

Catholic
post-secondary education
in English-speaking Canada

A history

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The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

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The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, is an autonomous teaching and research institute, at the graduate and post-doctoral levels, specializing in the thought and culture of the middle ages as recoverable and as bearing on man in subsequent times including the present. The Institute is located at 59 Queen's Park Crescent, East, Toronto 5, in accommodations provided by the University of St Michael's College. The Institute was founded in 1929; received a charter from the Holy See in 1939; is supported by St Michael's College, the Basilian Fathers, and its own fellows; offers courses leading to the licentiate and doctorate in mediaeval studies; provides a specialized research library for scholars generally; and publishes materials relating to its specialization. It is governed by a president and a council of faculty and fellows according to statutes drawn up by itself and approved by the Holy See.

THE FOUNDING OF THE INSTITUTE

A number of Canadian Catholic colleges and universities have with the passing of the years entered in a relatively modest way the fields of graduate and research study. St Francis Xavier of Antigonish generated a co-operative movement and crowned it with the Coady International Institute; St Patrick's of Ottawa established an important School of Social Welfare; and St Michael's of Toronto directed large resources in men and money to the development of a professional and scholarly Institute of Mediaeval Studies. The history of these projects¹ shows how well and under what difficulties Catholic post-secondary education functions at the post-graduate and research levels. For the purposes of the present study, the Institute of Mediaeval Studies can serve as the paradigm.

The Pontifical Institute was the product of three distinct movements: the extraordinary flowering of scholastic philosophy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; the bold and progressive experimentation in the federating of provincial and sectarian colleges in

¹ For the Coady International Institute, see above, 91-2; for St Patrick's School of Social Welfare, see below, 255

Canada; and a sudden maturing of American universities which made them attractive even to the best European scholars.

The first of these movements, the unprecedented revival of mediaeval scholasticism, received special encouragement when Pope Leo XIII in his *Aeterni Patris* of 1879 invited scholars to study philosophy 'according to the mind of St Thomas.' There was great activity in academic centres like Munich, Louvain, and Paris for many years following the appearance of this encyclical. By 1914 when World War I broke out, these new studies were taking two directions: one of these was more committedly scientific, the other perhaps more historical. Grabmann's researches into scholastic method² and Mercier's attempt to systematize mediaeval thought³ reflect the first, Mandonnet's discovery of Averroism in Siger of Brabant the second.⁴ The new study of mediaeval thought was already moving in diverging lines. Both of these trends were to appear in Toronto, but since it was the Paris trend which was to be more influential there, it should be looked at more closely.

In 1920, the war well past, appeared the first edition of Etienne Gilson's *Le Thomisme*. Shortly afterwards, in 1921, came the *Bulletin du Cange*; then, in 1924, *Bulletin Thomiste* and in 1926 the *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*. The excitement of Paris was felt in America and scholars were wondering how to become part of the movement. The same excitement, felt in Toronto because it struck another chord, made men wonder whether the movement itself could not be brought there. It seemed to offer a solution to a quite unrelated problem.

This brings up the second movement. Since 1906, the University of Toronto had been functioning satisfactorily as a federated university. Three religious colleges were working in collaboration with a non-sectarian university college as the four constituents of a common faculty of arts. Collaboration in arts and science at the undergraduate level, with sharing of programmes and facilities, was producing with economy a basically state-supported university which nevertheless gave indirect aid to religious institutions, and at the same time seemed to be producing a university of considerable academic prestige. The system had advantages and disadvantages for the religious college. The great academic advantage offered was the opportunity to provide prestigious

² Martin Grabmann, *Thomas von Aquin: Eine Einführung in seine Persönlichkeit und Gedankenwelt*, Kempten, Munich, 1912

³ L. De Raeymaeker, *Le Cardinal Mercier et L'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de Louvain*, Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1952

⁴ Pierre Feliz Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au XIII^e siècle*, Fribourg, Suisse, 1899

honours courses in fields congenial to the ethos of a given college — in the case of St Michael's, the Catholic college, in philosophy, and especially in scholastic philosophy. The great disadvantage, however, was that the colleges were cut off at the graduate level. No outlet was provided for the more profound interests of staff or students either in graduate study or in independent research. Thus the same system of federation which made it economically possible for St Michael's to undertake honours work made it very difficult for it to provide the academic atmosphere proper to a staff capable of teaching that work.

Several means of coping with this limitation were tried at St Michael's. Thus Henry Carr, the superior, instituted a policy of bringing distinguished scholars to St Michael's for lectures, for one-semester appointments, and occasionally as full-time members of the staff. In April 1919 Maurice de Wulf of Louvain, disciple of the great Mercier gave a course of eight lectures in Convocation Hall on the theme 'Civilization and Philosophy in the Heart of the Middle Ages.' For some time de Wulf came annually to Toronto and a few calendars of the twenties list him among the members of the permanent staff as professor of the history of mediaeval philosophy. In December 1919, Sir Bertram C.A. Windle came to St Michael's as a permanent member of the staff with an appointment in anthropology. In 1925 Gerald T. Phelan, recent agrégé of Louvain, was given a full-time appointment in psychology. Hilaire Belloc gave some lectures at the college in history in 1923; Professor Léon Noël spent the fall of 1926 at St Michael's and was to return in 1930 for the Institute's first and only summer course. Etienne Gilson gave his first series of lectures in Toronto in January and February 1927, returning for a second series in 1928. The Canadian Franciscan, Ephrem Longpré, palaeographer and textual scholar from Quaracchi, lectured on Thomas of York during the spring of 1928. This policy was one answer to the academic limitations of university federation. A second attempt to induce deeper scholarship can be seen in the establishing during the early twenties of a highly successful Philosophical Society. This society had a remarkable career at St Michael's. Near all the scholars named above were at some time active speakers and participants as were all the professors of philosophy both at St Michael's and in the University of Toronto. Many of the papers read at the meetings of the society dealt in a serious way with mediaeval philosophy. There was a good deal of interest in the Middle Ages shown around St Michael's before the Institute was thought of.⁵

⁵ The foregoing material has been assembled from the St Michael's College yearbooks between 1919 and 1930. These books can be found in the archives of the undergraduate library of St Michael's College.

It is only fair to point out that interest in the Middle ages in the twenties was by no means peculiar to St Michael's. Many American scholars were genuine mediaevalists and there were mediaevalists in Canada too. James F. Willard's bulletins, *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America* list a total of 60 mediaevalists for 1923 and 328 for 1926. Neither figure is complete. What was unique at St Michael's in so far as the American continent was concerned, was the intense interest in the specifically philosophical thought of the Middle Ages from both the scientific and the historical points of view. Further, it was a desire to carry on research in mediaeval thought in the wider context of the entire civilization of the period that produced the Institute of Mediaeval Studies in 1929. The actual founding came about as follows.

During September 1926, the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy was held at Harvard. Dr Léon Noël and Professor Etienne Gilson attended as the delegates of their respective universities, Louvain and Paris. Following the congress, Noël spent the fall at St Michael's, Gilson at Harvard. Gilson visited Montreal and Toronto from Harvard. He came to Toronto for the first time in January 1927. He already had in mind a project for trying to make intelligible to modern times the nearly fifteen centuries of civilization which had been largely suppressed and rather generally divorced from its own philosophical and theological thought. This project was a research institute in mediaeval studies, and he had raised the matter privately in Paris and more openly at Harvard. When he raised the matter in Toronto, as he did in February 1927,⁶ it was immediately taken up as the adequate solution to some of the problems created by university federation in that it was work at an advanced level, yet not work intruding upon the preserves of graduate education as then understood. Moreover, it was a solution in line with the special interests which had been developing in Toronto for at least a decade. Gilson returned to St Michael's during the next academic year, 1927–8, and accepted a permanent post on the staff of St Michael's 'in order to cooperate in the organization of the Institute of Mediaeval Studies and to direct the work of this department.'⁷

The Basilian Fathers held a regular general chapter during the summer of 1928. The question of founding the institute was referred to it because the life-long commitment of Basilian personnel was involved.

⁶ Etienne Gilson, 'Why Not?', *The Year Book 1927: St Michael's College*, Toronto, 32–3. See also his unsigned article 'The University Will Lead the Way,' in *University of Toronto Monthly*, 27 (Mar. 1927), 253–4, and his signed article 'St Michael's Establishes Institute of Mediaeval Studies,' *University of Toronto Monthly*, 28 (Dec. 1927), 119–21.

⁷ G.B. Phelan, 'Our New Professor,' *The Year Book 1928: St Michael's College*, Toronto, 26

The case for the institute was presented by McCorkell and Carr, superiors of St Michael's College and St Basil's Seminary, and was given a good hearing both by Francis Forster, the superior general of the Basilians, and by the chapter as a whole. The project was approved.⁸ A year later, 29 September 1929, the Institute of Mediaeval Studies was formally opened in a ceremony held in St Basil's Church, Archbishop Neil McNeil presiding. Henry Carr was named first president, Etienne Gilson, director of studies, Gerald B. Phelan, librarian, and Henry S. Bellisle, secretary. E.J. McCorkell, superior of St Michael's College, was an officer and a founder *ex officio*; in 1929 he launched a public appeal for funds to develop both college and institute. This campaign was led by John F. Boland, kc. The most spectacular and important gift was that of Frank P. O'Connor, in the amount of \$125,000 to be paid at the rate of \$12,500 a year for ten years to provide books and photostats for the Institute Library.

Thus does one record the institute's founding. In setting down or in reading the facts, however, it is well to recall that the essential vision was of an instructional and research project at the graduate level which would take scholars into all branches of mediaeval studies but in such a way that they would not be unmindful of the central position of theology and philosophy.

FIRST PHASE 1929-35: HENRY CARR, PRESIDENT

In his keynote address to the regional convention of the American Catholic Philosophical Association meeting 7 June 1933 in San Francisco, Thomas Gorman, first bishop of Reno, spoke of America's need for scholarship at small expense and cited the Toronto institute and its buildings as a prime example: 'The interesting new Medieval Institute at St Michael's College in the University of Toronto uses an old two-storey dwelling house for its work, yet Gilson and Maritain passed over tempting offers in numerous American universities, Catholic and secular, to go there this year to teach. It isn't the building that counts; it's the library and the staff, men and books, not brick and stone.'⁹ The founders of the institute certainly adhered to this principle. They had two sources of special revenue during the early thirties: \$32,000 over six years from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the \$125,000 over ten years from Senator Frank P. O'Connor. The first of these

⁸ Henry S. Bellisle, *The Institute of Mediaeval Studies*, Toronto: St Michael's College Pamphlets, 1933. See Basilian Archives. See also H.S. Bellisle, 'Address Given at the Loretto Abbey College Re-Union, August 1933,' *Loretto Rainbow*, 40 (1933), 77-85.

⁹ *The Monitor of San Francisco*, 10 June 1933, 12.

revenues went into the training of six young professors released for mediaeval studies by the Basilian Fathers, the second into purchasing materials for what is possibly the finest research library in mediaeval studies on the American continent.

Yet the founders would have been unwilling to speak disparagingly of their material setting. When the institute was opened in 1929, it was assigned quarters of its own (and this was an important consideration) in the former residence of Sir John Willison, Toronto financier, at 10 Elmsley Place. The house was not large and was not intended to be the permanent home of the Institute, but it was eminently suitable in that the artist who built the house and from whom Sir John acquired it, had provided not only the amenities of a pleasant home but the special convenience of a spacious studio designed for his own use with a large northern light and with its private family entrance from the second storey leading past a cozy den, over a narrow balcony, and down into the working area by way of a handsome if miniature spiral staircase. Willison's studio served as library and special lecture room for the Institute from 1929 to 1936. It imparted a subtle charm and dignity to the project which served it well both then and in subsequent years. When the present Institute was opened at 59 Queen's Park Crescent in 1936 in the north wing of a long stone collegiate-Gothic building, its lovely reading and reference room recalled the original studio by retaining a northern light and a staircase spiralling down from a narrow balcony.

The original faculty of the institute consisted of the following: Etienne Gilson, founder and professor of the history of mediaeval philosophy; Henry Carr, founder and professor of Greek and patristic backgrounds; Edmund J. McCorkell, founder, professor of English and president of St Michael's College; Gerald B. Phelan, founder, librarian, and professor of the philosophy of St Thomas Aquinas; Henry S. Bellisle, secretary and professor of the history of patristic thought; and Joseph T. Muckle, professor of mediaeval Latin. The associated faculty included professors in St Michael's College, especially J.B. O'Reilly and B.F. Sullivan, and professors in the graduate school of the University of Toronto, notably dean George S. Brett. Each year new men and new courses became available. A summer course was offered in July 1930 with regular courses by Carr, Bellisle, and Phelan and a special course by Léon Noël of Louvain. Martin Grabmann of Munich was also to have given a special course; but he had, for reasons of health, to withdraw at the last moment. The offering of a summer programme was not successful. It drew many students but was too demanding upon a staff

involved in research and too ambitious for part-time students whose graduate work, at least in those years, could at best be auxiliary or peripheral. During the academic year 1930-1, palaeography was given for the first time by Father Muckle; also given for the first time in 1931 was mediaeval theology by M.D. Chenu, director of the Saulchoir's *Bulletin Thomiste*. Chenu had come to Canada partly to lecture at this institute and partly to organize mediaeval studies, especially Thomistic studies, at the Institut Saint Thomas d'Aquin organized by the Canadian Dominicans in 1930 at their Ottawa convent on Empress Avenue. This institute was later moved to Montreal.

The original programme of the Toronto institute comprised from the beginning in 1929 both introductory and advanced courses in mediaeval studies. It offered, too, an unaccredited licentiate diploma of its own for three years of successful work. Most students of the Institute were enrolled in the graduate school of the University of Toronto and were candidates for an accredited MA or PHD degree through that institution. Such an arrangement though informal was open and understood. Dean Brett regarded all Institute courses as approved courses given by professors of his own graduate school. The college authorities regarded their providing and subsidizing of these courses as an academic and financial contribution to the life of the university. The further question as to whether this kind of arrangement was technically covered by the University of Toronto Act, which did not provide for graduate work in the colleges except in theology, was not officially raised. The Institute, as institute, was private, autonomous, and without civil or ecclesiastical academic status. The university accepted the institute's existence as desirable and useful, affording it full benefit of its facilities, experience, and prestige. Officially and formally the university neither approved nor disapproved of the institute; practically and personally it welcomed it warmly and affectionately into its campus complex.

Two further matters were of major concern to Carr and the institute's administration during the early thirties: the training of a specialized staff, and the obtaining of ecclesiastical recognition. The first of these desiderata was achieved by the willingness of the general council of the Basilian Fathers to assign at first five, and subsequently other young priests to the work of the institute and of the Carnegie Corporation to contribute financially towards their preparation. Thus Alexander J. Denomy went to Harvard to work in old French under J.D.M. Ford; George B. Flahiff went to Strasbourg and Paris for historico-methodological training under Marcel Aubert, Léon Levillain, and the Ecole des Chartes; Terence P. McLaughlin studied the civil and canon laws first

at Strasbourg then at Paris under Gabriel Le Bras; Vincent L. Kennedy worked on liturgy and archaeology with Michel Andrieu at Strasbourg and later with Conrad Kirch and Cunibert Mohlberg in Rome. J. Reginald O'Donnell trained in palaeography under Aleksander Birkenmajer in Cracow and under Edmund Faral, Josef Koch, and others in Paris. These men returned to Toronto in 1935 and, under Gilson, Phelan, and the original staff, which now included H.P. Coughlin in theology, initiated what has become the characteristic pattern of mediaeval studies and research in Toronto. Other Basilians who were sent off for mediaeval studies later in the thirties were Wilfrid J. Dwyer in philosophy, T. Vernon Kennedy in theology, and Laurence K. Shook in vernacular literature.

The matter of ecclesiastical accreditation was perhaps less urgent, but it was important for different reasons than the preceding and was much more delicate because it involved approaching Rome for approval of a new kind of academic body not really provided for by the apostolic constitution *Deus scientiarum dominus* of 1931, and which was to be in effect a pontifical academy of advanced studies outside the city of Rome. The obtaining of a pontifical charter was much discussed in Toronto between 1929 and 1934. The administration considered asking the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities for a faculty of philosophy or possibly of philosophy and theology. The Roman Congregation had not considered the possibility of anyone asking for a charter covering advanced study and research in mediaeval studies. Carr went to Rome in March 1934 where, joined by Gilson, he approached Monsignor Ernesto Ruffini and Cardinal Bisleti, secretary and prefect respectively of the Congregation, for a charter for the institute. It was Ruffini who advised Carr and Gilson to ask for what they wanted, a charter covering mediaeval studies, and not for something they did not want, like a faculty of philosophy. Ruffini also urged them to have their statutes prepared for submission immediately. Carr went to Paris and worked with T.P. McLaughlin on the first draft of the statutes; they finished the task in Rome where they worked in collaboration with V.L. Kennedy and Father Riccione, secretary to Ruffini. The first version of the statutes was ready for submission to the Congregation 28 June 1934. At one stage Carr thought that the charter might be put through at once, especially in view of the sympathy of Pius XI for the institute as expressed during a private audience on 8 May. When, however, the statutes were deposited and the request for a charter could be said to be under formal consideration, there was nothing else to do but to wait for the wheels of the official machinery

to grind out the matter slowly and cautiously. Ever since 1931 when *Deus scientiarum dominus* appeared, all existing charters had been under review by the Congregation. It was expecting too much to think that the institute's application and statutes could be afforded special priority. Indeed, they were not. The preparing of the statutes, however, and the presenting of an application for a charter was almost the last of Carr's presidential activities. He told Gilson in Europe that Phelan would be the next president.¹⁰

The period of Carr's presidency was an experimental and a pioneer one. It was partly a holding operation until the return of the newly prepared professors in 1935, but by no means entirely so. Carr, Gilson, and Phelan commanded increasingly important prestige in university circles. The three of them almost surpassed themselves when they succeeded in bringing Jacques Maritain to the institute during 1932-3. This event made it quite clear that the Institute was an international project of primary importance. Maritain lectured annually at the Institute from 1932 to 1938. He lectured regularly during the war years of the forties and on special occasions since that time. He has maintained close and warm associations with Toronto during all the years. Carr's resignation in 1935 meant that Gerald B. Phelan, who became associate director in 1932 when Robert J. Scollard replaced him as librarian, would take over as president.

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE: GERALD B. PHELAN, PRESIDENT

Gerald B. Phelan succeeded Henry Carr, becoming acting president of the Institute of Mediaeval Studies in 1935. The syllabus for 1935-6 offered a considerably expanded programme for that year with new courses in theology, law, liturgy, art and archaeology and history. The programme was still organized around the Toronto MA and PhD but called for more courses than were prescribed by the university for these degrees. The statutes submitted to the sacred congregation in 1934 were returned during 1936 for revision in the light of the congregation's recommendation. Thus the statutes could now be put into effect *ad experimentum*. The archbishop of Toronto, James Charles McGuigan, became chancellor in 1936 and formally nominated Gerald B. Phelan to the congregation for his appointment as president, which was ratified in 1937. At the same time the institute's Council of the Faculty became a reality and it immediately initiated the statutory academic programme. The new programme, effective in 1937-8, was organized around three

¹⁰ This material is sympathetically related in E.J. McCorkell, *Henry Carr: Revolutionary*, Toronto: Griffin House, 1969, ch.9, 74-106, and esp. 80ff.

years of courses for a *diploma licentiae* and two additional years for a *diploma laureae*. It was still assumed that the Toronto degrees would be taken, but the academic programme was no longer organized around them. With the adopting of a statutory programme in 1937, it became essential that the institute obtain a charter empowering it to grant the degrees around which its programme was organized. Supported by his new chancellor, Phelan drew up a petition to the Holy See asking that the charter be granted. The signatures of all Canada's 48 bishops were attached to the petition. It was presented to Pope Pius XII by Cardinal Villeneuve of Quebec in the spring of 1939. The pontifical charter was promulgated on 19 October 1939.

During the years in which the programme was established and the charter obtained, there was also initiated an active publications policy. The first major item published from the institute was the mediaeval Latin translation, *Algazel's Metaphysics*, edited by J.T. Muckle in 1933. The following year three items were published including the important doctoral dissertation of Anton C. Pegis, *St Thomas and the Problem of the Soul in the Thirteenth Century*. Four more items were published during 1938 and 1939: two monographs by Emmanuel Chapman and Bernard Müller-Thym, and two translations by G.B. Phelan and Ralph MacDonald. Of great significance was the appearance in 1939 of the first volume of the institute's learned journal *Mediaeval Studies*. This annual, published at first at great financial loss and with very little circulation, but called for by the almost inherent right of research to publication, has become one of Canada's most distinguished publications and is to be found in all the world's leading library collections. *Mediaeval Studies* has appeared regularly since 1939. Its distinguishing policies include the printing of unpublished or unavailable texts (the first volume contained the *Summa de officiis Ecclesiae* of Guy d'Orchelles, the *Exigit ordo executionis* of Nicholas of Autrecourt, and four old French poems dealing with the life of St Barbara) and a decision not to publish book reviews or items of ephemeral interest. The result of now 31 years of publication is a collection of research materials indispensable wherever advanced study of the Middle Ages is carried on.

With the charter of 1939, Phelan began his term as first official and canonically appointed president of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. The period of his presidency of the pontifical body extended from 1939 to 1946. During this period of the forties the institute staff was substantially developed. T. Vernon Kennedy had been added in theology prior to the charter, that is, in 1937. During the charter year, 1939-40, Gerhart Ladner began to lecture in early Christian and medi-

mediaeval art and architecture; during 1942-3, Ignatius T. Eschmann, authority on the writings of St Thomas and professor in Rome (the Angelicum) and in Cologne before his forced emigration to Canada, began to deliver lectures on the theology and philosophy of St Thomas Aquinas; and during 1944-5, Anton C. Pegis, distinguished institute graduate of the early thirties and an institute fellow since 1933,¹¹ came from Fordham University as professor of philosophy in the Pontifical Institute.

Development of programme, publications, and library continued. But there were problems in these years too. The war, for example, hampered graduate activity, kept Gilson in Paris, interfered with research. There was also disagreement between Phelan and the general council of the Basilians over the proper exercise of the right of the order to appoint or to assign duties to Basilian professors holding an ordinary or extraordinary professorship from the Holy See. The matter came up in a variety of crises: when the general council wished to have institute professors provide courses in the seminary; when the superior general was disposed to appoint G.B. Flahiff to a military chaplaincy; when the general council actually appointed T.P. McLaughlin as superior and president of St Michael's College in 1940; and when the general council set up a community for Basilians of the institute under their own local superior. There was enough friction in these and other cases to raise doubts about whether Phelan could continue as president after his first term ended in 1946. The chancellor consulted the council of the institute, the superior general of the Basilians, and Phelan himself. Following these consultations he recommended to the sacred congregation that it name Anton C. Pegis to succeed Phelan as president. Concurrently with these negotiations, Phelan accepted an offer from Notre Dame University to open a mediaeval institute in South Bend. This was only one of several offers received by him at this time. Phelan's decision to continue pioneering in this field was in line with Etienne Gilson's prediction sixteen years before that there would be many mediaeval research institutes in the years to come.¹² It was also in line with what has happened in the sixties when some twenty institutes and centres of mediaeval studies have been opened in America, England, and the continent.

¹¹ The naming of fellows by the Institute Council was to have become regular practice. It provided an excellent method of recognizing a student's work prior to the obtaining of the charter. Only Pegis was ever named a fellow in this sense. The institute will revive the practice of naming fellows but on a different principle.

¹² Letter of Etienne Gilson to Henry Carr, 17 June 1934, a copy of which is to be found in the institute's archives. See also L.K. Shook, 'University Centers and Institutes of Medieval Studies,' *Journal of Higher Education*, 38 (1967), 484-92.

Phelan directed the Notre Dame Institute until 1952, when he returned to Toronto to his professorships in St Michael's and the Pontifical Institute. Phelan was by training and temperament a profound metaphysician and a brilliant psychologist. His decision in the twenties to engage these talents in the forming of the Toronto institute was important not only for its academic identity in Canada and elsewhere but for the intense scholarly direction it was to take. Working closely with Gilson, who was director of studies, and with the scholars whose services he attracted to the project, he successfully and competently saw the venture through its crucial formative years.¹³

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS: ANTON C. PEGIS, PRESIDENT

Anton C. Pegis took over the presidency of the Pontifical Institute during the critical post-war years when graduate studies in America were experiencing unprecedented growth. His own specialty, the philosophy of man, his experience, and competence in both graduate education and the publishing world made him a particularly acceptable president. That he was a layman was also important in that it made perfectly clear that the institute was not ecclesiastical in any limited sense of the word. The Council's major achievements under his leadership between 1946 and 1954 were in academic organization, in expansion of PhD work, especially in philosophy, and in a wise and broad expansion of the faculty into areas other than philosophy.

Pegis was a good organizer – particularly of academic programmes whether of the institute as a whole or of individual students. He saw to it that there were directors for the theses undertaken and that students completed their doctoral studies. He gave himself very largely to this work. In one year every doctoral candidate presented to the school and senate of the University by the department of philosophy was an institute student.¹⁴ At one time seven active doctoral candidates were under Pegis's personal direction.

Consolidation of study programmes was accompanied by a staff consolidation as well. Nicholas Häring (theology) joined the permanent staff in 1948; Armand A. Maurer (philosophy) in 1949; Joseph C. Wey

¹³ Phelan died in Toronto in 1965. See Anton C. Pegis, 'Gerald Bernard Phelan, 1892–1965,' *Mediaeval Studies*, 27 (1965), i–v; J.R. O'Donnell, 'Gerald Bernard Phelan, 1892–1965,' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1965, 155–9; Arthur G. Kirn, ed., *G.B. Phelan: Selected Papers*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967.

¹⁴ In 1948 five institute students received their PhD in philosophy in the University of Toronto: Ignatius Brady, Alfred Caird, Peter Nash, Linus Thro, Thomas Fagin. See 'Chronique' in *Culture*, 9 (1948), 80. During 1950 nine doctoral candidates were institute students, in each of 1953 and 1954 the number was eight.

(Latin palaeography) in 1950; J. Joseph Ryan (history) and Joseph Owens (philosophy) in 1955. Also during this period, Pegis and the council brought a considerable number of distinguished teaching scholars to the institute for one semester or more: Henry Pouillon, 1948, and Fernand Van Steenberghen, 1950, from Louvain; Astrid Gabriel, 1947, from Budapest; Bernard Lonergan, 1946, from the Jesuit Seminary in Toronto; and Louis M. Regis, from Montreal; and Daniel Callus, 1949, from Oxford. The period of the late forties and early fifties was one of tangible results attributable in part to post-war expansion and the re-opening of scholarly communications with the rest of the world and in part to twenty years of sure, knowledgeable, demanding policy-making and of visionary objectives, but partly also to the efficiency, contacts, and drive of the Institute's first lay president.

Gratifying to the institute and its friends was the receipt on 30 May 1947 of a 'Letter of Praise' from Pius XII by the chancellor, Cardinal McGuigan. The pope wrote in part: 'From the very beginning of our pontificate, We have taken on Ourselves the Institute of Toronto, conferring upon it favour and authority ... We now gladly add an exhortation to encourage the professors and students of the Institute that they hold fast to their noble purpose, and that with industry and zeal on the part of the bishops, especially of Canada, it may flourish as time goes on.'

In 1952 Pegis was reappointed president of the Pontifical Institute for a second term of six years. In accepting the reappointment he informed the council that he hoped in the future to make a contribution towards the creating of a healthier atmosphere in the Catholic textbook situation. There was, he said, a real possibility of his resigning the office and withdrawing temporarily to the Catholic Textbook Division of Doubleday and Company, New York. This is what actually happened. He left the presidency in 1954, moved to New York, but returned each year for a series of lectures on subjects within his special competence and interest, thus never actually severing his relations with the institute. He returned to his full-time professorship in 1961. His resignation in 1954 made necessary a new presidential appointment which went on the advice of council to Edmund J. McCorkell, one of the founders of the institute, who had just completed two terms as superior general of the Basilian Fathers.

BASILIAN PRESIDENTS: EDMUND J. MCCORKELL, LAURENCE K. SHOOK

Edmund J. McCorkell was president of the Pontifical Institute from 1954 to 1961. He was succeeded in office by Laurence K. Shook. The years of their administration, 1954 to 1970, can be said to represent

the contemporary phase and are less susceptible of historical analysis. McCorkell had a new type of problem to contend with: an enrolment falling by reason of the appearance of new graduate schools offering work in Christian philosophy; a decline of interest in Thomism especially among the graduates of Catholic colleges; stiff competition through generous scholarship policies for the best students in the country. The appearance of these problems called for an increased emphasis by the Pontifical Institute on mediaeval studies of a non-philosophical character, an even more pronounced interest in the historical approach to mediaeval studies; and finally, an accelerated public-relations and fund-raising programme.

McCorkell's first labours were presentations to foundations and private persons for much-needed funds. He initiated the Sloane and Michaelmas scholarships and set in motion a number of approaches which have since borne fruit in the helpful Dooley bequest and the donations of Mrs Harry Hatch and William J. Bennett. Above all McCorkell found new endowments for publications. This helped council to initiate its new series of *Studies and Texts*. This series began in 1955 with J.R. O'Donnell's edition of *Nine Mediaeval Thinkers*, a remarkable collection of texts edited for the first time from projects carried out in institute seminars. Between 1955 and 1970 nineteen volumes of *Studies and Texts* have appeared, containing much of the fine scholarly research carried on in recent years by the students and faculty of the Pontifical Institute.

The faculty itself continued to expand under McCorkell's directions with the adding of Ambrose J. Raftis in history (1954) and Edward Synan in philosophy (1959). There have also been unfortunate losses: A.J. Denomy was taken by death in 1957, G.B. Flahiff became superior general, 1954 and archbishop of Winnipeg in 1961 and a cardinal of the Church in 1969. Joseph C. Wey was also taken out of active institute work when he became superior general of the Basilians in 1961.

In 1961 Laurence K. Shook took over the presidency from McCorkell. Developments and changes during the period between 1961 and 1970 are difficult to assess but they were real and perhaps deep. There took place in 1961 and 1962 a revision or better, perhaps, a renewal of the entire programme. It became increasingly possible to give more attention to the integrity of the institute's programme as it became increasingly disengaged from the university's. The programme is closer today in structure to that of the late thirties than was the programme of the fifties. In 1962 the statutes of the Pontifical Institute were revised by a committee of council in order to remove anachronisms, to give academic recognition to the librarian, and to incorporate where possible the ex-

perience of the institute itself and of other graduate schools in recent times.

In 1962 the University of Toronto announced that it was about to initiate a Medieval Centre. The institute encouraged this move from the beginning as expanding campus-coverage of the increasing mediaeval fields and as enabling the institute itself to concentrate more intensely on its own more strictly professional post-doctoral and research projects. The institute placed its facilities at the use of the centre, succeeded in eliminating double registration in the institute and the university, and worked out a new way of collaboration by which at the end of his licentiate programme an institute student could elect to proceed to his doctorate in either the university or the institute. There is every indication that the new trend in collaboration will go further: that the university's centre will offer the institute's licentiate programme as one of its streams to the PhD in mediaeval studies and that it will administer and accredit it civilly under the senate; and that the institute will further develop its resources and facilities, placing them not only at the service of the centre but of all established and continuing post-doctoral scholars.

During the sixties there also took place some decentralizing and possibly some strengthening of peripheral, that is, non-academic yet vital, activities. Scholarships, once financed by the institute itself, were detached from the main operation and funded in an independent chancellor's fund set up in 1963 with a gift of one hundred thousand dollars by the chancellor, Archbishop Philip F. Pocock. Publications were made a financially distinct operation, but with policies coming as formerly from the council. This arrangement began under McCorkell when J.A. Raftis, as director of publications, set up machinery designed to streamline the operation which even by then had become too large and too demanding to be handled by academics in their spare time. In 1964 James Morro became director of publication and carried on the operation with editorial and advisory assistance from the faculty council. In both cases, however, that is, of the chancellor's fund and the department of publications, control remained in the council of the institute.

Professorial appointments during Shook's presidency were as follows: Michael M. Sheehan, who lectured in art and architecture from 1953 and in mediaeval history from 1961, was in 1964 appointed professor ordinarius in mediaeval history; in the same year, Walter H. Principe, on the staff since 1962, became ordinarius in theology; Leonard E. Boyle began in 1961 to come to the institute annually as visiting professor in palaeography and diplomatics, and was named ordinarius in these disciplines in 1966; Richard J. Schoeck, professor of English in

St Michael's since 1961 and of vernacular literature in the institute since 1964, and James A. Weisheipl, visiting professor in the history of science since 1963, were appointed ordinarii in 1967 and 1968 respectively; Brian Stock was taken on in mediaeval Latin, John Quinn in philosophy in 1966; James K. McConica in history in 1967, and Robert W. Crooker in law in 1968; Peter Brieger became visiting professor of mediaeval art in 1968, and in 1969 Michael Gough became professor of Christian archaeology and Edmund Colledge, professor in vernacular literature. During the same period there were losses: Vincent L. Kennedy and Hubert Coughlin retired from active teaching; and Gerald B. Phelan, Joseph T. Muckle, Ignatius Eschmann, and Terence P. McLaughlin were taken by death.

Following Vatican II, the reorganized Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education convoked a total of three Roman Congresses: one in 1967 to study and reform pontifical universities, faculties, and institutes; one in 1968 to modify and reform ecclesiastical seminaries; and one in 1969 on Catholic universities. J.R. O'Donnell represented English-speaking Canada at the first of these, L.K. Shook at the third. Far-reaching changes of external and internal structure and revisions of academic policies and strategies were as a consequence of these congresses undertaken in many Catholic institutions of higher learning. The institute, in line with this recent development, further revised its statutes and pattern of living with a view to increasing student participation and responsibility in its government, to the involving of a larger number of mature and experienced scholars in its collaborative research, and to pooling its resources more effectively with those of the graduate school of the University of Toronto. With these developments, the institute continued to move toward the fulfilment of its founders' vision of a teaching-researching-publishing body of professional scholars serving learning at its highest level where church and state inevitably and legitimately meet.

THE LIBRARY OF THE PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE

The preceding account presents the measurable chronology of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. It has consciously avoided the complex matter of the library holdings as this deserves separate treatment. The library has been the favourite child of founders, presidents, and council right from the beginning. It is the institute's laboratory and workshop. It establishes the limits to the work which the institute can do and it reflects at the same time the story of what it has accomplished. The holdings of the institute library form a unique special collection. They do not form the largest mediaeval library in the world nor the

best supplied with manuscripts. They are, however, in terms of availability and arrangement, and within their own objectives, without equal anywhere.

The basis of the library, historically speaking, was the collection of about 2000 volumes gathered together during the twenties when the department of philosophy of St Michael's College was being developed. This collection contained such series as the *Acta Sanctorum*, both the *Series Latina* and the *Series Graeca* of Migne's *Cursus Patrologiae*, and a selection of incunabula. When the institute was opened in 1929, its best full-time scholar, Gerald B. Phelan, was appointed librarian, and its most handsome gift, that of Frank O'Connor, was assigned to the library. Phelan bought assiduously during the first three years when so many rare and important items were accessible in the bookshops of London, Paris, Rome, and elsewhere. What he acquired in those years is irreplaceable.

In 1932, when he became associate director of studies, Phelan was replaced in the library by his assistant, Robert J. Scollard. Scollard carried on the perceptive purchasing policies of Phelan. He had also, in the six or seven Basilians preparing abroad for the institute faculty and in Gilson himself and in others, purchasing agents of a particularly knowledgeable stamp. In 1939, Scollard introduced the Library of Congress classification and utilized its printed catalogue card service, a refinement not picked up by many Canadian librarians until much later. Scollard also became interested in writing and speaking about the library and has in one way or another preserved much of its history.¹⁵ In 1951 Scollard decided to give more time to the developing of libraries in some of the Basilian houses and resigned from the institute in favour of his assistant, John F. Stapleton. Stapleton, like Scollard, was a qualified librarian and skilful in handling a special collection. The collection rose from 18,000 to 28,000 volumes during the years of his librarianship, 1951 and 1962. In 1962 he was succeeded by Harold B. Gardner. Gardner too was a successful librarian. He had to cope with greatly increased circulation, especially after the opening of the university's Centre for Medieval Studies and in view of the institute's policy of sharing with the university all its facilities. Gardner rearranged the collection, enlarged the reading room and cataloguing areas, and modernized the library in many ways including the introducing of

¹⁵ Consult R.J. Scollard, 'A List of Photographic Reproductions of Mediaeval Manuscripts,' *Mediaeval Studies*, 4 (1943), 126-38 and v (1944), 51-74; also 'The Walls are Lined with Books for Study and Research,' *The Catholic Library World*, 16 (1945), 140ff; and 'A Veritable Laboratory,' *Canadian Library Association Bulletin*, May 1951.

ultramodern xeroxing equipment. Gardner also built up a Gilson collection and produced what must soon become the best collection of a living author in America. He was also interested in the entire area of mediaeval bibliography and made the official report of the proceedings of the Conference of Medieval Bibliography held in Providence in 1964.¹⁶ During 1967, Gardner took on special duties for the Basilian Fathers and turned over the institute librarianship to Donald F. Finlay. Finlay was able, in view of special grants over several years from the Canada Council, to step up purchases, especially of reprinted series and monographs. He also supervised the transfer of the collection to its new location in the library of the University of St Michael's College where it is housed and administered as a special collection of national significance.

The library of the Pontifical Institute has not been without recognition, not only for its specialized book collection of now about 40,000 volumes and 120 mediaeval periodical items, but also for its over 390,000 folios of microfilm and for its newly-launched slide collection. The important, if devastating, Williams Report on the resources of Canadian libraries for research paid the Pontifical Institute a conscious and deserved compliment when it singled out mediaeval studies as the only area in the humanities and social sciences in Canada, other than Canadian history, which can be said to provide for research in an outstanding way.¹⁷

The library has in recent years received a number of memorable gifts: a facsimile of the Vatican's premier manuscript of Holy Scripture, the *Codex Vaticanus* (Codex B) as a gift from Pope Paul VI, a facsimile of the Book of Durrow from the government of Ireland; the 76-volume Realencyclopädie of Pauly-Wissowa from the government of West Germany.

In addition to areas already mentioned, like microfilms, mediaeval periodicals and Gilsoniana, the library has particular depth in early philosophy, history, liturgy, editions of St Thomas, Maurist publications, cartularies, special series and collections (the Rolls, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, the Vienna Corpus, the Corpus Christianorum), old Norse, and old Provençal. In some of these cases the holdings are complete or practically so. Where gaps occur, as in old and middle English, Byzantine studies, and so on, it is because little work has been done at the institute in these areas and purchases have accordingly been

¹⁶ Harold B. Gardner, 'Current Trends in Mediaeval Bibliography,' *Mediaeval Studies*, 27 (1965), 309-21.

¹⁷ E.E. Williams, *Report on Resources of Canadian University Libraries for Research*, Ottawa: NCCU, 1962, 48. See also 25, 26, 27, 28, 49.

light. Projects continue: buying is heavy today in history, in the microfilms of scriptural and philosophical commentaries and in Vatican archival collections which are being systematically filmed on an endowment set up by Mrs Harry Hatch. In memory of the first president, the archival collection is now known as the Carr Memorial Collection.

The catalogue of the library has been completely microfilmed and is available in the National Library, Ottawa. Scholars seeking to use the institute's books may do so either by visiting the library itself, as many from all parts of the world do in increasing numbers, or through inter-library loan, on the condition that the book desired is neither irreplaceable nor in actual use. The project started in 1929 is today for practical purposes a national treasure in the public domain as well as a mediaevalist's paradise.

ENVOY

A final series of facts complete the present chronicle. The institute possesses for the use of some future historian a set of records faithfully kept by a succession of secretaries or, as they are normally called in civil universities, registrars: Henry S. Bellisle 1929-32; Edmund J. McCorkell 1932-4; Vincent L. Kennedy 1934-44; George B. Flahiff 1944-52; Joseph C. Wey 1952-61; Robert W. Crooker since 1961. The archives created and preserved by these men will one day provide the fully digested and definitive story of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. The present survey but provides sign posts along a trail that will eventually call for a well-built highway.