity;--even firmness is looked on with an unfriendly suspicious eye. On the other hand, all open profligacy is discountenanced; drunkenness is accounted a disgrace; cursing and swearing are vulgarities. Moreover, to a cultivated mind, which recreates itself in the varieties of literature and knowledge, and is interested in the ever accumulating discoveries of science, and the ever-fresh accessions

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l. 34. of information, political or other, from foreign
countries, Religion will commonly seem to be dull,
p. 446 from want of novelty. Human excitements are easily
sought out and rewarded. New objects in religion,
new systems and plans, new doctrines, new preachers,
are necessary to satisfy that craving, which the
so-called spread of knowledge has created. The mind
becomes morbidly sensitive and fastidious; dissatis-
fied with things as they are, and desirous of a
change as such, as if alteration must of itself be a
relief.

"Now, I would have you put Christianity for an instant out of your thoughts; and consider whether such a state of refinement, as I have attempted to describe, is not that to which men might be brought quite independent of religion, by the mere influence of education and civilization; and then again, whether, nevertheless, this mere refinement of mind is not more or less all that is called religion at this day. In other words, is it not the case, that Satan has so composed and dressed out what is the mere natural produce of the human heart under certain circumstances, as to serve his purposes as the counterfeit of the Truth? I do not at all deny that this spirit of the world uses words and makes professions, which it would not adopt except for the suggestions of Scripture; nor do I deny that it takes a general colouring from Christianity, so as really to be modified by it, nay, in a measure enlightened and exalted by it. Again, I fully grant, that many persons, in whom this bad spirit shows itself, are but partially infected by it, and at bottom good Christians, though imperfect. Still, after all, here is an existing system, only partially evangelical, built upon worldly principle, yet pretending to be the Gospel, dropping one whole side of it, viz., its austere character, and considering it enough to be benevolent, courteous, candid, correct in conduct, delicate,--though it has no true fear of God, no fervent zeal for His honour, no deep hatred of sin, no horror at the sight of sinners, no indignation and compassion at the blasphemies of heretics, no jealous adherence to doctrinal truth, no especial sensitiveness about the

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l. 32 particular means of gaining ends, provided the ends be good, no loyalty to the Holy Apostolic Church of which the Creed speaks, no sense of the authority of Religion as external to the mind; in a word, no
p. 447 seriousness, and therefore is neither hot nor cold, but (in Scripture language) lukewarm. Thus the present age is the very contrary to what are commonly called the Dark Ages; and together with the faults of those ages, we have lost their virtues. I say their virtues; for even the errors then prevalent--a persecuting spirit, for instance,--fear of religious inquiry,--bigotry,--these were, after all, but perversions and excesses of real virtues, such as zeal and reverence; and we, instead of limiting and purifying them, have taken them away, root and branch. Why? because we have not acted from a love of the Truth, but from the influence of the Age. The old generation has passed, and its character with it; a new order of things has arisen. Human society has a new framework, and fosters and developes a new character of mind; and this new character is made by the Enemy of our souls to resemble Christian obedience, as near as it may, its likeness all the time being but accidental. Meanwhile, the Holy Church of God, as from the beginning, continues its course heavenward; despised by the world, yet influencing it, partly correcting it, partly restraining it, and in some happy cases reclaiming its victims, and fixing them firmly and for ever within the lines of the faithful host militant here on Earth, which journeys towards the City of the Great King".

After speaking of the reception of this counterfeit Christianity by the Puritan or Wesleyan party of the day, I proceed to describe its acceptableness to the so-called Liberal.

"The form of doctrine, which I have called the Religion of the Day, is especially adapted to please men of sceptical minds, who have never been careful to obey their conscience, who cultivate the intellect without disciplining the heart, and who allow themselves to speculate freely about what Religion ought to be, without going to Scripture to discover what it really is. Some persons of this character almost

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l. 31 consider Religion itself to be an obstacle in the advance of our social and political well-being. But they know that human nature requires it; therefore they select the most rational form of Religion (so they call it) which they can devise. Others are far more seriously disposed, but are corrupted
p. 448 by bad example or other cause. But they all discard what they call gloomy views in religion: they all trust themselves more than God's word; and thus may be classed together; and are ready to embrace the pleasant, consoling religion, natural to a polished age. They lay much stress on works on Natural Theology, and think that all religion is contained in these; whereas, in truth, there is no greater fallacy than to suppose such works in themselves, in any true sense, to be religious at all. Religion, it has been well observed, is something relative to us; a system of commands and promises from God towards us. But how are we concerned with the sun, moon, and stars? or with the laws of the universe? how will they teach us our duty? how will they speak to sinners? They do not speak to sinners at all. They were created before Adam's fall. They 'declare the glory of God', but not His will. They are all-perfect, all-harmonious; but that brightness and excellence which they exhibit in their own creation, and the divine benevolence therein seen, are of little moment to fallen man. We see nothing there of God's wrath, of which the conscience of the sinner loudly speaks. So that there cannot be a more dangerous, though a common device of Satan, than to carry us off from our secret thoughts, to make us forget our hearts, which tell us of a God of justice and holiness, and to fix our attention merely on the God who made the heavens; who is our God indeed, but not God as manifested to us sinners, but as He shines forth to His angels, and to the elect hereafter.

"When a man has so far deceived himself as to trust his destiny to what the heavens tell him of it, instead of consulting and obeying his conscience, what is the consequence? that at once he misinterprets and perverts the whole text of Scripture. . . . We are expressly told that 'strait is the gate and narrow the way that leads to life, and few there be that find

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l. 31 it'; that we must 'strive', or struggle, 'to enter in at the strait gate', for that 'many shall seek to enter in'; but that is not enough; they merely seek, and do not find it; and further, that they who do not obtain everlasting life, 'shall go into everlasting punishment'. This is the dark side of
p. 449 religion; and the men I have been describing cannot bear to think of it. They shrink from it as too terrible. They easily get themselves to believe that those strong declarations of Scripture do not belong to the present day, or that they are figurative. They have no language within their heart responding to them. Conscience has been silenced. The only information they have received concerning God has been from Natural Theology, and that speaks only of benevolence and harmony; so they will not credit the plain words of Scripture. They seize on such parts of Scripture as seem to countenance their own opinions; they insist on its being commanded us to 'rejoice evermore', and they argue that it is our duty to solace ourselves now (in moderation, of course) with the goods of this life; that we have only to be thankful while we use them; that we need not alarm ourselves; that God is a merciful God; that repentance is quite sufficient to atone for our offences; that, though we have been irregular in our youth, yet that is a thing gone by; that we forget it, and therefore God forgets it; that the world is, on the whole, very well disposed towards Religion; that we should avoid enthusiasm; that we should not be over-serious; that we should have enlarged views on the subject of human nature; and that we should love all men. This indeed is the creed of shallow men, in every age, who reason a little, and feel not at all, and who think themselves enlightened and philosophical. Part of what they say is false, part is true, but misapplied; but why I have noticed it here, is to show how exactly it fits in with what I have already described as the peculiar religion of a civilized age;--it fits in with it equally well as does that of the so-called religious world, which is the opposite extreme".

THE END.

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