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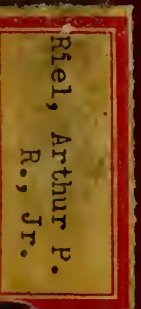
Newman, the rhetorician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Thesis

NEWMAN, THE RHETORICIAN

by

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OUTLINE

Chapter I

Newman and Rhetoric

The proposition to be discussed contains but two important terms: Newman, and rhetorician. To thoroughly understand the scope of this thesis, a short explanation of these two terms will be helpful. Rhetoric, today, has a very broad meaning; in general, it refers to the art of writing well in prose. Obviously, this is too broad for a thesis of this sort; so the meaning of the word has been limited to the older more classical meaning. In some contexts the word, rhetoric, has a derogatory meaning. But rhetoric in the sense used here does not mean bombast or insincerity or excessively exalted language. Nor does it refer to the science of writing in the four forms of discourse; rhetoric, in this thesis, refers to that now neglected fifth form of discourse known as persuasion. Rhetoric is: "The art of composing oral discourse in a manner calculated to persuade." [1] It is a distinct form of discourse often involving the other forms and always making use of argumentation. Its specific work carries it one step beyond argumentation; an argument aims to convince, to achieve mental acceptance of a fact; applied rhetoric aims to present "to an audience by the spoken word adequate motives for a free action." [2] As long as men talk to each other for

1. Smith, Sidney J., "Precepts of Rhetoric" Page 1
2. Donnelly, Francis P., "Persuasive Speech" Introduction,vi

the purpose of arousing activity, rhetoric will be in use in all phases of their social contacts. It is at present used, for good or bad purposes, by preachers and teachers, by radio announcers and dictators. Perhaps oratory (the product of rhetoric) is in disrepute because few men have mastered it, or because many people associate it with dry commencement speeches to which no one listens or with the animated commentators who comprise many of the college debating teams. The good orator is none of these things; he it is who can force an unwilling audience to listen, to understand, and to act. The good orator can overcome prejudice, destroy indifference, and leave his audience, not always pleasantly amused, but always burning with a desire to go out and do something.

"In reality there is only one precept for persuasive speech; use any and every lawful means available to the spoken word, which will successfully bring the audience before you to do what you desire." [1] Thus oratory has a definite practical end to which all its precepts are subordinated. This is what keeps good oratory from formalism, from degenerating into the mere concrete embodiment of a book of rules; and at the same time, it is this that keeps a speech from the realm of great literature. If an orator does have an appeal to succeeding generations, so much the better; but his speech must have an appeal for its audience. A good speech is written for

1. Donnelly, Francis P., "Persuasive Speech" Introduction, vi

this occasion, for this audience, and for delivery by this speaker; it often involves names, dates, and events of great importance here and now, but fifty years later meaningless to any except the specialist. Such is the nature of oratory. In this paper persuasive speech (oratory) will be looked on more as the product of rhetorical precepts than as possible material for literature.

Such is rhetoric; who was Newman? Most students of literature know something about him. He lived through most of the Nineteenth Century and reflects in his writings one of the most noteworthy events of the period, the Oxford Movement and the subsequent Catholic revival in England. Newman's education was the best England had to offer in that day, Oxford. As a member of the Anglican ministry he was moved by a burning desire to restore life to the Establishment by going back to the Church of the early Fathers (the Oxford Movement). Study of the early Church led him in 1845 to join the Roman Catholic Church. His "Apologia pro Vita Sua" is an intimate, personal history of his state of mind especially during this transition, beginning from 1833, the start of the Oxford Movement, and extending to 1845, the date of his conversion. Of the works written before 1845 the sermons alone will be examined in the following thesis.

In the Roman Catholic Church he was ordained priest at Rome in 1846; subsequently he established himself at the Oratory in Birmingham. Many calls came to him to defend himself

and his new coreligionists or to assist friends to make the step he had made. In 1850 he published the "Twelve Lectures on Anglican Difficulties" to help Anglicans on the verge of conversion. In 1851 he published the "Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England"; these constituted an attempt to allay the outbursts of anti-popery which followed the establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England. The Rectorship of the new Catholic University in Dublin was given to him in 1854; the University was a failure, but to this venture the world owes the "Idea of a University." In 1864 came the controversy with Kingsley; the "Apologia" is the result; it defended his honesty and that of the Catholic priesthood.

In 1874 came his last work (not his least important); it is a defense of the Pope's status in the Catholic Church. In 1849 and 1857 appeared two publications of Catholic sermons. In brief, this is Newman's career as a rhetorician. His career as a Catholic was in some ways a series of unsuccessful ventures, such as the projected bible translation, the publication of the "Rambler," the work in the University. Paul Elmer More has this to say:

> But with all Mr. Ward's tact and despite his good faith as a Catholic, one cannot close these two volumes without feeling that Newman's surrender to the appeal of Rome was a pathetic mistake. It was as if the convert, by altering his direction, had suddenly brought himself face to face with a stone wall. To every plan he broached for new activity came the benumbing reply, Non possumus.
>
> ("The Drift of Romanticism, page 61)

Who is to say that this was a mistake? Newman who wished to save his soul? or More who wishes "new activities"? There is nothing in Newman's life or works to indicate that Newman himself considered his move a mistake. But let Newman speak for himself as he probably would if he were to answer More:

> ...Bigotry is the imposition of private reason,- that is, of our own views and theories of our own First Principles, as if they were the absolute truth, and the standard of all argument, investigation, and judgement.....
> ...Why may not my First Principles contest the prize with yours? they have been longer in the world; they have lasted longer, they have done harder work, they have seen rougher service. You sit in your easy-chairs, you dogmatize in your lecture-rooms....
> (Lecture VII, "Present Position" Pages 245 & 247-8)

Besides who can tell what untold good Newman did at the Oratory in Birmingham? it must also be remembered that he gave to the world popular yet classic defenses of the different phases of Catholicism, so misunderstood then as now.

To John Hnery Newman rhetoric was a strong weapon to be used in defense of truth, and few could wield it as he did. Permeating his works as a unifying force is his constant and tenacious opposition to atheism. Writing was to him a matter of call or conscience; a special occasion of duty was required for him to bring out his weapons; but when it came, he failed no one and gave all something to be remembered. To this great untiring writer of lectures and controversy most writing was positively painful; hence there is nothing unexpected in that ever present note of sincerity. Without

desiring to be a great writer, Newman became one; he himself says that he wrote and rewrote always aiming to express himself clearly and exactly; he deprecates the conscious striving after ornament.

A born rhetorician he possessed the qualities needed by a controversialist, a thorough knowledge of his opponent, together with an understanding of his audience, and of human nature in general. Simple conviction he knew was not enough to attain the purpose of his writings; he showed this in the different means he employed to break down prejudice and traditional opposition. For examples see: "Present Position," "Apologia," "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk." As a result of his writing for special occasions and as a result of his wide powers, Newman exemplifies, especially in his controversial works, all sorts of writing. At his command were immense supplies of humor, sarcasm, clarity, force, musical rhythm, waiting to clothe the logic which served as his framework.

This thesis will look at Newman's use of rhetorical principles especially in his controversial and greater works. No attempt will be made to find the use of all principles in every work, but the dominant rhetorical tone will be shown forth, e.g., the "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk" is heavily argued; so argumentation will be discussed, for the most part; humor and satire rule in the "Present Position"; and passages of intense feeling and beautiful description are found in the sermons.

The method will consist of a discussion of the work and then of the rhetorical devices with quotations where possible, in order to give the true Newman flavor. Following this, in some cases, will be an outline of the work if the thought content is judged particularly valuable. In two cases of controversial works the opponent has been summarized to give the reader an idea of what Newman was fighting.

Chapter II

The Sermons

Newman's sermons are the products of his clerical duties extending from his Anglican days well into his Roman Catholic period. In all, the published sermons amount to twelve volumes. The "Parochial and Plain Sermons" were preached between 1836 and 1841, while Newman was at St. Mary's, Oxford; they are characterized by calm and restraint. Attracting and holding the attention of the young men at Oxford, they proved to be the most influential of his sermons of the period. The "Oxford University Sermons" are a product of the years from 1826 to 1843; these dealt, in general, with reason and faith and were a forerunner of the "Grammar of Assent." They make the highest intellectual appeal of any of his sermons. During 1840-43 Newman preached "Sermons on Subjects of the Day"; these exemplify how style is a shadow of the man, for in them one can find traces of his struggles preceding conversion. "Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations" (1849) were preached to crowds of Protestants and Catholics in Birmingham; these belong to the so-called "honeymoon" years of his life and are marked by a tone of exultant optimism. "Sermons on Various Occasions" (1857) were delivered in the University Chapel in Dublin. Joseph J. Reilly is of the opinion that the maturity, vigor, and self-confidence evidenced in the last two groups are a result of the peace of mind consequent upon

his conversion. [1]

Obviously, a thorough study of the sermons is impossible in a treatise of this sort; but a glimpse of a few outstanding ones will give a view of Newman's power not often found in the other works to be looked at.

A fortunate thing for a discussion of Newman as a preacher is the fact that he has given to the world an insight into what he considers worthwhile rules for preparing sermons (cf. "University Preaching" in the "Idea of a University"). In brief he advises this: earnestness is vitally important; aim at your object, a definite spiritual good; do not aim at earnestness as a direct object; do not aim at eloquence (see page 96); the preacher must remember that what he feels he has to make others feel.

Before looking at the works themselves, it may be profitable to glance at a few remarks by Bremond:

> Newman sums up this method in one word, which reappears on every page of his work: we must <u>realise</u> all the ideas which we hear. His one aim is to get us to <u>realise</u> ideas; and it is in order to attain it with greater certainty that he makes it a rule to reduce his subject to the particular.(Page 157)
>
> Newman was an orator as little as he could be, nor did he allow himself unrestrained outpourings of feeling and loud cries of passion. I do not know any preacher more calm, more discreet, more austere. (Page 163) [2]

The sermons are a treasury of simple explanations, beau-

1. Reilly, Joseph J., "Newman as a Man of Letters" Page 74
2. Bremond, Henri, "The Mystery of Newman"

tifully drawn pictures, and touching appeals; the rhetoric is always of a restrained nature, lacking wild outbursts of passionate emotion. A few sermons from three groups will be looked at; from "Parochial and Plain Sermons": "Tears of Christ at the Grave of Lazarus," "The Shepherd of Souls," and "The Parting of Friends." The "Tears of Christ" is a very unpretentious inquiry into what Christ saw and realised when He wept at the grave of Lazarus. Newman skirts the mystery of the union of the human and Divine nature, dips into it at times, always reverent, never rebellious. The qualities of a work of this sort seem to defy rhetorical analysis and lean toward the field of beauty. A passage which will give the reader a slight taste of this sermon is this one taken from very near the climax:

> ...His friends deserting Him, and the cross receiving Him. These things doubtless, among a multitude of things unspeakable , passed over His mind. He felt that Lazarus was wakening to life at His own sacrifice; that He was descending into the grave which Lazarus left. He felt that Lazarus was to live and He to die; the appearance of things was to be reversed; the feast was to be kept in Martha's house, but the last Passover of sorrow remained for Him. (Page 324) 1

"The Shepherd of our Souls" is a series of pictures of shepherds from the Old Testament; the hearer was given a deeper insight into the meaning of the title in Scriptural times and places. All lead up to giving the congregation a more vivid picture and a keener realizaiion of the mean-

1. "Favorite Newman Sermons" Edited by Daniel M. O'Connell

ing of the epithet: "I am the good Shepherd."

"The Parting of Friends" is especially significant as his last Anglican sermon. This sermon furnishes an example of Newman's ability in making Scriptural quotations an integral part of the work; for this reason the pictures of great partings which he gives are his, not only because he furnishes the mortar for bricks already at hand, but because he gives the organic unity to the whole. Is this a cry from the depths of his struggling heart?

> A leason surely, and a warning to us all, in every place where He puts His name to the end of time; lest we should be cold toward His gifts, or unbelieving toward His word, or jealous of His workings, or heartless toward His mercies....O mother of saints! O school of the wise! O nurse of the heroic! of whom went forth, in whom have dwelt, memorable names of old, to spread the truth abroad, or to cherish and illustrate it at home! O, thou, from whom surrounding nations lit their lamps! O virgin of Israel! wherefore dost thou now sit on the ground and keep silence, like one of the foolish women who were without oil on the coming of the Bridegroom? Where is now the ruler in Sion, and the doctor in the temple, and the ascetic on Carmel, and the herald in the wilderness, and the preacher in the market-place? where are thy "effectual fervent prayers," offered in secret, and thy alms and good works coming up as a memorial before God? How is it, O once holy place, that "the land mourneth, for the corn is wasted, the new wine is dried up, the oil languisheth,...because joy is withered away from the sons of men?" "Alas for the day! How do the beasts groan! the herds of cattle are perplexed, because they have no pasture, yea, the flocks of sheep are made desolate." (Page 411)

The above long quotation is justified by the fact that it is fruitful in rhetorical devices: five lines down note the Aposiopesis, the abrupt interruption as if under the

stress of emotion; note the use of Exclamation permeating the whole, and the use of Apostrophe, i.e., addressing the absent as if present; note also the climax in the order of details; finally, the whole passage seems to be an indication of his state of mind, of interest in view of the fact that this is his last Anglican sermon. The conclusion of this sermon is also worth reading since it is typical of Newman's sincerity of mind, and humility of spirit.

From the "Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations" a brief glance will be given to: "Neglect of Divine Calls and Warnings," "God's Will the End of Life," and "Faith and Private Judgement." In "Neglect of Divine Calls and Warnings Newman is fighting presumption which puts off repentence and forgets that each sin is one of a series:

> No; you cannot decide, my Brethren, whether you are outrunning God's mercy, merely because the sin you now commit seems to be a small one; it is not always the greatest sin that is the last. (Page 129)

Then follows a vivid picture of the life, death, and judgement of the presumptuous man:

> Oh, what a moment for the poor soul, when it comes to itself, and finds itself suddenly before the judgement-seat of Christ! Oh, what a moment, when, breathless with the journey, and dizzy with the brightness, and overwhelmed with the strangeness of what is happening to him, and unable to realize where he is, the sinner hears the voice of the accusing spirit, bringing up all the sins of his past life, which he has forgotten, or which he has explained away, which he would not allow to be sins, though he suspected they were;.... (Page 135)

Note in the above the Exclamation and Anaphora, i.e.,

"repetition of the same word (or phrase) at the beginning of several successive phrases, clauses, or sentences." [1]

Now the sinner pleads:

> "Impossible, I a lost soul! I separated from hope and from peace forever! It is not I of whom the Judge so spake! There is a mistake somewhere; Christ, Saviour, hold Thy hand - one minute to explain it! My name is Demas: I am but Demas, not Judas, or Nicolas, or Alexander, or Philetus, or Diotrephes. What? hopeless pain! for me!..."
> (Page 136)

The last two quotations serve as a contrast to the picture which Newman draws in the "Dream of Gerontius."

In "God's Will the End of Life" Newman shows a knowledge of human nature, and in the same passage he shows how little youth has changed:

> You think it the sign of a gentleman to set yourselves above religion, to criticize the religious and professors of religion, to look at Catholic and Methodist with impartial contempt, to gain a smattering of knowledge on a number of subjects, to dip into a number of frivolous publications, if they are popular, to have read the latest novel, to have heard the singer and seen the actor of the day, to be well up with the news,...(Page 180)

Of course, all the above does not apply to all modern youth, but the passage does show a relationship between the youth of 1850 and that of 1940.

"Faith and Private Judgement" is a long discussion on the nature of faith and how some ideas of moderns on faith differ essentially from what was understood by the word in the days of the Apostles. In tone it savors of later contro-

1. Smith, Sidney J., "Precepts of Rhetoric" App. 2.

versial works.

From "Sermons Preached on Various Occasions" these three will be the subject of discussion: "The Second Spring," "Omnipotence in Bonds," and "Christ upon the Waters." "Omnipotence in Bonds" deals with the mystery expressed in its title, the various ways in which Christ subjected Himself. Newman builds up a vivid contrast by painting a picture of omnipotence in many of its phases and then he shows the numberless ways in which Christ subjected Himself to creatures:

> He Who was submitted to the wine press in Gethsemani, and agonized with none to see Him but Apostles and attendant angels, might surely have gone through His solemn sacrifice in solutude, as He commenced it; but he preferred the "hands of men"; He preferred the loathsome kiss of the traitor; He preferred the staves and swords of the ministers of a fallen priesthood; He preferred to die in the midst of a furious mob, haling Him to and fro; under the fists and scourges and hammers of savage lictors; now shut up in a dungeon, now dragged before the judgement seat, now tied to a pillar, now nailed to the cross, and then at length, when the worst was over, and His soul was fled, hurried, as the best His friends could do for Him, hurried into a narrow sepulchre of stone. (Pages 38 & 39)

"The Second Spring" was preached in St. Mary's, Oscott, and it celebrated the establishment of the Hierarchy, "Christ upon the Waters" was delivered in St. Chad's, Birmingham, celebrating the installation of Bishop Ullathorne; in it there are references to the hierarchy similar to those in the "Second Spring."

This passage taken from a survey of early English history in "Christ upon the Waters" is a good sample of the

manner of treatment in this sermon; it is a passage of description typical of Newman's sermons.

> It is an old story and a familiar one, and I need not go through it. I need not tell you, my Brethren, how suddenly the word of truth came to our ancestors in this island and subdued them to its gentle rule; how the grace of God fell on them, and, without compulsion, as the historian tells us, the multitude became Christian; how, when all was tempestuous, and hopeless, and dark, Christ like a vision of glory came walking to them on the waves of the sea. Then, suddenly there was a great calm;... (Page 74)

"The Second Spring" has for its main theme the mortality of things political; they are born; they mature; and pass away. But the Church contradicts this general rule; it has new life; it is reborn. The whole sermon is filled with passages of poetic beauty. Joseph J. Reilly considers it a triumph in rhythmic prose; this is the passage often quoted as an example of this type of prose:

> The sun sinks to rise again; the day is swallowed up in the gloom of the night, to be born out of it, as fresh as if it had never been quenched. Spring passes into summer, and through summer and autumn into winter, only the more surely, by its own ultimate return, to triumph over the grave, toward which it resolutely hastened from its first hour. We mourn over the blossoms of May, because they are to wither; but we know, withal, that May is one day to have its revenge upon November, by the revolution of that solemn circle which never stops - which teaches us in our height of hope, ever to be sober, and in our depth of desolation, never to despair. (Pages 13 & 14)

Thus must be ended, almost before it has begun, this discussion of Newman's sermons. They are too many for adequate treatment and they do not lend themselves to the type of treatment to be followed in this treatise. Above and beyond

all this, as mentioned above, Newman's sermons belong to the field of beauty rather than to that of rhetoric (if such a distinction is valid).

Chapter III

Difficulties Felt by Anglicans (1850)

The "Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching" as it exists in its final form in the standard edition, consists of three distinct parts; each of these parts is distinct in its time of writing and in its occasion, but they have sufficient unity of purpose to warrant their inclusion under the above heading. The first part (the first of two volumes in the work) consists of twelve lectures addressed to the members of the religiousmovement of 1833; these lectures are often known as the "King William Street Lectures" (1850). The second part of this work consists of a letter addressed to Dr. Pusey (1866) in which Newman explains the Catholic doctrine on the Blessed Virgin. Though the occasion calledfor it, Newman did not discuss in this letter the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, and in later editions he speaks of Father Ryder's pamphlets in reply to Ward as amply covering the subject. However, in 1875, as an answer to Gladstone, he wrote in defense of Papal Infallibility and Authority what was to make up the last part of the "Difficulties of Anglicans," the "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk."

The first of the three parts to be discussed is the series of lectures on Anglican difficulties. Five years after Newman became a Catholic, a call came for him to produce his first great controversial work as a Catholic. On March 8,

1850 the Privy Council overruled the Bishop of Exeter. He had refused to institute G.C. Gorham to the vicarage of Brampford Speke because he had denied baptismal regeneration. Many Tractarians who had not yet become Catholics were now close to making the final move. As a result of the urging of his friends, among them Father Faber, Newman consented to deliver a series of lectures on the situation, in the King William Street Oratory in London. These lectures were nothing Newman enjoyed or would have executed if he had consulted his own personal wishes; in a letter to Father Faber he said: "I am writing them intellectually against the grain more than I ever recollect doing anything." This was due to two reasons: because the controversy with the Church of England was not fundamental to contemporary problems, and especially because he felt that this sort of work required a personal treatment of the individual, impossible in public or printed lectures. Arguments suitable to those on the threshold of conversion could be inconsequential to others. Newman's correspondence of the period shows a prudent choice of tone and argument according to the background and temperament of the individual prospective convert, the very thing impossible in the lectures. A reading of the lectures themselves makes very clear what he felt; they are certainly very limited in their effective appeal; because of the occasion they were addressed to a very small minority of the Christian world.

In spite of these difficulties Newman did turn out a

masterful piece of work; these lectures along with his "Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations" are expressions of the exultant optimism of the "honeymoon" period of his Catholic life. The lectures profoundly impressed his hearers, among them R.H.Hutton, who was impressed in spite of his disagreement with the arguments and conclusions. Immediately following were: conversions to the Church, and the conferring by Rome of an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. [1]

The lectures deal primarily, as their title indicates, with the task of removing final objections; Wilfrid Ward is of the opinion that the first seven lectures are the only instances of aggressive controversy in Newman; all his later efforts in controversy were defensive.[1] These lectures aim to guide an already existing enthusiasm into what seemed to be its proper channel; this called for the tactful removal of cherished ideas. In the first seven lectures Newman dealt with this problem by showing that the Party of 1833 could not do anything but move toward Catholicism if it was to remain consistent with its principles; he showed that its principles were incompatible with the National Church as such, and with any sort of compromise connection with that Church either as a party, branch, or sect. The last five lectures dealt mainly with obstacles in the way of joining the Cath-

1. Ward, Wilfrid, "Life of Cardinal Newman" Vol. 1 Pages 230-1-2-3-5.

olic Church, e.g., the apparent failure in its mission, apparent evidences of disunity, or lack of Apostolicity, etc.

Now for a quick glance at Newman's argumentation. Throughout these lectures there is much argument from authority (cf. outline, page33, Lecture II, Nos. I, 1-2-3). More important in a quick glance at the argumentative structure is his free use of the inductive method. In the first seven lectures Newman is analyzing the nature of the Movement of 1833, and he often contrasts this with the nature of the National Church. To ascertain what the nature of the bodies under discussion may be he uses two methods: in one of these he determines the nature of the group or society by bringing forth instances indicative of the constant modes of activity of the group; these instances point to the general nature of the body in question. In the other method he quotes authorities concerning the special group. As an example of the inductive method,the proof that the National Church is a creature of the State is typical:

> Elizabeth boasted that she "tuned her pulpits;" Charles forbade discussions on predestination; George on the Holy Trinity; Victoria allows differences on Holy Baptism. (Lecture I, Pages 7 & 8)

He continues by showing that the power of the Movement was helpless against the State on Church matters:

> The movement could not prevent the Ecclesiastical Commission, nor the Episcopal mismanagement of it. Its zeal, principle, and clearness of view, backed by a union of parties, did not prevent the royal appointment of a theological Professor, whose sentiments were the expression of the national idea

> of religion. Nor did its protests even succeed in preventing his subsequent elevation to the Episcopal bench. (Lecture I, Page 9; cf. outline, Page33)

In the second lecture there is a similar type of argument where Newman is indicating the type of "life" in the National Church and in the Movement. He points out the reaction of the people to things which were Apostolic and to things which were not:

> Here then was a challenge to the nation to decide between the movement and its opponents; and how did the nation meet it? When clergymen of Latitudinarian theology were promoted to dignities, did the faithful of the diocese, or of the episcopal city, rise in insurrection? Did the parishioners blocade a church's doors to keep out a new incumbent, who refused to read the Athanasian Creed? .....Was it a subject of popular indignation, discussed and denounced in railway trains and omnibuses and steamboats, in clubs and shops, in episcopal charges and at visitation dinners, if a clergyman explained away the baptismal service, or professed his intention to leave out portions of it in ministration?...
>
> There are mobs in the street, houses are threatened, life is in danger, because only a gleam of Apostolical principles, in their faintest, wannest expression, is cast inside a building which is the home of the national religion. The very moment that Catholicism ventures out of books, and cloisters, and studies, towards the national house of prayer, when it lifts its hand, or its very eyebrow towards this people so tolerant of heresy, at once the dull and earthly mass is on fire.....
> (Lecture II, Pages 53-4-5; in outline see No. 4, Page 34)

Among the other instances ofthis is one in Lecture V when Newman shows that the Movement is opposed to private judgement (cf. outline, I,1, a,b,c,d, page 35).

Besides this method of arguing, as mentioned above, New-

man makes constant use of authority as a means of proving the nature of the Movement. In Lecture II he quotes Froude, himself, Dr. Arnold, and others on the uncongeniality of the Movement and the National Church. Also in Lecture IV he refers to Froude and to some tracts to show that the Movement of 1833 opposed Royal Supremacy (cf. outline, I,1, a & b).

On page 46 is a very noteworthy use of the argument based on analogy; in this the aim is to show that the National Church (the Establishment) and the Movement of 1833 are at odds. The precise nature of the analogy will be clear from the following:

> We know that it is the property of life to be impatient of any foreign substance in the body to which it belongs. It will be sovereign in its own domain, and it conflicts with what it cannot assimilate into itself, and is irritated and disordered till it has expelled it. Such expulsion, then, is, emphatically, a test of uncongeniality, for it shows that the substance ejected, not only is not one with the body that rejects it, but cannot be made one with it;...

The quotations on the preceding page show a part of the analogous application of this principle; the first section shows what was not foreign matter, and the second shows clearly that Apostolical principles were ejected as "foreign" matter.

The last five lectures are more in accordance with Newman's ordinary style of controversy; in these Newman is refuting attacks and explaining misconceptions. The general method of refutation seems to be that of "distinction"; he

transmits or admits the fact of the charge and denies its application or pertinence. A good example of this is the first lecture on the social state of Catholic countries; Newman transmits the fact of the social state of these countries (i.e. he refrains from discussing it and from committing himself); he denies that temporal blessings are the primary aim of the Church and insists that the Church cannot be justly measured by such a norm. "The question was this;- How is it, that at this time Catholic countries happen to be behind Protestants in civilization? In answer, I do not at all determine how far the fact is so, or what explanation there may be of the appearance of it; but anyhow the fact, granting it exists, is surely no objection to Catholicism, unless Catholicism has professed, or ought to have professed, directly to promote mere civilization;-...." (Page 211)

The last lecture is interesting in its treatment of objections drawn from Ecclesiastical history which, it is claimed, shows discrepancies between the ancient Church and the present Catholic Church. As he argues this point he discusses his own personal experiences in the study of the Fathers of the early Church; since Newman had taken the step he urges others to take, this type of treatment serves well in the concluding lecture. (See the outline of the lecture, page 41) It was a study of Church history which led him to the intellectual conviction on the relative positions of Anglicanism and Catholicism.

From the argumentative phases of rhetoric it is well to turn to the form which surrounds that intellectual framework. A definite similarity in the structure of the lectures is traceable. Most of them start with a reference to the preceding lecture; then comes a statement of the case to be discussed and the unfolding of the argument. Toward the end the emotional peak is reached; this is followed by a short, calm, concluding section, often containing an appeal to his listeners on the part of the Catholic Church. Lecture VIII is a good example of this; it begins: "I have been engaged in many lectures in showing...."(Page 201) Then comes the statement of the proposition: "You are much offended, you would say, with the bad state of Catholics abroad...." (Page 202) In emphasizing the difference in aims of the Church and State, he contrasts the "world's" attitude toward criminals and that of Rome. It is in his description of the night before an execution in Rome and finally of Father Claver's work among criminals that Newman brings his lecture to its emotional climax. Immediately following this, he subsides: "But I must come to an end." (Page 227)

Looking at the smaller divisions of the lectures one finds outstanding use of the different devices. Newman often utilizes a definite statement of the proposition in the early part of a lecture; such a practice contributes to frankness which is one of the pleasing characteristics of these lectures. In view of their purpose and of the audience to whom

they were directed, frankness may be a factor contributing to their success. In Lecture VII, page 173, Newman has this to say before he starts the lecture proper:

> And I shall show to-day that, bad as it is for a man to take the State for his guide and master in religion, or to become an Erastian, it is worse still to become a Sectarian, that is, to be his own Doctor and his own Pope.

Note that this proposition contains the seeds of future argument and emotional development. Newman apparently did not feel it necessary to hide his mode of attack until later in the lecture, a trick often used by rhetoricians when an audience would react unfavorably to an early and clear statement of the mode of attack.

Another quality characteristic of these lectures is the clear explanation of terms used:

> In other words, when Catholics speak of faith, they are contemplating the existence of a gift which Protestantism does not even imagine. Faith is a spiritual sight of the unseen;... (Page 236, Lecture IX)

> Now faith, in a Catholic's creed, is a certainty of things not seen but revealed; a certainty preceded indeed in many cases by particular exercises of the intellect, as conditions, by reflection, prayer, study, argument, or the like, and ordinarily, by the instrumental sacrament of Baptism, but caused directly, by a supernatural influence on the mind from above. Thus it is a spiritual sight; and the nearest parallel by which it can be illustrated is the moral sense. (Lecture IX, Page 237)

This idea is reiterated in his following discussion as he contrasts the two concepts: faith and works.

Another device which helps to produce clarity is the use of explicit transitions:

> If, then, this be not the providential direction of the movement, let us ask, in the next place, is it intended to remain just what it is at present, not in power or authority, but as a sort of principle or view of religion,.....(Lecture IV, Page 100)

The above example is the perfect or complete transition; it refers to what has gone before and to what is to come. Newman's partiality for these helps to account for his constant clarity in works, such as the "Idea of a University," which contains almost innumerable examples of their use.

In these lectures it seems reasonable to say that the true digression is very rare. On pages 224 & 5 is a long description of the treatment of the criminal in Rome to show the differences between the Church and the "world" in their respective attitudes toward the human being. This is so long that it loses, in part, the character of a concrete example and assumes more and more the aspect of a digression; but it is so closely knit to the argument at hand that it does not partake completely of the nature of the true digression. Its length and vividness serve well to bring the emotional content of the particular lecture to a climax.

Obviously, in a series of lectures, one will always find numerous conclusions. This one, however, stands out as a definitely striking and emotionally powerful summary of Newman's stand in the lecture to which it belongs:

> ...You have thought that position impregnable; and growing confident, as time went on, you have not only said it was a sin to ascribe your good thoughts, and purposes, and aspirations to any but God (which you were right in saying), but you have presumed to

> pronounce it blasphemy against the Holy Ghost to doubt that they came into your hearts by means of your Church and by virtue of its ordinances. Learn, my dear brethren, a more sober, a more cautious tone of thought. Learn to fear for your souls. It is something, indeed, to be peaceful within, but it is not everything. It may be the stillness of death. The Catholic, and he alone, has within him that union of external with internal notes of God's favour, which sheds the light of conviction over his soul, and makes him both fearless in his faith, and calm and thankful in his hope. (Lecture III, Page 84)

In a work, such as this, which has persuasion as its fundamental aim the amplification of emotions is very important. Sidney Smith gives two types of amplification: Auxesis which amplifies emotions by "expansion of words," i.e., through synonyms of words and of sentences and through ornaments of style; the second type is Deinosis or "expansion of matter" by accumulation of arguments, by comparison, by climax, etc. Many examples of Newman's use of t his device are evidenced in the present lectures; not all are short enough to quote, but the following will give an adequate impression of Newman's technique:

> Our ears ring with the oft-told tale, how the temporal sovereign persecuted, or attempted, or gained, the local Episcopate, and how the many or the few faithful fell back on Rome. So was it with the Arians in the East and St. Athanasius, so with the Byzantine Empress and St. Chrysostom; so with the Vandal Hunneric and the Africans; so with the 130 Monophysite Bishops at Ephesus and St. Flavian; so was it in the instance of the 500 Bishops, who, by the influence of Basilicus, signed a declaration against the tome of St. Leo; so in the instance of the Henoticon of Zeno; and so in the controversies both of the Monothelites and of the Iconoclasts. Nay, in some of those few instances which are brought in controversy, as derogatory to the constancy of the Roman See, the vacillation, whatever it was, was owing to what, as I

> have shown, is ordinarily avoided,- the immediate and direct pressure of the temporal power.
> (Lecture VI, Page 162)

This passage is emphasizing the fact that the Catholic Church is helped in its struggle with the temporal authority by the simple fact that it is Catholic (Page 154). The following passage amplifies the distinction Newman wishes to show exists between the attitude of the world and that of the Church toward humanity.

> We come to poor human nature as the Angels of God, and you as policemen. Look at your poor-houses, hospitals, and prisons; how perfect are their externals! what skill and ingenuity appear in their structure, economy, and administration! they are as decent, and bright, and calm, as what our LOrd seems to name them,- dead men's sepulchres. Yes! they have all the world can give, all but life; all but a heart. Yes! you can hammer up a coffin, you can plaster a tomb; you are nature's undertakers; you cannot build it a home. You cannot feed it or heal it; it lies like Lazarus, at your gate, full of sores. You see it gasping and panting with privations and penalties; and you sing to it, you dance to it, you show it your picture-books, you let off your fireworks, you open your menageries. Shallow philosophers! is this the mode of going on so winning andpersuasive that we should imitate it? (Lecture VIII, Page 222)

One of the most important characteristics of Newman's style in this series of lectures is the constant avoidance of excessively long abstract passages; it almost seems that he makes it a rule never to use abstract language for more than a few lines after which he plunges into a series of concrete examples which are of immeasurable assistance in holding the reader's attention as well as his understanding. It cannot be said that this is his method of paragraph development,

because he does not seem to limit this mode of treatment in accordance with paragraph division. The important thing about this method of developing thought is that before a reader is lost in a fog of abstractions, the clear beacon of concrete detail helps him to set his course. How many times does one have to stop reading an author (not of Newman's genius) and strive to extricate himself from a morass of abstractions while searching vainly for any help from the writer of the passage!

> The simple question is, What is meant by "life" and "faith?" Will the Archdeacon tell us whether he does not mean by faith a something very vague and comprehensive? Does he mean, as he might say, the faith of Marcus Antoninus, St. Austin, and Peter the Hermit, of Luther, Rousseau, Washington, and Napoleon Bonaparte? (Lecture II, Page 40)

> Moreover, there are those among them who have very little grasp of principle, even from the natural temper of their minds. They see that this thing is beautiful, and that is in the Fathers, and a third is expedient, and a fourth pious; but of their connection one with another, their hidden essence and their life, and the bearing of external matters upon each and upon all, they have no perception or even suspicion. (Lecture IV, Page 102)

> How easy would her course be, at least for a while, could she give up this or that point of faith, or connive at some innovation or irregularity in the administration of the Sacraments! How much would Gregory have gained from Russia could he have abandoned the United Greeks! How secure had Pius been upon his throne, could he have allowed himself to fire on his people! (Lecture VIII, Page 208)

Humor in these lectures is rare enough; in such an earnest and serious individual the following gives an insight into character which is especially delightful and of which

we could expect more if he wrote more work of an informal nature.

> ...., though it may seem to require some apology that I should again refer to an author from whom I have made several extracts already, I mean myself, I have an excuse for doing so in the circumstance, that I naturally know his works better than those of others, and I can quote him with out misrepresenting him or hurting his feelings.
> (Lecture V, Page 124)

Figures of speech are, of course, very common in this sort of writing; hence only a few of the more striking will be discussed. Preterition (calling attention to an argument by pretending to pass over it [1]) is not very common in these lectures; perhaps this is because too frequent a use of this device would militate against the general tone of frankness apparently intended by the author. One example was noted:

> Now, were it to my present purpose to attack the principles and proceedings of the world, of course it would be obvious for me to retort upon the cold, cruel, selfish system, which this supreme worship of comfort, decency, and social order necessarily introduces; to show you how the many are sacrificed to the few, the poor to the wealthy, how an oligarchical monopoly of enjoyment is established far and wide, and the claims of want, and pain, and sorrow, and affliction, and guilt, and misery, are practically forgotten.....
> (Lecture VIII, Page 221)

A play on words is also a rare figure:

> This is the suggestion of those who cannot, will not, look at things as they are; who think objects feasible because they are desirable, and to be attempted because they are tempting.
> (Lecture IV, Page 101)

1. Smith, Sidney J., "Precepts of Rhetoric" App. 5.

In view of the common use of parallel structure the presence of Chiasmas is strikingly infrequent (Chiasmas is a sort of reversed parallel structure in which the second member begins and ends as the first member ends and begins); one of the few cases to be found:

> If, then, I have erred in entering upon the subjects I have brought before you, pardon me; pardon me if I have rudely taken on myself to thrust you forward, and to anticipate by artificial means a divine growth. (Lecture XII, Page 349)

So common that it becomes almost a characteristic of the style of these lectures is the use of anaphora and parallel structure. These devices occur so often that one is tempted to conclude that Newman goes to excess, if it was not for the fact that these lectures were intended primarily for oral delivery and what seems excess to the reader may have been a help to the understanding of the hearer.

> In vain has the Caroline school honoured it by ritual observance; in vain has the Restoration illustrated it by varied learning; in vain did the Revolution retain it as the price for other concessions; in vain did the eighteenth century use it as a sort of watchword against Wesley; in vain has it been persuasively developed and fearlessly proclaimed by the movement of 1833;....
> (The "it" stands for the Baptismal Service)
> (Lecture I, Page 21)

> If this be life,- if it be life to impart a tone to the court and houses of parliament, to ministers of state, to law and literature, to universities and schools, and to society,- if it be life to be a principle of order in the population, and an organ of benevolence and alssgiving towards the poor,- if it be life to make men decent, respectable, and sensible, to embellish and refine the family circle, to deprive vice of its grossness, and to shed a gloss over avarice and ambition,- if indeed it

> is the life of religion to be the first jewel in the Queen's crown, and the highest step in her throne, then doubtless the National Church is replete, it overflows with life; but the question has still to be answered, Life of what kind?
> (Lecture II, Page 41)

Referring to the relation of the state to a branch Church Newman concludes one paragraph with this epigram ("it" refers to the state):

> It would set her to sweep its courts, or to keep the line of its march, who had thought to reign among the stars of heaven, (Lecture VI, Page 164)

DETAILED OUTLINE

Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching

Part I: Communion with the Roman See the legitimate Issue of the Religious Movement of 1833

Lecture I: On the Relation of the National Church to the Nation

I. The English Church is a department of government, a function of the state.
   1. The nation determines its existence and its voice.
   2. The Movement of 1833 formed but a party; the Church of the nation followed the nation and ignored the Movement.
      a) The Movement did not prevent the Royal appointment of a theological professor whose sentiments were the national idea of religion.
      b) Its protests did not prevent his elevation to the Episcopal bench (other examples).
      c) It could not have an effect on the doctrine of Baptism which caused the present troubles.
      d) The Anglican formularies are modified by national sentiment.
      e) On the question of grace of Baptism the basis of decision was what the English nation willed.
      f) No doctrine is safe, then, against the feelings of the age.
   3. We desire you to leave a false church rather than that a false church should hold its ground (I do not, how, ever, undervalue the advantage of an institution which though not Catholic, keeps out evils worse than itself).

II. Join the Catholic Church.
   1. It is not easily harmed by circumstances.
   2. You will not weaken the Church you leave; if this national Church falls, it falls because it is national.

Lecture II: The Movement of 1833 Foreign to the National Church

I. The Movement was and is uncongenial to the National Church.
   1. Those who were of the Movement doubted its congeniality:
      a) Froude,
      b) Newman.
   2. Those outside the Movement attacked it as uncongenial.

a) Dr. Arnold attacked a member of the Movement as a treacherous enemy.
b) "Essays on the Church" by a Layman attacked it as Popery.
c) A High Church theology professor attacked the Movement (Faussett) as incompatible with things as they were.

3. Members of the movement doubted whether the Nation and the Establishment had the life of the Apostolic Age.
   a) Archdeacon Hare says it has life and faith.
   b) The question is what kind of life?
4. What evidence is there of congeniality between the principles of the Movement of 1833 and the Establishment.
   a) It is a property of life to be impatient of a foreign substance.
   b) The Establishment coalesces easily with Lutheranism and Calvinism.
   c) Example shows the religion of Milan in 384-5 A.D. was Catholic because of its rejection of foreign substances (i.e. foreign to Catholicism).
   d) Example shows how the religious life of St. Giles Church in Edinburgh reacted to something uncongenial in 1635.
   e) When clergymen of Latitudinarianism were promoted, the parishioners did nothing.
   f) There were outcries, however, when a gleam of Apostolical principles was noted.

II. If, my brethren, you hold the principles of the Movement, you should have no part with an organization which rejects you. Seek your principles in their true home.

Lecture III: The Life of the Movement of 1833 not Derived from the National Church

I. There are two views of the truth of a religion: "When we view it as set up in the world, it has its external proof; when as set up in our hearts, it has its internal."
   1. Newman quotes on internal evidence, but points out the element of doubt as to the connection between the spiritual gifts and the National Church.
   2. How explain gifts, such as conversion from sin to holiness, when it occurs outside the Catholic Church?
   3. No denial of such gifts, but gives the Catholic explanation.
      a) All, even pagans, receive grace sufficient for salvation.
      b) Grace is given in two ways: ex opere operato and ex opere operantis. To determine whether or not

Anglican ordinances are attended by divine grace, it must be determined whether or not the effects come ex opere operantis (from the religious acts of the recipient) or ex opere operato (from the ceremonial act itself).

c) If sensible effects are used to prove one religion is true, then the plea must be allowed to others to whom by your theory you are bound to deny it. Wesleyans can give examples of sensible effects. Your explanation, then, cannot prove Apostolic authority without also favoring those who rebel against it. Examples are given of great men who exemplify the sensible effects and who are not of the Established Church, Wesley, and others.

II. Your fault, my brethren, has been to be satisfied with but a half evidence of your safety. The Catholic alone has a union of external and internal notes of God's favor.

Lecture IV: The Providential Course of the Movement of 1833 Not in the Direction of the National Church

I. The Movement was not in the direction of the National Church.
   1. Its central characteristics:
      a) Its main idea was ecclesiastical liberty;
      b) It opposed the heresy of Erastus or Royal Supremacy (cf. Froude and some Tracts).
   2. The Establishment was set up in Erastianism, hence the two are contradictories (i.e. the Movement and the Establishment). Statements are quoted from both institutions.

II. A policy resting on this temper of mind (a determination to act as if the course of events will sooner or later work for Apostolical truth) is:
   1. An abandoning of the movement,
   2. Ineffectual and undignified.

III. You cannot be true to your principles and at the same time remain in the Establishment. You must follow truth.

Lecture V: The Providential Course of the Movement of 1833 Not in the Direction of a Party in the National Church

I. Circumstances have so changed that you cannot be a party now and still adhere to your principles.
   1. The Movement upheld Ecclesiastical authority and opposed Erastianism of the state.

a) The proximate authority was the "Liturgy" or Book of Common Prayer.
b) Less proximate authority was found in the Divines of the Anglican Church (only those whom "all people accounted prophets").
c) More ultimate authority was found in the Fathers of the Church. The Fathers were translated into English.
d) Note: Private judgement was opposed.

2. But the rulers of the Established Church found that the Fathers would protect Rome as well as attack Dissenters; and the Apostolic weapons were used by them against the Apostolic party.

II. The Movement, then, must become a small group claiming to teach pure Christianity, in reality a faith different from all others, and followed by only a few.
1. For any who believe that Christianity is simply human, a claim that it is better known now is reasonable.
2. However, it is a paradox that a revelation given God to man should be unknown and mistaken for eighteen hundred years and now known by individuals who suddenly ciphered it.

III. Thus, if you become this, you are really following private judgement; the Movement was founded on a denial of it.

Lecture VI: The Providential Course of the Movement Not in the Direction of a Branch Church

I. A Branch is one separate from its stem, the "Universal Church"; by a Universal Church is meant all professing Christians who claim Apostolic Succession; it is divided into parts, branches, each independent of the other.
1. It is synonymous with a National Church.
2. A Branch Church is necessarily Erastian and cannot be otherwise until the nature of man is different.
3. There must be continual collision or chance of it between the Church and the State, since both have the same subjects and the good of the body is not always the good of the soul and vice versa. Problem: Howcan the Church carry on its work unhindered by the State?
a) This is a problem brought on by Christianity; for the most part, in times before Christ the Civil Magistrate also had jurisdiction over religion.
b) The State has also been always jealous of the Church.
4. How Providence solved the problem in history: the fact that the Church is Catholic, i.e., spread over the

earth.
a) Every part is affected by the act of one.
b) It has a single center sheltered from secular inquisitiveness.
c) It is hard for temporal power to fight the spiritual.
d) The Pope is spared a direct collision with the temporal power of any state.
e) Examples: St. Thomas and Henry II, and many examples of cases wherein the temporal power has hampered the local Episcopate and the faithful have fallen back on Rome.

5. It is impossible for a Church cast off from Catholic intercommunion to keep from falling under state power.
a) A branch Church is of service to the state.
b) Quotation from Bishop Warburton.

II. Since the First Principle of the Movement of 1843 was the authority of the Church over the State, a branch Church could not have been intended.

Lecture VII: The Providential Course of the Movement of 1833 Not in the Direction of a Sect

I. Since the civil power is a divine ordinance and is prior in history to Ecclesiastical authority, in a certain sense the civil magistrate is "in possession" and the onus probandi lies with those who would encroach on his power.
1. The Church as an institution was given a portion of the authority once centered in the state and it was given independence.
2. It was given a special purpose, else why was it made a distinc t society?
3. Quotes Whately who claims a separation of Church and State; but he gives no reason why a lawyer, physician, etc. could not carry out Church functions; thus he gives no reason why the State cannot carry on these functions.
4. The Church must be guardian of a fact; she must have something to do (her work is not simply the protection of the Bible, the state can do that).
a) Every fanatic who forms a sect acts on this principle.
b) The Roman Catholic rites are meaningless unless there is some fact the Church guards, etc.
5. Some of you may look on the movement as a Sect.
a) You are right in professing to have something to transmit.
b) Do not set up a sect until you are sure what is

to be its creed.
A. At the beginning of the Movement much interest was expressed in the Non-jurors.
B. The Non-jurors became divided over questions arising from outward forms of sacrifice.
C. The y lacked a unifying idea; thay had no dogma to rest on and no object to pursue.

6. You too, when it comes to the point, will have nothing to transmit; you do not realize it now, however.

Part II: Difficulties in Accepting the Communion of Rome as One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic.

Lecture VIII: The Social State of Catholic Countries No Prejudice to the Sanctity of the Church

I. Some say that Catholics show profaneness, superstition, etc.; and they use this as an argument against the sanctity of the Church.
1. Protestants feel offense and wonder at this simply because they hold the opinions of Protestants; hence, a point of doctrine must be explained. The idea of faith is very different to the Catholic and to the Protestant.
a) Protestants think faith is inseparable from love and obedience.
b) To a Catholic faith is a gift, a certainty of things unseen but revealed. Thus one may fall under temptation and still have faith. It is, in such a case, knowledge without love.
c) When a Protestant sins, he is exposed to the temptation of unbelief; he is threatened, not with a fact, but with what is at best an opinion, and he has power over that opinion.
d) Examples show the difference in the idea of faith:
A. A Catholic, when profane, uses such words as, God's heart, God's eyes, etc; Faith gives these their special profanity;
B. A Protestant uses such words as, "Providence," "Deity," etc.
e) Further examples are given to clarify this distinction.
2. It was a great mercy that made faith and love separable.
a) If sin not only put the soul out of God's favor, but also emptied it of every supernatural principle, we should see in Catholics what is so often seen among Protestants; souls brought to a sense

of guilt, frightened at it, yet having no resource.

b) The Catholic has a principle of recovery in his faith which is not had in private judgement.

Lecture X: Differences among Catholics No Prejudice to the Unity of the Church

I. Some urge that there are differences in the Catholic Church as serious as those in the Protestant Church.
   1. Since the Church is an instrument of supernatural grace and superadds to nature, when it is said that she makes her children one, it is implied that by nature they are not one. Left to himself the Catholic tends to private judgement and has it so far as the Church by her authority does not supersede it.
   2. National differences might be urged, but actually they are instances of her uniting power. History shows the Church is the one great principle of unity and concord which the world has seen. E.G., Modern Naples is like Mediaeval England.
   3. Quarrels among religious orders have an authoritative umpire; Protestant sects or parties have no umpire except the strong arm of the law.
   4. In the Catholic Church parties to these feuds will defend their common faith against an external foe; but when did the Bishops of the Establishment stand by Wesleyans, etc?

II. The real point is that these divisions cause doubt as to the authority of the Church in the teaching of truth, but:
   1. Quarrels in the Church are not on questions of faith, nor do they obscure or impair what the Church declares to be such;
   2. These differences of Catholics imply and bring out the absolute faith in the doctrines previous to the differences; but on the other hand, what residuum is there when the contrarieties of Luther and Calvin are removed?
   3. Periods, such as before and during the Middle Ages, may be brought forward as resembling the differences in Protestantism, but:
      a) Rebellions prove the strength of a state if they are overcome;
      b) Cf. the attacks on the Incarnation;
      c) Cf. the defeat of Jansenism.

Lecture XI: Heretical and Schismatical Bodies No Prejudice to the Catholicity of the Church

I. This argument tries to put the Catholic Church with the Donatists, making it a mere fraction which excommunicates the rest of the Church.
   1. One who argues thus must ally himself with numerous bodies and tone down their heresies (cf. Archbishop Bramhall).
   2. Such was the line of argument two hundred years ago (i.e. #1). The more modern argument rests on the pretensions of the Greek Church whose Apostolic descent is unquestionable and whose faith is almost unquestioned. The argument amounts to this: it is hard to believe that the Catholic Church can put forth exclusive claims to Christ's heritage if those claims issue in the exclusions of immense populations from it. If the Greeks are separated from Rome, so may we also. Also charity obliges you to recognize them as in the fold of Christ.
   3. This is just an illustration of the fact that truth is opposed by its contradictories but also by such pretenses as deceive men at first sight.
      a) Quotations from Scripture showing the promises of false doctrines.
      b) The most remarkable example of their fulfilment is Mahometanism. However, it illustrates the divinity of the Catholic Church because it lost interest in spreading the gospel. The Catholic Church, after eighteen hundred years, keeps on.
      c) Judaism is a similar example. If the Greek Church impairs the simplicity of the Catholic claims, so does the existence of Judaism.
      d) Other parallels to the Greek Church are found in history. From the first the Church was but one communion among many bearing the name Christian.
      e) If you say that these are not parallel since they are not national, then look at the whole Gothic race; it was Arian at first (apparently bulk is your norm of truth).
      f) If you say that I have not yet produced a parallel since the Greek Church is coeval with the Apostles and since it has been in its present position for a thousand years and since it has been able to spread, then look at the Nestorians.
      g) If you object that Nestorianism is a heresy, then here is the force of my argument: large groups which seem to have a claim as a portion of Christ's heritage may be implicated in a heresy which invalidates their claim.
      h) Large populations of Christians, if left to them-

selves, may often have a material rather than a formal faith (a sort of habitual belief resulting from having heard it in childhood).
A. Faultiness in this is detected when a new definition is promulgated by a competent authority.
B. There is reason to believe that this is the state of things in Greece and Russia.

II. However, schism and heresy do not wipe out all value of Christianity.
1. Baptism can be administered validly.
2. Many can save their souls in a schismatical church.
3. Real anxiety is felt for those who have some rays of light given to them as to their heresy or schism and close their eyes to it.

Lecture XII: Ecclesiastical History No Prejudice to the Apostolicity of the Church

I. This attack refers to the discrepancies between the modern and the ancient Church.
1. Knowledge of the ancient Fathers and of the early Church must be obtained by most people from the testimony of others
2. I propose to answer the attack by reference to myself. My study of the ancient Church was the intellectual cause of my conversion. If St. Athanasius came to life, he would mistake the Roman Catholic Church for his Church, and would feel at home with Ignatius of Loyola.
a) As a boy I was interested in the early Church.
b) Later I read the early Church Fathers, but I looked for Protestant doctrine.
c) Later I saw Catholic ideas; the study of the Monophysite heresy together with a study of the Donatists really turned me to Catholicism. My only delay was due to objections such as you may have, and it was due to fear that I might be under a delusion.
d) What precisely was it that turned me?
A. Anglicanism's specific note is the Via Media.
B. History showed Rome to be then what it is now, and it showed that what the Eusebians were then so is Anglicanism now. If the Via Media was heretical then, so is it now.
C. The grounds for the defence of Anglicanism also defend the ancient heresies. The learned Anglican divines were aware of this and were

somewhat kind to the ancient heresies, and censured, to some extent, the Councils which they professed to receive.

D. The history of doctrinal definitions showed that they are but expressions of the dogma which the Church always had, and which was developed under the exigency of heresy, etc.

II. Concluding remarks.

Chapter IV

A Letter Addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey on the Occasion of his Eirenicon (1866)

The second major part in the "Difficulties of Anglicans" is the "Letter to Rev. Pusey." It was occasioned by the publishing of Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon" which, in discussions of Catholic doctrine, made the mistake of treating some extreme Catholic writers of the day as official spokesmen. Newman's experience as an Anglican rendered him well fitted to write an answer tempered by the proper amount of understanding and sympathy for Anglican misconceptions. Due to the fact that the "Apologia" had reinstated Newman in his influential position in English thought, his letter received widespread attention; the "Times" gave it the space merited by national events of first importance.

In his answer Newman showed his keen appreciation of the situation and of the audience. His letter is calm, sympathetic, quite unrhetorical, and completely lacking in abuse. Though primarily written to refute, the letter has a tone of reconciliation; but it yields nothing of truth or principle. Newman aimed to correct errors and to remain friends; for as he said in deprecating the abusive article in the "Month," the object is to persuade and not to cause indignation.

The letter was printed and not intended for oral delivery; as a result it is more compressed in its method of treatment

and has less in the line of rhetorical embellishment; it is more argumentative and expositive than rhetorical. Themain refutation is built around a distinction: Newman holds that doctrine is distinct from devotion; and while granting that devotion to the Blessed Virgin has increased, he holds that the doctrines concerning her have not (cf. outline, III, 1 & 2, Page 49). The proofs are based on a comparison of authorities: Pusey had gone to extremists of the day for authority on Catholic doctrine; Newman went to the early Fathers, councils, etc. Further discussion shows how the devotion to the Blessed Virgin does not take from God what is due to him; and if it should do so, Newman deprecates it as much as Pusey does. Among some of the other points, Newman shows how statements which seem extreme should be carefully analyzed after which treatment the cause for offense often vanishes (cf. outline, V,4, e,f,g, Page 51)

A skilful use of the argument from analogy is found on page 434. An appeal to the Englishman from this point of view should be especially effective (if reports concerning the English character are true).

> I recollect the strange emotion which took by surprise men and women, young and old, when, at the Coronation of our present Queen, they gazed on the figure of one so like a child, so small, so tender, so shrinking, who had been exalted to so great an inheritance and so vast a rule, who was such a contrast in her own person to the solemn pageant which centered in her. Could it be otherwise with the spectators, if they had human affection? And did

> not the Allwise know the human heart when He took to Himself a Mother? did He not anticipate our emotion at the sight of such an exaltation in one so simple and so lowly? If He had not meant her to exert that wonderful influence in His Church, which she has in the event exerted, I will use a bold word, He it is who has perverted us. (Page 434)

So much for phases of argument; rhetorical devices are not so common as in the preceding lectures. This letter may be profitably compared with the preceding lectures as a good example of the differences between oral and written composition, if care is exercised to note those differences which are due to its having been intended for printing and not those differences arising from the intended audience and occasion. Among some of the probable points of difference may be the less frequent use of long passages of anaphora, balance, illustration, and emotional development, and the presence of long direct quotations.

As a letter this one may be profitably compared with the one which follows ("The Letter to the Duke of Norfolk"); the tone in this is more personal and friendly; it is directed to a friend who is at the same time the one for whom the argument is intended. This is not true of "The Letter to the Duke of Norfolk." The reader of this is more likely to forget that it is a letter, but that to Dr. Pusey is filled with: "I," and "You," and "We." Note expressions as: "When then, my dear Pusey, you read anything....."(Page 443)

Looking at the larger divisions of the whole, it is interesting to note the careful tact in the introduction and

the gradual approach to the points of disagreement and argument (cf. outline, I & II). In this section he clears up a few minor difficulties and leads up to the point wherein he attacks Pusey's authorities. Newman then procedes to distinguish detween the doctrinal and devotional aspects of the problem. Taking up doctrine first, he goes to authorities whose testimony Pusey will value. Proceding to devotion Newman shows how devotion can color the doctrines. Finally, Catholic excesses and Anglican misconceptions are discussed. In the conclusion he goes back to the more personal point of view (never wholly relinquished) and addresses himself to Dr. Pusey.

Among the devices of rhetoric, this epigram which Newman makes the keynote for his attack on the "Eirenicon" is worthy of quotation:

> There was one of old time who wreathed his sword in myrtle; excuse me - you discharge your olive-branch as if from a catapult. (Page 361)

Note the skill with which this conclusion to one section of the letter brings back to the reader's mind the proposition under discussion:

> But if all this be so, if it is really the Blessed Virgin whom Scripture represents as clothed with the sun, crowned with the stars of heaven, and with the moon as her footstool, what height of glory may we not attribute to her? and what are we to say of those who, through ignorance, run counter to the voice of Scripture, to the testimony of the Fathers, to the traditions of the East and West, and speak and act contemptuously towards her whom the Lord delighteth to honour? (Page 411)

The reference is apparently to Pusey's attitude in the

"Eirenicon."

Of the smaller figures of speech, some are to be found, such as anaphora and balance; note this example from the final conclusion:

> May the sacred influences of this tide bring us all together in unity! May it destroy all bitterness on your side and ours! may it quench all jealous, sour, proud, fierce antagonism on our side; and dissipate all captious, carping, fastidious refinements of reasoning on yours! May that bright and gentle Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary, overcome you with her sweetness, and revenge herself on her foes by interceding effectually for their conversion! (Pages 463-4)

Note also in the above, one of the few cases of Alliteration; also note the figure, Optatio (expresses a desire of the orator).[1]

The rhetorical question is common enough:

> Is it not a very pregnant fact, that the Eastern Churches, so independent of us, so long separated from the West, so jealous for Antiquity, should even surpass us in their exaltation of the Blessed Virgin?.....But, after all, what have the Latins done so bold, as that substitution of the name of Mary for the Name of Jesus at the end of the collects and petitions in the Breviary, nay, in the Ritual and Liturgy? (Page 438)

1. Smith, Sidney J., "Precepts of Rhetoric" App. 5.

DETAILED OUTLINE

A letter Addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey on the Occasion of his Eirenicon

I. Introduction
   1. You inspire such confidence, etc., in others that when you speak, you do not speak for yourself alone.
   2. I pray that your followers may all become Catholics.
   3. Great joy will be theirs if they become so without doing violence to their sense of duty. I uphold the voice of conscience.
      a) I find no fault with your stating conditions of union.
      b) Much that you say, however, in matter and manner wounds those who love you well but love truth more, e.g., attitude toward the Blessed Virgin.

II. Various statements in the "Eirenicon" especially on the Blessed Virgin and Papal Infallibility.
   1. I appreciate your efforts to agree with me, but in some of these cases I must give explanations.
      a) I never used the word "bulwark" concerning the Anglican Church (as the report says), but I used the expression "serviceable breakwater against errors more fundamental than its own."
      b) There is nothing but a verbal difference between Anglicans and Rome on the matter of Scripture and Tradition.
      c) You mention "Tract 90" and the "Essay on Doctrinal Development."
         A. You are with my approval republishing "Tract 90" but with a different purpose from that which led me to write it.
         B. Iam sorry you do not agree with the "Essay on Doctrinal Development," but how you can hold the Trinity and the Incarnation without it is beyond me.
   2. You think writing does not become a convert.
      a) A convert can become so indoctrinated that in time he has a right to speak as well as to hear.
      b) I feel no reason why I should not express my opinion when there is a call, and in this I avail myself of what I have been taught
      c) Other converts have spoken and in your charges you quote converts.
   3. You quote poor authorities.
      a) One is a "popular writer" but there is little reason that may lead one to believe that this is because of his doctrine.
      b) With regard to the other, does not his work on the "Dublin Review" account for any sensation he

produced without supposing that all go to his extremes in the matter of Papal Infallibility?

c) You would have done better to quote spokesmen, men, such as Dr. Ullathorne, Dr. Lingard, Cardinal Wiseman, and others, none of whom has said anything extreme on the Blessed Virgin or the Infallibility of the Pope.

III. The belief of Catholics concerning the Blessed Virgin, as distinct from their devotion to her.

1. I fully grant that devotion to her has increased.
2. I deny that the doctrine has undergone a growth. It has been, in substance, one and the same from the beginning.
3. Doctrines on the Blessed Virgin.
   a) She is the Second Eve. Eve had a part in the Original Sin. The new Eve had a part in the Redemption. The following are some authorities.
      A. Justin, Tertullian, St. Irenaeus; these are good authorities.
      B. Some more later authorities: St. Epiphanius, St. Jerome, and others.
   b) Two inferences follow from a).
      A. Her sanctity (Immaculate Conception). The Fathers tell us the Blessed Virgin had that office in our restoration which Eve had in our fall. Eve was endowed with a large grace. If Eve was raised above human nature by grace, is it wrong to suppose that Mary, who was to co-operate in the redemption, had no less grace? Note the words of the Angel: "full of grace." (Grace according to the Fathers is a condition of soul.) If there had been no Original Sin, then all Eve's children would have had the gift she had and would have received an Immaculate conception.
      B. Her dignity. If Adam and Eve had been faithful, then their obedience would have been commemorated as nations do for their heroes and founders. If the Blessed Virgin had a meritorious share in our redemption, it is impossible that we should not associate this with her now. She anticipated this when she said: "All generations should call her blessed." Her exaltation is found in the Apocalypse, the vision of the woman and the child in the 12th Chapter.
   c) Belief of Catholics that she is the Theotocos.
      A. It has been fixed by an Ecumenical Council that she is the Theotocos or Mother of God.
      B. Origen mentions it; the Council against Nestorius mentions it; many others use the term

or express the idea.

d) Belief of Catholics in her Intercessory Power.

A. It is the result of two truths:

I. "It is good and useful to invoke the saints and have recourse to their prayers," says the Council of Trent;

II. The Blessed Virgin is dear to her Son and exalted in sanctity and glory.

B. Discussion of the idea of intercession.

I. General discussion, e.g., vital force of intercession as an availing power is (according to the will of God) sanctity. Proofs are given from Scripture.

II. The Blessed Virgin has very high sanctity and dignity.

III. As the idea of her sanctity and dignity penetrated the mind of Christendom, so did that of her intercession follow close.

IV. Belief of Catholics as colored by their devotion to her.

1. It is impossible to draw the line closely between truth and error in a doctrine like this. Ideas have life and excess is probable, but must be curbed. Especially true is this of religion. Religion acts on the affections. Who is to hinder affections from running wild when once aroused? Reason cannot be entirely relied on as a check.
2. What conceivable limit is there to the flood of thoughts that must come when one has mastered the idea that the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of God?
   a) What awe and surprise attend the knowledge that a creature is brought so close to the Divine Essence?
   b) She is a woman made high, He is God made low.
3. Christianity tells of persons and facts and leaves the announcement to produce its effect. Thus do doctrines exert stronger influences as people more and more apprehend their meaning, e.g., the Incarnation.

V. Anglican misconceptions and Catholic excesses in devotion to the Blessed Virgin.

1. The height of our offending in our devotion to the Blessed Virgin would not look so great if you had not placed yourself in a position lower than your own feelings would prompt you to take in her regard. If you fall short of us, you do not go against us in our devotion to her.
2. You revere the Greek Church and the Greek Church surpasses us in devotion to the Blessed Virgin.
3. I will never defend anyone from a just rebuke who forgets Christ in a false devotion to Mary, but the fact must be proved first.

a) History shows that those nations have lost faith in the divinity of Christ who have given up devotion to His mother.
b) History exemplifies this: St. Alfonso Liguori, and Blessed Paul of the Cross, notorious in their devotion to her, have shown a supreme love for her son.
c) People must not forget, when they are shocked by devotion to the Blessed Virgin, that there is an infinitely higher presence in the same walls which claims a transcendentally different worship from Catholics and receives it.

4. Let us examine the sentiments of which you complain.
   a) The majority of your authorities are of no great celebrity.
      A. Suarez should not be among them. He is speaking , not of devotion, but of her intercession, when he says that no one is saved without her.
      B. Some are unsafe guides.
      C. Some have great love for our Lord, also, e.g., Bernardine de Bustis.
   b) None of these are English, and they cannot be considered representative of English Catholic devotion. (Doctrine is one and the same everywhere; devotions are matters of particular time and country.) English Catholics have not the excesses to be found elsewhere.
   c) One authoritative collection contains nothing in it which English good sense could rebel at. (Newman does not imply that there are other such collections that it would rebel at.) There is nothing in our catechisms or instructions that you could not assent to.
   d) Some of the statements I like as little as you do; some seem to give to her power that belongs to God alone.
   e) Certain statements may be true when viewed in their contexts or when properly understood.
   f) Some are abstractly false, but true in a particular time and place. E.g., To say that no man can be saved without personal devotion to the Blessed Virgin is false; yet it may be true of this or that man.
   g) St. Alfonso said: "God gives no grace except through Mary." It must be remembered that devotion is one thing, and intercession is another. If not so, then no Protestant could be saved. St. Augustine, it is possible, does not invoke her once. She intercedes even for those who do not know her.
   h) Thus it is difficult to convict of definite error.

However, the following must be remembered.

A. The Holy See does interfere. In Gregory XVI's time some book on the Blessed Virgin was suppressed by authorities.

B. Theologians have protested against excesses: Canisius, Petau, Reynaud.

V. You have not even hinted that you have any idea that our love of the Blessed Virgin is anything but abuse.

Chapter V

Letter to the Duke of Norfolk
(1875)

At a time when Newman was sighing at his comparative inactivity a call came, a call equal in many respects to any he had yet received. The Church had been attacked, not with the temerity of a Kingsley, but with the discretion of Gladstone. Not only did Gladstone bring to the attack the respect of the people and the dignity of a statesman, but he also had the advantage of making an appeal to the British character in its weakest point, its nationalism; and he stirred its nationalism at its most irritable spot, its anti-popery. Most outstanding in his attack was his accusation that the Pope had made such unprecedented incursions into the rights of Catholic Englishmen that a loyal Catholic could not be a loyal citizen. Newman's learning and his power in writing pointed him out as the best equipped to give the required answer. This would also give him an opportunity to answer Catholic extremists most tactfully since his main purpose was somethings else. At the urging of his friends he acquiesced.

Since this letter is such a closely reasoned refutation and since Gladstone's arguments are at hand, the argumentative phases of rhetoric will be emphasized in the following discussion. Newman's answer took the form of a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, but it was intended for all the reading public (as was that to Dr. Pusey). In form the letter was one great

refutation of Gladstone's points; in tone it is expositive and singularly restrained though not so much as the letter to Dr. Pusey. Since it is simply a refutation, no one should make the mistake of looking for a proof of infallibility or authority; it is simply an attempt to show that Gladstone was wrong in his ideas on the Vatican Decrees, etc.

Gladstone's main arguments hinged around: the idea of sudden change in Church policy, the bringing up to date of old methods of suppressing liberty, the suppression of moral and mental freedom as well as the undermining of civil loyalty, and the repudiation of history and thought (cf. outline, Division, 1,2,3,4, Page 65).

The first and fourth of these points are dealt with quickly. In the attack on sudden change in Church policy Gladstone brings both Papal Infallibility and Papal Authority; under the repudiation of history and thought he brings in the doctrines of "Mariolatry" and Infallibility. To support the second contention, that the Church is bringing up to date old methods of oppression and power, the Syllabus of Pius IX is quoted. The main part of his attack is, of course, on the third point, on moral and mental freedom, and civil loyalty. Under this, Gladstone makes much of the fact that Rome acted in a manner contrary to that testimony of Catholics which was used as a basis for Catholic Emancipation. Gladstone pointed out that Infallibility is really without restriction since no one knows what "ex cathedra" means, and since "faith and morals"

(the limits of infallibility) extend to almost all conduct. Beyond Infallibility extends Papal Authority, which Gladstone conjectures may have been introduced to subjugate states. He concludes, in this part, that the Pope claims Infallibility and Authority in Church Government and Discipline, sets his own limits to those fields, and does not sever them from the field of civil allegiance.

Next, Gladstone shows the importance of the declarations: danger of civil strife, increased temporal powers of the Church.

A final argument showing why it is not out of place for him to bring these matters up is his mentioning of the Catholic rejection of the Irish University Bill. Such, in brief outline, are Gladstone's arguments. (If more information on detail and order of arguments is desired, see the outline of Gladstone's remarks, page 65)

Newman's refutation, as said before, attacks the four main points. In general the arguments are drawn from testimony, and the debate between Newman and Gladstone reduces itself to a battle over testimony and its use.

After a few words of greeting Newman plunges into the discussion with a statement of the general tenor of his argument: misuse of authorities, etc. He helps to disarm his audience by pointing out that some Catholics are in part responsible for Gladstone's misunderstanding of the scope of Papal powers. He completes his exordium by preparing his readers for scientific meanings for theological terms, and by preparing his readers

for the particular order followed in his discussion. The exordium, then, renders the audience a little more friendly and prepares for what is to come. (See the outline, I, Page 69) In a controversy of this sort it is not necessary, as a rule, to arouse interest by stressing the importance.

Newman divides his letter into numbered sections, each of which deals with a special phase of the problem. The second section (it follows the exordium) is a series of introductory remarks refuting points rather unimportant as arguments but strong in emotional appeal. Mr. Gladstone brought out the fact that Catholic testimony obtained during the struggle for Catholic Emancipation was contradicted by Rome's action. This looks very much like an accusation of ignorance or dishonesty; Gladstone makes it grounds for a demand that Catholics reassume the position they proclaimed at that time. Very near the end, in a section which is a sort of emotional climax, Gladstone talks of efforts to do justice to Catholics, and the rejection by Catholics of the Irish University Bill. Neither of these arguments is basic to the discussion, but they are of the type that must be handled first, lest they cling to the mind of the reader and help to weaken more important refutations. In view of this fact and in view of the fact that Newman was able to overwhelm his opponent on these two points, he did well to refute them in his first remarks.

The University Bill was Gladstone's last point and it was Newman's first. He points out that the rejection of the

bill was not an unexpected stroke, but a concrete application of a principle of education enunciated before this time; this is direct refutation by "denial" of Gladstone's conclusion, with the denial backed up by the above mentioned remarks. Newman disarms opposition by admitting fault in some of the witnesses who gave testimony in the Catholic Emancipation debate (cf. outline, no. II,5,a, Page 70). In this case he also uses direct refutation, "distinction," (cf. no. II,5,a,C,page 70). The main argument, however, consists in denying the value of these testimonies since the authorities could not speak for Rome. At this point Newman strongly criticizes the constant attitude of ignoring Rome, and builds up his case by showing that if England had consulted Catholic headquarters, there would never have been any such difficulties. These are but a few of the arguments he uses at this point.

In Newman's first sally against the enemy he must be handed the victory. There are few refutations except the one to be mentioned next, which are so overwhelming in their simplicity and emotional content. Most of the other phases of the discussion, equally cogent intellectually, are not so striking rhetorically.

Since it is impossible to discuss every argument used in this work, the next few paragraphs will be but a brief discussion of the major arguments used in the body of the letter. In discussing the ancient Church Newman points out that there was no change in attitude; by an overwhelming number of ex-

amples he showed that the Church always opposed any immorality in the state. This is perhaps his most powerful single refutation, since it is a simple matter of history which cannot be ignored. Newman insists on the point and builds it up through several paragraphs. Then follows a discussion of the rise of Papal prerogatives with stress laid on their basis in popular consent and in the law of the land. These powers slowly centered in the Pope in whose hands they became one of the helps in restoring order in the Middle Ages. Newman goes on to show that Gladstone really opposes the authority in general and not simply its centering in the hands of the Pope. These powers have not been refurbished, as Gladstone accuses; they were used recently against Napoleon. Finally Newman points out that many such powers are ineffective now and are limited anyway to very rare occasions (cf. the power to depose, which Catholics are not bound to accept). Thus did Newman attack the argument that the Church suddenly changed its policy.

The argument on "divided allegiance" is very important and Newman gives much time to it. Papal Authority and not Infallibility is what is discussed at this point. The author shows how much authority of this sort is limited in private affairs and refutes by denial the argument that a refusal to limit authority is a claim to all authority. His positive proof on this is built up by analogy and is strengthened further on. The analogy refers to the control a doctor has over conduct; the doctor exercises supreme direction over our

conduct, yet we are not his slaves (cf. outline, no. V,3,d, page 73). Next Newman shows how Gladstone misinterpreted and mistranslated the words of the Pope on this subject; this error was the cause of the idea that the Pope's authority is unlimited. The next phase of the allegiance problem is the bearing of Papal Authority on civil authority. Newman frankly admits the possibility of a clash but shows the practical impossibility of such a clash. He can show this because he has already shown the limitations on the Pope's authority. If a clash comes, conscience can, under certain circumstances and conditions, be the supreme guide. Thus Newman has undermined the argument on mental and moral freedom and on civil allegiance.

In the discussion of conscience Newman further weakens the argument on freedom and allegiance. In his discussion of the nature of conscience it must be remembered that Newman is simply explaining a viewpoint, and is not aiming to explain its truth. The point, important here, is simply to show that the Catholic viewpoint is not what Gladstone supposed it to be. Gladstone also fell into the error of mistaking the method used by theologians in interpreting condemnations. Next, Newman points out that conscience is a practical dictate concerning the "hic et nunc" and as such could not clash with Papal Infallibility. The Pope condemns general principles or particular errors. Where there can be a clash with the Pope, the Pope is not infallible. In added proof of

all this he quotes numerous great Church theologians. Newman here uses "counter-attack" by opposing greater authorities to those of Gladstone, and he uses "denial" of Gladstone's reasoning and conclusions in these technical theological matters.

In the discussion of the Encyclical of 1864 there is a good example of adhominem (showing "that the opponent contradicts himself in his speech; or, neglecting his arguments,.... that he is guilty of bad faith, ignorance of the subject, etc.[1]). Gladstone attacks laws restricting the public worship of Protestants in parts of Italy; Newman overwhelms him with examples of restrictions in England. The general line of argument in regard to the Encyclical is that the Pope did not condemn what Gladstone imputes to him, but acted under principles which England accepts and follows in Ireland and in India.

It was the syllabus that Gladstone used as proof that the Church was reviving old methods of attacking freedom. The refutation of this is simply an explanation of how such a list is to be interpreted. Newman points out that it was intended for the Bishops primarily, who were to interpret it for the people.

The argument on the Vatican Council became simply an explanation of Infallibility and a denial of views imputed to him, i.e., to Newman. The use of history is pointed out;

1. Smith, Sidney J., "Precepts of Rhetoric" Page 37.

Gladstone's attack on the "repudiation" of history is really an attack on the Catholic attitude toward history which Newman explains but does not feel called upon to defend completely. (cf. outline, VIII,2, page 78)

The discussion on the Vatican definition is an overwhelming list of limitations on Papal Infallibility; theologians do know what "ex cathedra" means. The method used is denial followed by positive proof. The conclusion follows this; in it Newman puts his finger on the real point of much of the argument concerning the Pope's change in status, viz., Gladstone's lack of proof. It is in the conclusion that Newman forestalls trouble by explaining how a defense along lines different from his should be received.

From a viewpoint of argument the pamphlet written by Gladstone is shown to be just another example of anti-Catholicism based on ignorance. The English were startled by what seemed to them sudden evidence of Papal influence, and the result was a rash, if sincere, attack. There is certainly no doubt concerning Gladstone's sincerity, but he was rash in not asking more questions before bursting into print; Newman's refutation is little more than a sweeping away of false ideas, not a clash of reasoning powers or of debating skill.

More interesting than the above will be a look at Newman's use of the devices of rhetoric. In the foregoing his use and arrangement of the different types of refutation and parts of the speech have been shown. Now a short discussion of the different points of style will be given. What is it in

Newman's letter that makes it understandable, interesting, and forceful? This letter lacks the appeals to the emotions found in the foregoing series of lectures; it is in the main a dignified explanation. Yet the work is not without its force.

Here is a powerful concluding paragraph which clinches an argument started above; note the difference in tone between this letter and that to Dr. Pusey:

> Yet Mr. Gladstone is in earnest alarm, earnest with the earnestness which distinguishes him as a statesman, at the harm which society may receive from the Pope, at a time when the Pope can do nothing. He grants (p. 46) that "the fears are visionary.... that either foreign foe or domestic treason can, at the bidding of the Court of Rome, disturb these peaceful shores;" he allows that "in the middle ages the Popes contended, not by direct action of fleets and armies," but mainly "by interdicts," p. 35. Yet, because men then believed in interdicts, though now they don't, therefore the civil Power is to be roused against the Pope. But his <u>animus</u> is bad; his <u>animus</u>! what can <u>animus</u> do without matter to work upon? Mere <u>animus</u>, like big words, breaks no bones. (Page 60)

As seen already in other works, Newman does make a point of insisting on an important item just proved; he is not content with simply stating his conclusions, especially if his opponent has made much of the particular argument in his attack. In many of these passages the emotions are amplified and an appeal to the feelings is made. This letter exemplifies as technique along this line chiefly a series of parallels, questions or clauses, with or without anaphora.

> They determined to decline a gift laden with such a condition, and who can blame them for so doing? who can be surprised that they should now do what they did in 1847? what new move in politics was it,

> if they so determined? what was there in it of a factious character? Is the Catholic Irish interest the only one which is not to be represented in the House of Commons? (Page 42-3)

> What have excommunication and interdict to do with Infallibility? Was St. Peter infallible on the occasion at Antioch when St. Paul withstood him? was St. Victor infallible when he separated from his communion the Asiatic Churches? or Liberius when in like manner he excommunicated Athanasius? And to come to later times,...(Page 78)

> If they wanted to obtain some real information about the probabilities of the future, why did they not go to headquarters? Why did they potter about the halls of Universities in this matter of Papal exorbitances, or rely upon the pamphlets or examinations of Bishops whom they never asked for their credentials? Why not go at once to Rome? (Page 46)

Newman makes frequent use of metaphors; an example:

> A chronic malady has from time to time its paroxysms, and the history on which I am now engaged is a serious instance of it. I think it is impossible that the British could have entered into formal negotiations with the Pope, without its transpiring in the course of them, and its becoming perfectly clear, that Rome could never be a party to such a pledge as England wanted, and that no pledge from Catholics was of any value to which Rome was not a party. (Page 46)

We have already seen that Newman is partial to concrete expressions; an example of this type of treatment is to be found in this letter:

> All through my day there has been a resolute warfare, I had almost said conspiracy, against the rights of conscience, as I have described it. Literature and science have been embodied in great institutions in order to put it down. Noble buildings have been reared as fortresses against that spiritual, invisible influence which is too subtle for science and too profound for literature. Chairs in Universities have been made the seats of an antagonist tradition. Public writers, day after day, have indoctrinated the minds of innumerable

> readers with theories subversive of its claims.... We are told that conscience is but a twist in primitive and untutored man;.... (Page 74-5)

Newman shows power in the use of epithets: the Pope is an "august criminal"; Newman follows up this idea and flings an epigram at English complacency when he says: "Surely Nina Sahib will have more justice done to him by the English people, that has been shown to the Father of European Civilization." (Page 59)

A clever ending which summarizes and concludes a whole section:

> I add one remark. Certainly, if I am obliged to bring religion into after-dinner toasts, (which indeed does not seem quite the thing) I shall drink - to the Pope, if you please, - still, to Conscience first, and to the Pope afterwards. (Page 81)

His final paragraph before he returns to address the Duke is worth quoting because of its sincere dignity which is so characteristic of him:

> I say there is only one Oracle of God, the Holy Catholic Church and the Pope as her head. To her teaching I have ever desired all my thoughts, all my words to be conformed; to her judgement I submit what I have now written, what I have ever written, not only as regards its truth, but as to its prudence, its suitableness, and its expedience. I think I have not pursued any end of my own in anything I have published, but I know well, that, in matters not of faith, I may have spoken, when I ought to have been silent.
>
> And now, my dear duke,.....

DETAILED OUTLINE

The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance, By the Right Honorable W.E.Gladstone, M.P.

Division: Romanizing the Church of England is impossible at this time.

1. The Roman Church has changed from a policy of "Semper eadem" to one of violent change.
2. She parades every rusty tool she was thought to have disused.
3. No one can become a convert without renouncing moral and mental freedom; without placing civil loyalty at the mercy of another.
4. She repudiates modern thought and history.

The world has a right to remonstrate with:

1. His Holiness,
2. Those who share his proceedings,
3. And those who passively allow and accept them.

The people of England are entitled to a statement in view of the action of the Church.

Questions arising from these allegations:

1. Are they true?
2. Are they material?
3. Were they suitable to be set forth by the present writer?

These remarks have given offense, but:

1. Of Catholics in general they say nothing;
2. They constitute a strong animadversion on the conduct of the Papal Chair;
3. I cannot accept any conclusion which states that this constitutes a censure on Catholics at large (who do not choose their rulers).

I eschew theological controversy, and religious bigotry. Theology, except as it pertains to civil matters, has no concern here.

1. Roman theology thrusts itself into the temporal domain.
2. This was the cause of the debate on Catholic Emancipation.
   a) Parliament does not argue for the sake of arguing.
   b) Other religious bodies keep quiet.
   c) Most Catholics keep quiet.
   d) Catholic leaders even boast of it (quotation from Manning).
3. The Roman Catholic Church reasserts the Mediaeval attitude.

Repetition of the division (cf. supra).

Body

These propositions are true.

1. The first and fourth, since they are theological, will be treated briefly. The first is a fact; the second is an opinion.
   a) The fact is: that from an argument of identity of belief from the beginning, Rome now goes to the assertion of a living authority ready to adopt and shape Christian doctrine.
      A. Two differences in these attitudes.
         I. According to the first we have a witness of facts. The second constitutes a revealer of doctrine.
         II. The first is a process subject to challenge and appeal to history. Under the second attitude, in the face of the theory of development, there can be no appeal to history.
      B. This change is important to those:
         I. Who look at exaggerated Church powers as dangerous,
         II. Who think superstition and unbelief are to be fought by truth and authority of history.
   b) The opinion is: that Papal decrees are at war with modern thought and constitute a break with history.
      A. The break with history:
         I. The doctrines of Mariolatry and Papal Infallibility are doctrines which grew but not rapidly enough;
         II. Newman expresses sadness at it.
2. The second proposition: that Rome has refurbished every rusty tool.
   a) Quotations from Pius IX.
   b) Three observations on the above quotations:
      A. Some of them may be interpreted mildly, but the danger lies in the fact that the propounder is the interpreter;
      B. In substance they contain penalties and the right of deposing;
      C. They are not mere opinion ofthe Pope, but they contain the command to hold them.
3. The third proposition: moral and mental freedom, civil loyalty are rejected (Church officials are to blame).
   a) Roman Catholics should replace themselves in the position which 45 years ago Parliament believed they held.
   b) The authority over Catholics requires them to

surrender their mental and moral freedom, and to place their loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another.

c) To clarify we will go into history.
   A. The argument on Catholic Emancipation was on the impossibility of complete Catholic allegiance.
   B. At the time there were answers to this.
      I. Austrian Empire precedence.
      II. Opinions of the English Roman Catholics were consulted on: temporal jurisdiction, power of deposition, and especially, infallibility, obedience; and whether these two latter elements were affirmed by an authority which Catholics must respect.
      III. On infallibility and obedience there was no satisfactory answer; the answer for the third covered this lack: Bishop Doyle's testimony.
   C. All this has been reversed now; and infallibility and authority have been promulgated into the Council.

d) Since no one knows what "ex cathedra" means, it forms no real restriction.

e) That the Church uses no sanctions but religious ones is no strong point in view of the things that have been done; it is reasonable to say that temporal means have not been used because it did not have them.

f) Since faith and morals enter into almost all life, it is no restriction of Papal power to say that infallibility touches only faith and morals.

g) Besides this, obedience is due even beyond the field of "ex cathedra."
   A. The reason for the addition of obedience and authority to the infallible teaching authority is a question; perhaps it is due to an attempt to subjugate the state. Infallibility in faith and morals carries power over individuals; the idea of obedience carries power over states.
   B. This obedience extends beyond faith and morals to all that pertains to discipline and government of the Church.

h) In view of the above the following follows.
   A. It is desirable that there be no interference by the Pope in matters of civil allegiance.
   B. It is desirable that there be a rejection of such interference when and if it comes

i) In the absence of the above this follows: (i.e.,

if there is no assurance of the proposition under h),A, cf. above)
A. The Pope claims infallibility and obedience in all that pertains to Church government and discipline;
B. He determines the limits to the above;
C. He does not sever the above from civil allegiance;
D. He claims from Catholics that they put their civil allegiance and duty at the mercy of another.

II. These propositions are material; the reassertions are for a purpose.
1. In part for theological reasons:
a) The exaltation of Church power helped;
b) The anti-Christian attitude of the age helped as a stimulus to the reassertion of these propositions.
2. The pronouncement of infallibility would be sufficient for theological affairs.
3. Political object also may have had some place in the reassertions.
a) Trouble in Prussia and elsewhere.
b) These claims are responsible for the trouble.
c) There is no denial by the Pope of an aim at the re-establishment of the Temporal Power.
d) The Italian government has shown tendencies of leaning toward becoming an Ecclesiastical despotism.
e) Effects of the political objective:
A. Strife,
B. Governmental paralysis.
f) Temporal power is aimed at (i.e. it is an aim behind these propositions).
A. Temporal power concerns discipline and Chrrch government.
B. It was a doctrine 25 years ago that the question of the States of the Church was onewith which only Roman Catholic powers had anything to do.
C. Archbishop Manning shows Church supremacy in his attributing to it the power to define the border line between the civil and the spiritual power.

III. Were the propositions proper to be set forth by the author?
1. I worked for Catholic freedom as a duty, Ireland, etc.
2. To have opened this question might have prejudiced this matter of duty.
3. The rejection of the Irish University Bill changes the complexion of the affair.

IV. On the home policy for the future.

1. I regret nothing of my work for justice for Catholics.
2. I regret the increased hold on the upper classes which the Church is obtaining through conversion.
3. The Church has less hold on the lower classes.
4. I can no longer say that a Roman Catholic has no belief which impeaches his full civil title.
5. I aim for equality of religious rights.
6. I hope that the state will leave the religious conscience free and keep it in its domain.
7. Catholics should make the compromises that some of their English ancestors have made.

Letter to the Duke of Norfolk

I. Prefatory remarks.
   1. Greetings to the Duke.
   2. Gladstone has made these errors:
      a) Ecclesiastical documents misused;
      b) Catholics given a false position;
      c) Schola Theologorum is competent to determine the force of Papal and Synodal utterances.
   3. Some justification for his mistakes is found in the excessive speech of some Catholics.
   4. I have difficulties in this defense:
      a) Extravagance of some Catholics;
      b) It is not easy to get some people to use scientific definitions for every day terms;
      c) Readers may complain about the order I follow in my refutation.

II. Introductory remarks.
   1. Mr. Gladstone attacks us for:
      a) Allegiance to the Pope,
      b) Repudiation of ancient history,
      c) Refurbishing of rusty tools.
   2. Mr. Gladstone is upset by:
      a) Encyclical of Dec. 8th (ten years ago),
      b) Syllabus of propositions with the encyclical,
      d) Irish prelates' rejection of the Irish University Bill,
      c) Vatican Council definition.
   3. I could not see how the Irish University Bill could have been accepted.
      a) In 1847 Rome favored a Catholic University,alone.
      b) Government's offers were rejected at the time.
      c) To accept now would have been a reversal in policy.
   4. No argument from this rejection can be valid.
      a) There is nothing to suggest that the Pope had any influence in the matter.

b) Members of Parliament simply represent their constituents.
c) The Bishops opposed Gladstone's Bill and asked for money for their own university (the Bishops favored Catholic education).
d) There was no prompting from the Encyclical, Syllabus, or Vatican decrees; they claimed as Irishmen a share in the endowment of their country.
e) It is impossible to say that the action arose solely from religious enthusiasm.

5. Some of Mr. Gladstone's authorities.
   a) Bishop Doyle had a tinge of patriotism in one of his references to the Pope; but some things must be also considered.
      A. It was said in the heat of a struggle for liberty.
      B. He did say: "What, my Lord, have we to do with the proceedings of Popes,....? In this, before it becomes an argument, one must be certain of the types of proceedings referred to.
      C. When he says that the two allegiances are divided as much as anything can be, the statement must be distinguished:
         I. In the abstract they are so divided;
         II. In the concrete, not always.
   b) For real information on future policy, one should go to headquarters, anyway.
      A. This difficulty has been a chronic ailment in the English relations with Catholics.
      B. If England had treated with the Pope, it would never have expected the pledges that it wished from Catholics.
      C. The Irish hierarchy is not qualified to pledge for the future utterances of Rome.
      D. England persists in ignoring the Pope's existence.
   c) Outcome of England's ignoring of the Papacy:
      A. Rome ignored England;
      B. Catholic powers neglected to send representatives to the Council.
   d) It is regrettable that the Irish Prelates did not foresee the possibility of the Synod of 1870.

Transition: Now I pass from the accidents of the matter, And I proceed to the essentials of the controversy.

III. The Body: The Ancient Church.
1. Mr. Gladstone accuses us of repudiating ancient history (Church history) in its aspects relating to civil

power.

2. He bases his expostulation on the apparent incompatibility of the Vatican decrees and civil allegiance.
3. He says that we behave toward the state in a manner different from that of the early Church, but:
   a) Look at the ancient Church under persecution.
      A. Note all the early Saints who opposed the Roman government: St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Polycarp of Smyrna.
      B. All history shows Bishops and especially the Pope giving testimony in behalf of morals and revealed law, even in the face of threatened punishment.
      C. This independence is a credential of the Church; it is found nowhere else.
         I. The mission of the Church is to teach the Ten Commandments in a hostile world. Rome is the only faithful teacher of this to-day.
         II. Most Oxford men were impressed by the fidelity of Rome to the ancient teaching.
         III. Even the Jewish prophets spoke of governments bowing before the Church.
         IV. Keble does not hold a complete submission of Church to state.
         V. It is Rome's likeness to the ancient Church which turned many educated men towards her
   b) Look at the Church when persecution was changed for establishment.
      A. The Church being independent of the state as far as it is the messenger of God, the State officials, when they become members, must cease to be hostile.
      B. Many instances of emperor's humility when in relation to the Church.
      C. Laws favored Church and Church Courts, etc.
      D. Emperors favored opposition of other creeds.
      E. These characteristics of a convert empire are logical consequences of conversion.
      F. Two conditions accompanied the grant of power:
         I. The people consented to it;
         II The law of the empire enacted and enforced it.
      G. Slowly the control of ecclesiastical power and privilege fell to one See (that of Peter), but it remained the same in character.

IV. The Papal Church.

1. I will deal historically with Papal privileges and prerogatives, etc.
2. The Pope is the heir by default of the Ecumenical Hierarchy of the Fourth Century. (Does any Anglican Bishop recall to our minds St. Basil?)
3. Catholics believe in the Pope and his attributes because they are Catholics and not because of any wanton opposition to the powers that be.
4. This has been fulfilled: "Thou art Peter...." and "Whatsoever thou shalt bind...." What the Nicene Hierarchy claimed then is claimed now:
   a) Not as received from a dead empire,
   b) But as received from the Divine Master,
   c) As a remedy for emergencies and supreme occasions;
   d) Christ saw strength was impossible without a head.
5. Gladstone is not opposed to the Pope's special power itself, he would not allow this power to any ecclesiastic.
   a) These powers were once in the hands of the Bishops more than they are now, according to a certain Anglican whom Newman quotes.
   b) If it had remained so, there would be hundreds of centers of authorities, and thus more trouble for the state than under the present arrangement.
   c) Papal concentration of power is not the work of the Pope.
   d) None but a single master with "thousands" of Bishops in himself could have tamed the Mediaeval tyrants. (Newman quotes Dean Milman.)
   e) All this was done with what Gladstone calls rusty tools which needed refurbishing.
   f) If they were rusty from lack of use, then they were rusty when
      A. Gregory fought Henry of Germany,
      B. Pius fought Napoleon - now in our own century. (irony)
   g) I do not have to defend every act, e.g., some Papal acts affecting our own country.
   h) But Gladstone's attack was unjustified, never theless.
      A. In his present humiliation the Pope deserves respect; the concentration of functions in him makes him the target of abuse.
      B. So august a criminal deserves more consideration.
      C. Gladstone fears what the Pope may do at a time when he can do nothing. (Even in the Fourth Century the authority was backed by popular consent and law, both of which are lacking to-day.)
      D. The Pope himself says that he has not and

cannot have the authority of his predecessors at the present time.

E. Catholics need not recognize the right of deposition.

F. The Pope himself limits it to:

I. Rare usage and critical times,

II. Use only after careful study of the case and then only and always under the restrictions of the moral law,

III. The "ages of faith,"

IV. The Pope is not infallible in the use of this right.

V. Divided Allegiance

1. Mr. Gladstone holds that our loyalty and civil duty are at the mercy of another for the following reasons.

a) Papal infallibility is restricted to the fields of faith and morals; these fields cover most conduct.

b) The Pope claims authority over all phases of government and discipline of the Church, and claims the power of determining the extent of those domains.

c) He does not sever those domains clearly from civil ones.

2. I reject this conclusion (cf. no. 1).

3. I will now discuss obedience and not that phase of the Pope's power in which he is infallible.

a) English law covers three fourths of one's life and yet we find its benefits greater than its irksomeness.

b) Examples of Papal interference in our private lives are hard to find. Ordinary guidance is found in

A. Books of moral theology;

B. These are reflections and memoranda of our moral sense and not positive enactments.

C. In one text, the Papal decisions for over 200 years cover 50 pages of the total 700. They are chiefly restraints on theologians.

c) Papal interference is slight or non-existent. He leaves us more than one fourth of the total department of conduct, which is all that Gladstone claims for civil government.

d) That the Pope refuses to limit definitely his power of interference in conduct is no proof that he claims dominion over all conduct.

A. A doctor exercises supreme direction over our conduct, yet we are not his slaves.

B. He cannot draw a line limiting his control over conduct, yet not every act is under his control.

C. Not every act but any act comes under the Pope's jurisdiction and there is a difference.

e) Gladstone points out that it is not simply in matters of faith and morals, but in the Pope's general authority in all matters that makes us his slaves. He quotes the Pope.

A. Gladstone leaves out part of the quotation.

B. The Pope did not use the word Absolute.

C. The Pope does not say that no one can disobey him, but that no one can disbelieve the duty of obedience and unity.

D. Gladstone translates the Latin doctrina as rule.

E. The words disciplina and regimen have a technical meaning limiting the jurisdiction to Church constitution and forms of ceremonies, etc.

F. The passage omitted shows the aim of the passage Gladstone quoted, viz., unity as opposed to Nationalism.

4. Papal authority and its bearing on civil authority.

a) Collision can take place.

b) Civil authority should treat the Papal authority as an independent sovereign.

A. In troubles with the United States many Americans lived in England, but Gladstone did not address an expostulation to them.

B. Note the affair of the Germans in France.

C. The point of the above is to show that until a special command comes from the Vatican, no one can say that our loyalty is at the mercy of another.

c) There are cases when the Pope should be obeyed in a clash of commands: e.g., if Parliament should command Catholics to attend Protestant services; such an event you probably claim is unlikely now.

d) If I bound myself by an oath, e.g., to keep a Catholic prince from the crown, then the Pope could not release me. Or as a soldier in a war which I could not see to be unjust, I could not obey a Papal command to cease. Quotes authorities as to the lawfulness of disobeying a Pope under certain conditions.

e) Neither the Pope nor the Queen can command absolute obedience.

f) If explicit commands pull in opposite ways, then:

A. I consult my bishop, confessor, etc.;

B. I consult my own conscience if I cannot accept their view.

C. This is not the private judgement of the Protestant; for me such private judgement is not

the ordinary guide.

V. Conscience.
  1. Conscience can in extreme cases collide with the Pope.
  2. Nature of conscience.
     a) God has justice, etc. as the very law of His being.
     b) In man this law is called the Natural Law.
     c) This law as apprehended in the mind of the individual, is conscience.
     d) It is never lawful to go against conscience.
     e) This view differs from the modern fashion which makes it in some way the creation of man.
     f) This rule and measure of duty is not:
        A. Utility,
        B. Expedience,
        C. Happiness of the greatest number, etc.
     g) The rights of conscience to many mean the right to follow whims; such a concept ignores God.
  3. Modern misunderstanding of the Pope's attitude.
     a) Two Popes are said to have condemned "liberty of conscience"; this is brought forward to show the Papal attack on conscience.
     b) In these condemnations it is customary to use the words of the author and intend the meaning which the author attached to the words in his context.
     c) To oppose conscience would be suicidal for the Popes; the championship of conscience and of the moral law is their raison d'etre.
  4. The Pope's relation to conscience.
     a) Conscience is a very delicate faculty.
     b) Revelation is needed that natural religion may speak effectively to mankind in general.
     c) The Pope, who comes from Revelation, has no jurisdiction over nature.
     d) He could not have endured so long if he had trampled on conscience.
     e) Some say that the Pope takes advantage of human weakness to set up a false code and thus make conscience his creature, but some things which disprove this must be considered.
        A. By conscience here is meant the dutiful obedience to what claims to be a divine voice.
        B. Conscience judges not speculative truths, but it bears immediately on conduct; it is a dictate of reason judging what "hic et nunc" is to be done as good or avoided as evil. The Pope condemns general principles or particular errors.
        C. Since conscience is a practical dictate, a collision with the Pope's authority is possible only when the Pope legislates or gives a particular order; but the Pope is not in-

fallible in law, commands, acts of state, administration, public policy. Infallibility does not affect the field in which conscience is supreme.

D. True conscience and not the modern counterfeit is meant. To prevail over the Pope its dictates must be the result of investigation, etc. In establishing a case against the Pope the "onus probandi" lies with conscience.

E. Thus the Pope cannot create a false conscience.

5. Theologians quoted in proof of the above.

N.B. There is responsibility when there is culpable error.

VI. The Encyclical of 1864.

1. Historical aspects.

a) England maintained many of the general aspects of Rome.

A. The idea of one religion (one true religion).

B. What was praised as Toryism was reviled as Popery.

C. The state had a conscience; laws on aspects of religion were passed.

D. All this was true until recently.

2. The Pope has not said on conscience what Mr. Gladstone attributed to him; he says that the Pope condemned those who maintained freedom of press, speech, conscience, worship, etc. However, the following things must be considered.

a) Society requires some relinquishing of rights for the sake of common security.

b) Catholics are deprived of many rights in England, but acquiesce for the sake of the benefits gained.

c) Gladstone attacks laws in Naples on the Protestant religion; there are similar laws in Birmingham which affect Catholics in a similar way.

d) English liberty of speech, press, worship, is far from complete and unrestricted.

e) The provisions condemned by the Pope uphold unrestrained liberty to preach, worship, print, etc. with no civil or Church restriction as belonging to every well ordered state. England admits the principle behind such restrictions in her gagging of the press in Ireland and India.

VII. The Syllabus.

1. The condemnation of theological statements militating against the Catholic Faith is nothing new.

2. Some facts about this collection of errors.

a) We do not know who collected these errors mentioned by the Pope in past years.

b) None of it is the Pope's own writing.

c) It is to be received with submission as having been sent by the Pope's authority.
d) It is not an official act of the Pope.
e) The Pope did not give his infallible sanction.
f) It does not even constitute the words used by the Pope in the Allocutions, etc. from which this list of errors was compiled.
g) The Syllabus has nothing but an accidental connection with the Encyclical and has no part in whatever infallibility may be attached to the Encyclical (in spite of what Mr. Gladstone may say).
h) Since the Syllabus amounts to nothing more than an index of Encyclical or Allocutional proscriptions, we can no more accept it as de fide than any other index or table of contents.
i) Mr. Gladstone apparently did not consult the Pope's own words of which the Syllabus is an index.

3. Mr. Gladstone refers to the Syllabus as: "'extraordinary declarations of personal and private duty,'" "'stringent condemnations.'" Let us examine this under the light of what is under no. 2 above.
   a) One of the condemnations is "stringent"; it is a condemnation of one heretic priest's work; all are not stringent.
   b) Mr. Gladstone misunderstands some of the Syllabus because he fails to consult the Pope's words in the subject (cf. 2,i, above).
   c) Some of the condemnations have parallels in the English attitude at home.
   d) Some are not at all "stringent."
   e) Mr. Gladstone did not realize that the words used are those of the condemned writer, and are used in the sense the condemned writer intended.
4. Why the Syllabus created such a stir.
   a) The number and variety of errors, and the form of the Syllabus contributed to the striking effect.
   b) It looked like opposition to the 19th Century social principles.
   c) Due to the lack of context, the public mind would easily make mistakes concerning it.
   d) The words of the Syllabus give a breadth not found in the Pope's words; it puts the concrete into the abstract.
   e) Theology is a science with special language and with its special rules for interpretation (known thoroughly by only a few).
      N.B. The examples of some rules and typical errors which can arise from ignorance of technical language.
   f) The Syllabus was intended for Bishops who would interpret it. It reached the papers before it

reached some Bishops.

VIII. The Vatican Council.

1. I have been falsely accused of almost leaving the Church as a result.
   a) My views before the definition.
      A. I disliked the extreme views in professedly Catholic papers.
      B. I hesitated to accept that Infallibility was defined until it was defined.
   b) My views after the definition.
      A. The lack of unanimity caused doubts.
      B. There are other ways of obligation to receive a dogma.
         I. Clear in tradition.
         II. Or probability in Scripture and Tradition partially or probably confirmed by the Church.
         III. Christ would not allow the people to be misled by an error of the Pope and so many Bishops.
         IV. Thus I believe a decree can have a virtual claim on our reception, even if not passed "conciliariter" but in some indirect way. Example: Third Ecumenical Council.
2. It is said that history was neglected in the Vatican Council definition.
   a) Mr. Gladstone undoubtedly knows history.
   b) He takes for granted those principles for its use common among the Protestant divines.
   c) His word "repudiates" is too strong; the Church is rooted in tradition long past.
   d) Neither Mr. Gladstone nor those who agree with him in this matter would accept the position history holds among "Loci Theologici" as Catholic theologians determine it.
   e) Proper view of history.
      A. No doctrine of the Church can be rigorously proved from history.
      B. None can be disproved.
      C. In all cases margin is left for faith in the word of the Church.
      D. The same thing applies to the use of ratiocination.
3. Pope Honorius's condemnation as a heretic is no refutation.
   a) He did not speak "ex cathedra."
   b) The circumstances were such that it was not matter for an infallible declaration.
4. The history of infallibility is a growing insight into the meaning of texts, culminating in the definition.

IX. The Vatican Definition.

1. The Church has reduced to a minimum, as far as possible, the truths which Catholics must believe; Faith is such a difficult virtue. This remark suggests the drift of the following remarks.
2. The Vatican Definition says that the Pope has the same infallibility that the Church has, so:
   a) To find the Church's infallibility, we must look at the Pope's infallibility;
   b) To find the Church's infallibility we must consider what is the characteristic of Christianity considered as a revelation of God's will.
      A. Christ willed the Gospel to be a revelation, the trustees of which are the rulers of the Society He founded; cf. Scripture: "I will be with you all days....," and others.
      B. The Church is infallible as to the message entrusted to her; i.e. the Church is preserved from error.
3. An analysis of a Council's infallibility will give us what the Pope's infallibility is.
   a) When the Church infallibly decides a question, all Bishops are in a council that all may recognize that the Church is teaching. The Pope must have some form so that it will be understood that he is exercising his teaching office. This is "ex cathedra." He speaks "ex cathedra" (cf. the new definition) when he speaks:
      A. As universal teacher,
      B. In the name and with the authority of the Apostles,
      C. On a point of faith and morals,
      D. To bind every member of the Church.
   b) The Pope is not infallible or speaking "ex cathedra" when he speaks:
      A. In conversation,
      B. In giving reasons for a definition,
      C. In private deliberations.
   c) A council is not infallible when it speaks in prefaces or introductions to its definitions.
   d) There is no simply new doctrine since St. John's death. The Church's infallibility at present is nothing more than "assistentia" in guarding the deposit of doctrine.
   e) The Pope must directly intend to define.
   f) The definition must be referable to the Apostolic "depositum" through Scripture or Tradition.
   g) In matters of morals, a precept, if it is to be accepted, must be from the moral law.
   h) Moral precepts must pertain to things necessary for salvation

i) Moral precepts must be spoken to the whole world.
j) In condemnations legitimate minimizing (cf, no. 1, above) lies in the concreteness (theologians when determining what in the particular thesis is condemned, are not infallible). In affirmative enunciations the minimizing lies in their being more or less abstract,i.e., many such dogmas are general and admit of exceptions in their application. Examples given.
k) Quotations from authors on the above limitations.

X. Conclusion.
1. Gladstone refers to changes in the Pope's status.
a) He gives no proofs.
b) It is true that infallibility and authority were defined, but:
A. These things have their limitations;
B. There is nothing new in practice;
C. The Pope did not gain anything over civil power.
c) Others may differ from me in their arguments of defense.
A. Two different but compatible arguments for the same conclusion constitute a stronger proof.
B. Differences in conclusions will be in matters of opinion. A Catholic sacrifices his opinion to the word of God; in matters undefined he may have an opinion; two conclusions:
I. We are not slaves to the Pope;
II. Catholics should not use their private judgement to anathametize the private judgement of others.
2. Final remarks.

Chapter VI

The Present Position of Catholics in England (1851)

A work by Newman especially worth knowing is his "Present Position of Catholics in England"; Newman himself considered it the best written of his works; this much is evident: it is the easiest to read of any of his major works, and it shows Newman's rhetorical technique in almost all its phases. Another point of interest is the fact that in spite of its having been written for a specific occasion, it has more than a temporary interest. In a 1925 edition of this work (the one followed in this discussion) James J. Daly has this to say in the Foreword (he writes from Oxford, England): "The 'Present Position' does not labor under the handicap of abstract and close thought, or remote topics, or purely academical issues which presuppose maturity and advanced mental cultivation. It has to do with anti-Catholic prejudice which is the same yesterday, today, and tomorrow. The present ebullition of it actually makes the subject of Newman's book a living theme, most dramatic and enthralling to any Catholic who has been groping about in despair for terms to describe the absurdly muddled attitude of bigotry towards the Catholic Church." (Pages iii & iv) Another indication of the book's timelessness is found in the fact that the attitudes and states of mind it attacked have shown themselves far from dead in this country, for example, in the 1928 presidential election and in the

writings connected with Judge Rutherford.

Does this mean that Newman failed in his purpose? Probably not. Anti-Catholic prejudice, as Newman understood it, by its very nature avoided learning anything in the way of truth about Catholicism; because of this its adherents would soon cease to read anything on the subject, including the "Present Position." Hence no work of this sort could be thoroughly permanent unless it completely crushed the prejudice in all classes and places, an event unlikely as the outcome of nine lectures. In view of all this it is reasonable to conclude that Newman intended as his purpose the alleviation, as much as possible, of the anti-Catholic outburst of 1850-51. If this was his purpose, he did succeed.

The formal re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy caused a frenzied outburst of anti-Catholic feeling in England; Newman decided to use his power against it and delivered a series of nine lectures in the Corn Exchange in Birmingham. What was this power of Newman's? Humor, sarcasm, bitter invective, satire keen and humorous, devastating but simple logic were hurled with a mastery probably the greatest up to that time against the entrenched anti-Popery of the "Elizabethan tradition."

Newman was definitely successful in some of his attacks. Dr. James Ford, President of the Catholic Historical Association, in 1924 pointed out that Newman was responsible for rendering effective Dr. Waddington's exposure of Mosheim's

mutilation of Eligius, who was used as an authority on seventh century Christianity. Thus Newman was instrumental in shattering the credit of a number of historians of that period. This school of historians which had depended on Mosheim found that its establishment in public esteem for over a century could not keep it from ruin. This gives us a hint of the influence of the lectures; the discovery mentioned above was not Newman's; it was Newman's lecture, however, that rendered it effective in the cause of historical truth.

The Achilli trial shows how he was not able to overwhelm his opponents as was to be the case with the "Apologia." Achilli was an ex-Roman Catholic with a shady past whose stories about Roman Catholicism were being exploited by certain anti-Catholic forces. Newman, in one of the most bitter attacks of all his controversial works, attempted to discredit him. The facts that Newman brought out drove Achilli to a libel suit in an endeavor to uphold his standing..Newman lost the suit; he lost it because of anti-Catholic prejudice according to some good contemporary authorities. Achilli lost prestige and ceased to be the power he had been partly through Newman and partly through his own activites which began to give definite evidence of the truth of Newman's remarks. The event shows that prejudice was far from dead.

As in the "Apologia," Newman was battling prejudice; and battling prejudice is a task requiring more than a rgument. In the "Apologia" Newman fought one man and vanquished him; in

the "Present Position" his opponents were innumerable, of all types and of all social strata; perhaps this is one reason why a complete victory was impossible.

Newman was always conscious of the requirements of an audience, and for this reason these works furnish the great example of his rhetorical powers in addressing people who were not too highly educated. A profitable study would be to view the "Idea of a University" as a contrast to this work in this regard.

The differences, to be specific, are to be found in the simplicity of thought, the lack of deep theological inquiry, and the great lengths to which he develops any complex concept; this is done by abstract explanation, but more often by stories, illustrations, and numerous concrete examples. Because of the simplicity of thought analysis and development no outline is given here; Newman's mode of arguing is made sufficiently clear by the other outlines given in this thesis. Newman's command over figures of speech is equally well demonstrated in other works. The points to be discussed from the "Present Position" will be those for which it seems to be outstanding, i.e., passages of humor, satire, exclamation, emotional development, illustrations for clarity, etc.

The device mentioned above, viz., lengthy explanations and illustrations, is of importance since it illustrates how a style may be adapted for the partially or non-educated audience; such passages are, of course, too long to quote.

Lecture VII presents a good example of the point in question; in this discussion several pages are spent explaining what to many may be a new idea, the nature of First Principles. Newman explains them, shows them in use, and draws conclusions from the examples of their use. From this he goes on to his main work, to show that bigotry is attacking some one else for holding different First Principles on the pure and simple assumption that your own are true. This all leads up to Newman's example of bigotry: it is the Protestant view that miracles are impossible after the days of the Apostles; it is a Protestant First Principle that such miracles are impossible. Thus they deal with evidence for them as roguery or stupidity. (Cf. Kingsley's reaction to the subject of miracles in his pamphlet, outline, page134)

Another good example of lengthy explanation and development is found in LectureI. Newman uses the story of the Lion and the Man to illustrate that there are two sides to the question and the Protestant side is the only one which has been heard thus far. To show how people judge others by a set of standards which results from their own state in life or round of activities, he quotes from "Guy Mannering" the opinion a young romantic girl had of an elderly gentleman and his opinion of her. Finally in the same lecture Newman makes use of a hypothetical story; the classical description of Russian reaction to Blackstone's work on English law. Newman, in a note, explains that the point he intended to con-

vey was that the English claim and recognize special meanings in regard to law, but will not allow the same privilege to Catholic theologians. (The Russians treated the words in Blackstone's work in a literal and non-technical way, producing absurdities; the English do the same in Catholic theological works.) Newman did not have to explain in a note the meaning of this analogy, but some one had contested its validity, and thus he inserted the note.

The last example to be given of Newman's long illustrations (not the last that can be given) is the example of a Protestant's reaction at Benediction which he quotes from the "British Protestant." Newman gives the story in this way: one sentence from the Protestant and in the next sentence he gives the truth of the situation. Finally, he gives the Protestant's story as a unity. The idea he illustrates is the fact that prejudice always finds evidence to support itself. (This is to be found in Lecture VI.)

In a work of this sort two types of argumentation are often found: the Reductio ad Absurdum, and the Argumentum ad Hominem. It is hard to quote parts from such arguments without mutilation since they always form a part of an organic whole. Hence the reader must bear in mind that the full glitter of these rhetorical gems can be enjoyed only when they are seen in passing through the entire lecture, e.g.:

> He argues, that, because France had a body of infidel priests in last century, who did <u>not</u> disguise themselves, because Spain had a knot of infidels who, for <u>fear</u> of the Inquisition, did,

> therefore now in England, where nothing is heard of infidelity, and where there is nothing to frighten it into silence, it exists in every large town. Moreover, because there were infidel priests in the special 18th century, therefore there are infidel priests in the 19th. Further, because there were in France fifty or sixty or a hundred infidels among 380,000 ecclesiastics, and a sprinkling in Spain among 125,000, that there are in England infidels now in the proportion of one to twelve. (Lecture VIII, Pages 297-8)

Note that the above example of Reductio is also an example of ad Hominem.

In a work of this sort a point of special interest is emotional expansion, climax, and the use of these devices as a part in the organic whole which makes up each lecture. The general outline is, of course, explanation, argument, development of argument, emotional expansion, subsiding of emotional appeal and conclusion. Looking at individual lectures a reader sees that Newman fully realizes the fact that it is inadvisable to hold ahigh emotional peak for too long a time. Lecture II furnishes an example of the above mentioned technique. The lecture begins slowly; there is a discussion of tradition and its exemplification in the issue at hand, how it sustains the Protestant view of Catholicism, Then Newman gives examples and illustrations and at the 24th page of the lecture the emotional content takes a sharp turn upward: "The Mother of the Reformation is, in the verses of Shakespeare, 'a fair vestal throned by the west;'"(Page 57). From the tradition as it exists in the courts he turns to it as it exists in literature and then to everyday life: "Go to the stage of

the Mountebank, and teach him, when he displays his sleight-of-hand, to give effect to his tricks by the most sacred words of the Catholic ritual." (Page 60) The peak is reached soon, about 26 pages from the beginning; then there is a definite relaxation as he discusses the part the Anglican clergy play in sustaining the tradition; from that point the emotional appeal rises to new intensity; the peak for the lecture is reached about 33 pages from the beginning; this is followed by a calm concluding paragraph. When the above mentioned final peak is reached, it is the culmination of a series of short sharp statements of the absurd Protestant calumnies. The last one is:

> Popery preach Christ! no; "Popery," as has been well said, "is the religion of priestcraft; from the beginning to the end it is nothing but priest, priest, priest."
>
> I shall both weary and offend you, my Brothers, if I proceed. Even absurdity becomes tiresome after a time,.... (Page 66)

Note the subsidence as Newman swings into the concluding paragraphs.

As said above the lectures abound in innumerable examples of satire, sarcasm, humor, etc. A reading is the only thing that gives an approximation to an adequate view of such passages. Here are a few examples:

Irony:

> The special champions of toleration, the jealous foes of persecution, how studiously and conscientiously, during nine long months, have they practiced what they preached! What a bright example have they set to that religious communion which

they hold in such abhorrence on the ground of its persecuting spirit! Oh, the one-sided intellect of Protestantism! I appeal in evidence of it to a great banquet, where, amid great applause, the first judge of the land spoke of trampling CardinalWiseman's hat under his feet. I appeal to the last fifth of November, when jeers against the Blessed Sacrament and its rites were chalked up in the Metropolis with impunity, under the very shadow of the Court, and before the eyes of the Home Office and the Police. I appeal to the mock processions to ridicule, and bonfires to burn, what we hold most venerable and sacred, not only Pope, and Cardinal and Priest, but the very Mother of our Lord, and the Crucifix itself. (Lecture V, Pages 172-3)

The humor of this is too good to miss:

On inquiring it is found to be intended for a Catholic, nay, even for a monastic establishment. This leads to a good deal of talk, especially when the bricks begin to show above the surface. Meantime the unsuspecting architect is taking his measurements, and ascertains that the ground is far from lying level; and then, since there is a prejudice among Catholics in favour of horizontal floors, he comes to the conclusion that the bricks of the basement must arrive above the surface higher at one end of the building than at the other; in fact, that whether he will or no, there must be some construction of the nature of a vault or cellar at the extremity in question, a circumstance not at all inconvenient, considering it also happens to be the kitchen end of the building.... While he is thus intent on his work, loungers, gossipers, alarmists are busy at theirs too. They go round the building, they peep into the underground brickwork, and are curious about the drains; .....Judgements which had employed themselves on the high subject of a Catholic hierarchy and its need, found no difficulty in dogmatising on bedrooms and closets. There was much to suggest matter of suspicion, and to predispose the trespasser to doubt whether he had yet got to the bottom of the subject. At length one question flashed upon his mind: what can such a house have to do with cellars? cellars and monks, what can be their mutual relation? monks - to what possible use can they put pits, and holes, and corners, and outhouses, and sheds? A sensation was created; it brought other visitors; it spread; it became an impression, a belief; the

> truth lay bare; a tradition was born; a fact was elicited which henceforth had many witnesses. <u>These cellars were cells</u>. (Lecture III, Pages 99-100)

A continuation of the above:

> Yet it might have been allotted, let us never forget, a happier destiny. ("It" refers to the above "tradition" or rumor)... a mob might have swarmed about our innocent dwelling, to rescue certain legs of mutton and pats of butter from imprisonment, and to hold an inquest over a dozen packing cases, some old hampers, a knife-board, and a range of empty blacking bottles. (Lecture III, Page 104)

Sarcasm:

> Men would be sorry indeed that the controversy should be taken from the region of argument and transferred to that of fact. They like to think as they please; and as they would by no means welcome St. Paul, did he come from heaven to instruct them in the actual meaning of his "texts" in Romans iii. or Galatians ii, so they would think it a hardship to be told that they must not go on maintaining and proving, that we were really what their eyes then would testify we were not. And, then, too dear scandal and romancing put in their claim; how would the world go on, and whence would come its staple food and its cheap luxuries, if Catholicism were taken from the market? (Lecture VII, Pages 286-7)

At the risk of carrying quotation to excess, this Onomatopoeia should not be missed; note also the rhythm for which Newman is noted:

> A movement is in birth which has no natural crisis or resolution. Spontaneously the bells of the steeple begin to sound. Not by an act of volition, but by a sort of mechanical impulse, bishop and dean, archdeacon and canon, rector and curate, one after another, each on his high tower, off they set, swinging and booming, tolling and chiming, with nervous intenseness, and thickening emotion, and deepening volume, the old ding-dong which has scared town and country this weary time; tolling and chiming away, jingling and clamouring and ringing the changes on their poor half-dozen notes, all about "the Popish aggression,..." (Lecture II, Page 63)

The above discussion is inevitably a very inadequate view of what is to many one of Newman's most brilliant works; certainly his rhetorical skill shines out in these lectures most brightly. And it may also be hazarded that when pure enjoyment is wished, and a minimum of mental effort, one should turn to "The Present Position of Catholics in England."

Chapter VII

The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated (1852)

One of the works for which Newman will be noted is his "Idea of a University." Written as the outcome of an undertaking which ultimately failed, the lectures are among those of his works which are better known. The ideas expressed are of general interest; they extend beyond the Irish University and hence were not dragged down to death with it.

The subject was a difficult one, both in itself and in the task of molding it into lecture form. Under severe duress Newman accomplished well what was so difficult in itself. He wrote under the cloud of the Achilli trial, and harassed by the problems connected with the founding of the University; and (what was a major problem to him , amaster rhetorician) he wrote lectures to be delivered to an audience he did not know. This last difficulty in regard to these lectures he specifically mentions in a letter to a friend; the general importance of t his phase of public speaking he emphasizes in his lecture, "University Preaching," and he was annoyed by it in a slightly different way in his lectures on "Anglican Difficulties." (See page 18)

The lectures are roughly divisible into two sections (Newman so divides them): the first is made up of nine lectures delivered to the Catholics of Dublin (see the outline, page 106) which consists of discussions on the nature of liberal

education, the place of theology in it, and the relation of liberal knowledge to otherfields; the second part consists of occasional lectures and essays addressed to the members of the Catholic University, which discuss problems, such as Catholic literature, elementary studies, university preaching, and the relations of Christianity to science.

The sections on liberal education are a clear statement of the case for mental education (cultivation) as opposed to that college training, so much in vogue to-day, which is little more than glorified trade school. However, it must be remembered that Newman does not attack professional or vocational training; his thesis on liberal education is simply that there is such a thing, that it has an important place in education, and that it is not to be confused with professional or vocational training.

The sections dealing with these topics have a potentially wider appeal than, for example, the whole of the twelve lectures on "Anglican Difficulties." Some other sections on theology and the duties of the Church toward different phases of study will meet with a varied reception. For a thorough understanding of some of these parts it is necessary that one know at least some Catholic theology and philosophy, a subject little known outside of Catholic circles. For example, in telling what theology is, Newman covers by simple statement many topics of Catholic theology. All this is no criticism of Newman as a rhetorician, but an explanation of why

these lectures may lack complete universality of appeal and why many arguments will seem weak or almost meaningless. Newman did know this much about the audience for whom these lectures were primarily written: he knew that they were Catholics; he wrote for them, and because of this, the reader must remember that more fundamental discussions of some of these propositions would be useless and tiresome repetition for these listeners.

The subject matter, from an educational viewpoint, is almost exclusively a statement of principles to be used in guiding the choice of more immediate aims in education. It is not, like the Jesuit "Ratio Studiorum," a series of precepts in class room method. As discussion and explanation of principles, it involves dominantly that phase of rhetoric known as exposition and the present discussion will emphasize this phase.

As to the result of these lectures, this much is quite certain: they were a success with their audience. In a work of this sort clarity and interest are of prime importance; and of these two clarity is perhaps the more vital. Clarity is attained, along with interest, in these lectures especially in the first part, by the use of analogy and example as sources of argument.

Some of the major arguments are drawn from history, authority, and defintion. The important one which permeates much of the earlier part (the first nine lectures), especially Lecture

V (see the outline, page111) discusses the existence and nature of the knowledge which Newman calls liberal. In Lecture V, after he has established the nature of liberal knowledge, he goes on to discuss and expand the idea by answering objections and removing confusion which may exist. This serves as a basis for parts of the following discussions.

More important in these lectures, from a rhetorical viewpoint, and more vital to the attainment of clarity and interest in the composition are those arguments built on analogy. Note this one in which he develops one phase of intellectual culture:

> I say then, if we would improve the intellect, first of all, we must ascend; we cannot gain real knowledge on a level; we must generalize, we must reduce to method, we must have a grasp of principles, and group and shape our acquisitions by means of them, It matters not whether our field of operation be wide or limited; in every case, to command it, is to mount above it. Who has not felt the irritation of mind and impatience created by a deep, rich country, visited for the first time, with winding lanes, and high hedges, and green steeps, and tangled woods, and everything smiling indeed, but in a maze? The same feeling comes upon us in a strange city, when we have no maps of its streets. Hence you hear of practised travelers, when they first come into a place, mounting some hill or church tower, by way of reconnoitring its neighborhood.....
>
> (Discourse VI, Pages 139-40)

In the following Newman is discussing the attack which the followers of Utility in education make on the type he is advocating.

> ...for if a healthy body is good in itself, why is not a healthy intellect? and if a College of Physicians is a useful institution, because it contemplates bodily health, why is not an Academical Body,

> though it were simply and solely engaged in imparting vigour and beauty and grasp to the intellectual portion of our nature?
> (Discourse VII, Page 162)

The following analogical treatment is an interesting summary, epigrammatic in character, wherein Newman shows the weakness of mental culture as a means of training character. This is not exactly a weakness in mental culture since mental culture does not set out to develop virtue; perhaps it contains the explanation for this statement in the introduction to his famous definition of a gentleman: "This description is both refined and, as far as it goes, accurate." (Discourse VIII, Page 208) This much is certain: no one should interpret his definition of a gentleman as his idea of all that a man should be.

> Quarry the granite rock with razors, or moor the vessel with a thread of silk; then may you hope with such keen and delicate instruments as human knowledge and human reason to contend against those giants, the passion and pride of man.
> (Discourse V, Page 121)

In the occasional lectures two others deserve quoting since they exhibit very clearly the characteristics of the analogy.

> When we can separate light and illumination, life and motion, the convex and the concave of a curve, then will it be possible for thought to tread speech under foot, and to hope to do without it - then will it be conceivable that the vigorous and fertile intellect should renounce its own double, its instrument of expression, and the channel of its speculations and emotions.
> (Literature, Page 277)

> ....I do not mean that a preacher must aim at <u>earnestness</u>, but that he must aim at his <u>object</u>,

> which is to do some spiritual good to his hearers, and which will at once make him earnest. It is said that, when a man has to cross an abyss by a narrow plank thrown over it, it is his wisdom, not to look at the plank, along which lies his path, but to fix his eyes steadily on the point in the opposite precipice at which the plank ends. It is by gazing at the object which he must reach, and ruling himself by it, that he secures to himself the power of walking to it straight and steadily.
>
> (University Preaching, Page 409)

Numberless other arguments are used throughout the course of these discourses; those types referred to and illustrated are the most interesting of the Positive Argumentation. The Negative Argumentation (refutation) contains a few examples worth looking at. The lectures are not refutations as are the letters to Pusey and the Duke of Norfolk; the refutation here exemplifies the technique used in many speeches of forestalling objections. Skill in using this method of strengthening a case depends upon accurate judgement of the mental reaction of the audience to the positive argument in use at the time. In his lecture on literature he makes use of the Reductio ad Absurdum in handling one of the points he sets out to disprove.

> It seems that a really great author must admit of translation, and that we have a test of his excellence when he reads to advantage in a foreign language as well as in his own. Then Shakespeare is a genius because he can be translated into German, and not a genius because he cannot be translated into French. Then the multiplication-table is the most gifted of all conceivable compositions, because it loses nothing by translation, and can hardly be said to belong to any language whatever. Whereas I should rather have conceived that, in proportion as ideas are novel and recondite, they would be difficult to put into words, and that the

> very fact of their having insinuated themselves into one language would diminish the chance of that happy accident being repeated in another. In the language of savages you can hardly express any idea or act of the intellect at all: is the tongue of the Hottentot or Esquimaux to be made the measure of the genius of Plato, Pindar, Tacitus, St. Jerome, Dante, or Cervantes? (Literature, Page 287)

As to the form of argumentation, there is an interesting sorites (a series of statements in which the predicate of the first becomes the subject of the second, and the predicate of the second becomes the subject of the third, and so on [1]); for a summary of it, see the outline for Discourse IV, no. III,b), C,V, page 110. As an example of the Disjunctive Syllogism in use, see the one in the outline of Discourse II, page 107. (A Disjunctive Syllogism is one "in which the Major contains a complete statement of all the alternatives in the case.[2])

Works such as these lectures will make use of many or all of the speech divisions, with this one difference. Since rhetoric, as this thesis looks at it, is limited to persuasion, these discourses aiming, as they do, at exposition will differ in the results aimed at. As a result, there will be a different emphasis in the use of the various parts of the speech, especially in the main section which, in those works aiming primarily at persuasion, is called the Confirmation.

Because clarity is so vital in a work of this sort (i.e., an expositive work) one can expect to find copious use of those

1. Smith, Sidney J., "Precepts of Rhetoric" Page 35.
2. ibid. Page 34

parts of a speech which are introductory and explanatory. One device Newman uses in his introductions is to be found in those discourses which are in the series of nine addressed to the Catholics of Dublin; he begins them with a rather lengthy recapitulation of conclusions arrived at in the previous lecture or lectures and helpful to the understanding of the present one. Another device helping toward clarity is a definite statement of the Proposition to be discussed, and a clear statement of the phases under which it will be discussed, the Division.

> ...I have to compare and contrast, not the doctrinal, but the moral and social teaching of Philosophy on the one hand, and Catholicism on the other.
> (Discourse VIII, Page 184)

> It seems but natural, Gentlemen, now that we are opening the School of Philosophy and Letters, or, as it was formerly called, of Arts, in this new University, that we should direct our attention to the question, what are the subjects generally included under that name, and what place they hold, and how they come to hold that place, in a University, and in the education which a University provides.
> (Christianity and letters, Page249)

Note that in the last example the division is incorporated into the proposition. Here is an example of a division going beyond a single discourse and covering several that are to follow:

> I have then to investigate, in the Discourses which follow, those qualities and characteristics of the intellect in which its cultivation issues or rather consists; and, with a view of assisting myself in this undertaking, I shall recur to certain questions which have already been touched upon. These questions are three: viz. the relation of intellectual culture, first, to mere knowledge; secondly, to professional knowledge; and thirdly, to religious knowledge. (Discourse VI, Page 127)

Another of the introductory parts of a speech is the Narration or statement of the facts necessary for the argument. Newman, in his discussion concerning the place of the Arts among University subjects, precedes his argument by a short discussion of the history of civilization and the relation of the study of Arts to this civilization (see page 250 ff., "Christianity and Letters").

A useful companion to the division of arguments made earlier in the discussion is the transition explicitly referring to changes from one phase of the subject to another. The transition is not limited to this use, however; but it may show any change in the viewpoint of the discussion or in the phase of the argument. The lectures and essays in the "Idea of a University" present a wealth of examples of Newman's technique in the use of the transition.

> 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. (Discourse III, Page 51)

> Here, then, is the end of the question; and here I might come to an end also, were it not incumbent on me to explain how it is that, though Theology and Physics cannot quarrel, nevertheless, Physical Philosophers and Theologians have quarrelled in fact, and quarrel still. To the solution of this difficulty I shall devote the remainder of my Lecture. (Christianity and Physical Science, Page 440)

The above are examples of the Complete or Perfect Transition since they refer to what has gone before and to what is to come. Here is an example of the Incomplete or Imperfect Transition:

> Knowledge, I say, is then especially liberal, or sufficient for itself, apart from every external and ulterior object, when and so far as it is philosophical, and this I proceed to show.
> (Discourse V, Page 111)

Examples could be multiplied, but these seem sufficient to give the reader a good impression of how a transition can contribute to clarity in the process of explaining an idea or principle.

One of the most outstanding methods used in these discourses for the sake of securing the interest and understanding of the hearer is the use of concrete examples following abstract statements; Newman is especially partial to this form of thought development in all his works, but he is particularly fond of it in this work.

> ...I believe, as a matter of history, the business of a University to make this intellectual culture its direct scope, or to employ itself in the education of the intellect,- just as the work of a Hospital lies in healing the sick or wounded, of a Riding or Fencing School, or of a Gymnasium, in exercising the limbs, of an Almshouse, in aiding and solacing the old, of an Orphanage, in protecting innocence, of a Penitentiary, in restoring the guilty.
> (Discourse VI, Page 125)

> There are men who embrace in their minds a vast multitude of ideas, but with little sensibility about their real relations towards each other. These may be antiquarians, annalists, naturalists; they may be learned in the law; they may be versed in statistics; they are most useful in their own place; I should shrink from speaking disrespectfully of them; still, there is nothing in such attainments to guarantee the absence of narrowness of mind. If they are nothing more than well-read men, or men of information, they have not what specially deserves the name of culture of mind, or fulfils the type of Liberal Education.
> (Dsicourse VI, Page 135)

In the following example Newman is discussing the type of morality which will arise from mere cultivation of mind and refinement:

> It is detection, not the sin, which is the crime; private life is sacred, and inquiry into it is intolerable; and decency is virtue. Scandals, vulgarities, whatever shocks, whatever disgusts, are offenses of the first order. Drinking and swearing, squalid poverty, improvidence, laziness, slovenly disorder, make up the idea of profligacy; poets may say anything, however wicked, with impunity; works of genius may be read without danger or shame, whatever their principles; fashion, celebrity, the beautiful, the heroic, will suffice to force any evil upon the community.....
> (Discourse VIII, Page 201-2)

Epigrams are rather common in this work, perhaps a few are worth stopping for; this one is not strictly an epigram as Newman wrote it, but it is embryonically so.

> ...who does not see....that vice is the mere reaction of unhealthy toil, and sensual excess the holyday of resourceless ignorance. (Discourse VIII, Page 189)

This next example is in conformity with the idea mentioned above: the inability of refinement resulting from mental culture to train in virtue.

> Deformity is its abhorrence; accordingly, since it cannot dissuade men from vice, therefore in order to escape the sight of its deformity, it embellishes it. It "skins and films the ulcerous place," which it cannot probe or heal,... (Discourse VIII, Page 202)

This last one seems to be one of his best:

> ...but, if you would in fact have a literature of saints, first of all have a nation of them.
> (Discourse IX, Page 231)

Humor is rare enough, and for this reason perhaps worth looking at whenever it is met. There is a certain quiet wit

in the following paraphrase and reworking of an old proverb (the "he" is the good Catholic when he finds some statement of science apparently contradicting Revelation):

> And if, at the moment, it appears to be contradictory, then he is content to wait, knowing that error is like other delinquents; give it rope enough, and it will be found to haveastrong suicidal propensity. I do not mean to say he will not take his part in encouraging, in helping forward the prospective suicide; he will not only give the error rope enough, but show it how to handle and adjust the rope;- ("Christianity and Scientific Investigation," Page 446)

Figures of speech are very common in these discourses, so sommon that no adequate idea of Newman's resourcefulness and skill in using them for clarity and vivid expression can be attained without a reading of the works themselves. Newman's constant use of imaginative appeal through the medium of all sorts of figures and his concomitant grasp of the abstract framework of his discussion is perhaps as good an example as any of that mastery over learning which he exalts so much as one of the notes of mental culture.

In this simile he is showing what he means by civilization and human society and its relations to some portions of the race which do not coalesce with it.

> For, unless the illustration be fanciful, the object which I am contemplating is like the impression of a seal upon the wax; which rounds off and gives form to the greater portion of the soft material, and presents something definite to the eye, and preoccupies the space against any second figure, so that we overlook and leave out of our thoughts the jagged outline or unmeaning lumps outside of it, intent upon the harmonious circle which fills the imagination within it. ("Christianity and Letters," Page 254)

Metaphors are very common:

> Then, again, the fastidiousness I am speaking of will create a simple hatred of that miserable tone of conversation which, obtaining as it does in the world, is a constant fuel of evil, heaped up round about the soul:... (Discourse VIII, Page 187)

> True Religion is slow in growth, and, when once planted, is difficult of dislodgement; but its intellectual counterfeit has no root in itself: it springs up suddenly, it suddenly withers.
> (Discourse VIII, Page 202)

The following metaphor is used to show the nature of the theory which separates style and thought; the "it" refers to language and style.

> ...they agree together in this,- in considering such composition a trick and a trade; they put it on par with the gold plate and the flowers and the music of a banquet, which do not make the viands better, but the entertainment more pleasurable; as if language were the hired servant, the mere mistress of the reason, and not the lawful wife in her own house. ("Literature" Page 279)

All of the more common figures dealing with the arrangement of thought in the sentence are to be found in large quantities. Most interesting perhaps is the use of antithesis (sharp contrasts brought together) with balance or parallel; such technique is an excellent means of bringing home a point. Note this antithesis with an intricate parallel structure:

> It has been the error of distracting and enfeebling the mind by an unmeaning profusion of subjects; of implying that a smattering in a dozen branches of study is not shallowness, which it really is, but enlargement, which it is not; of considering an an acquaintance with the learned names of things and persons, and the possession of clever duodecimos, and attendance on eloquent lecturers, and membership with scientific institutions, and the sight of the experiments of a platform and the specimens of a

> museum, that all this was not dissipation of mind, but progress. Allthings now are to be learned at once, not first one thing, then another, not one well, but many badly. (Discourse VI, Page 142)

This antithesis is used to emphasize the evil of not training the university student for life in the world:

> To-day a pupil, to-morrow a member of the great world: to-day confined to the Lives of the Saints, to-morrow thrown upon Bable;- (Discourse IX, Page 233)

Here is another which emphasizes the distinction between science and theology:

> He contemplates facts before him; the Theologian gives the reasons of those facts. The Physicist treats of efficient causes; the Theologian of final. The Physicist tells us of laws; the Theologian of the Author, Maintainer, and Controller of them;... ("Christianity and Physical Science," Page 434)

Polysyndeton (abundance of conjunctions) contributes to rhythm and emphasis:

> How much more genuine an education is that of the poor boy in the Poem - a Poem, whether in conception or in execution, one of the most touching in our language - who, not in the wide world, but ranging day by day around his widowed mother's home, "a dexterous gleaner" in a narrow field, and with only such slender outfit
> "as the village school and books a few Supplied,"
> contrived from the beach, and the quay, and the fisher's boat, and the inn's fireside, and the tradesman's shop, and the shepherd's walk, and the smuggler's hut, and the mossy moor, and the screaming gulls, and the restless waves, to fashion for himself a philosophy and a poetry of his own! (Discourse VI, Page 150)

DETAILED OUTLINE

The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated

Discourse I: Introductory

I. There are two reasons for the discussion.
   1. The subject has a hold on his mind.
   2. He lived amid controversy on the subject; the studies were attacked for:
      a) Inutility,
      b) Religious exclusiveness.

II. Summary and conclusion:
   1. The arguments originating in these controversies are serviceable;
   2. Satisfaction to himself - he likes the subject.

III. Reasons why he opens the subject with reference to his past experiences.
   1. Doesn't want it thought that these conclusions were got up for the occasion; these views are part of himself.
   2. These truths are available alike to Catholics and Protestants; they are truths of the natural order; some remarks on this:
      a) Philosophy of education is based on truths of the natural order;
      b) Protestants must stand on this alone;
      c) Catholics are apt to forget to put their shoulders to the wheel, beaause of their faith in Divine help, not that it is possible to have too much faith in this;
      d) This is not derogatory to the Church (i.e., appealing to witnesses external to herself); the Church has always accepted truths from the outside. Examples given.
   3. It will show how I mean to handle the subject, i.e., with no reference to Church authority.
   4. It will remind you that this is not a question of immutable truth, but of practice and expedience.
      a) When there is no direct duty forbidding, we must follow expediency.
      b) Examples from Church history.

IV. You may say that my ideas are impractical; you experience is great but carries no weight here because all who take part with the Apostles are on the winning side.
   1. Some proofs from history;
   2. Also especially English and Irish history.
   3. Now we have a like mission.

Discourse II: Theology a Branch of Knowledge

I. Questions:
   1. Is it consistent with the idea of university teaching to exclude theology from the sciences it embraces?
   2. Is it consistent with that idea to make the useful arts and sciences its direct concern?

II. Proposition: To erect universities without a chair for theology is absurd.

III. Universities should embrace all knowledge.
   Theology is a branch of knowledge
   1. Proof of the Major:
      a) Commonly accepted definition,
      b) Other authorities referred to.
   2. But this is to assume that theology is a science; so the argument will be put into a more exact form.
      a) Major: The founders of a university without theology must own one of two alternatives:
         A. Nothing is known about the Supreme Being;
         B. They call the seat of learning a university which it is not.
      b) Minor: Implied denial of the second alternative.
      c) Proof of Major: A university embraces all knowledge as its aim.
      d) Conclusion: Parties who establish a university which makes no religious profession must think that their opinions on religion are not knowledge.
      e) Further proof of Major: When people assemble for a purpose, sacrifices must be made but not in matters essential to that purpose.
      f) Proof for Minor: Men are consistent.
   3. Objection: There are different spheres of knowledge; theology is not of the sphere belonging to the university.
      a) Reductio ad Absurdum: Knowledge cannot be thus divided.
      b) Analogy: Knowledge of creatures differs from knowledge of the Creator; so does history from ethics.
      c) Revelation is concerned in ethics.

IV. Summary: Absurdity, etc.
   1. People hold that theology is not knowledge but emotion.
      a) Illustration: Mr. Brougham's Glasgow Discourse.
      b) Minutes of the Committee of the Council on Education.
      c) Objection: Address at the laying of the cornerstone and references to God as known through nature; but the word God has a different meaning in their mouths:

A. Catholic idea of God;
B. If knowledge of God does not go beyond what is seen in the microscope, then theology is no science.

2. Theology is a branch of knowledge.

Discourse III: Bearing of Theology on Other Knowledge

I. Proposition: This is to be an attempt to give an answer to the plan which aims to separate secular and theological knowledge, allotting one to the classroom and one to the parish priest.
   1. All sciences depend on each other.
      a) Truth means facts and their relations.
      b) Knowledge is apprehension of them.
      c) The human mind cannot take in all at a glance.
         A. One thing must be looked at at a time.
         B. One aspect must looked at at a time.
      d) The partial views that the mind scans are sciences. Examples: Optics, visible creation so far as it is visible; Mental Philosophy, narrower province, but richer.
      e) All sciences do not equally nor does each science fully enlighten the mind in the knowledge of things.
      f) They differ in importance and accordingly they influence each other and the mass of knowledge.
      g) Because of their incompleteness they need each other's assistance.
      h) They can assist because of their independence.
      i) When certain sciences are lacking there is defective apprehension, examples:
         A. The physiologist, by himself, has a more or less unreal idea of man; this is true also of the politician, the moralist, etc.
         B. Analogy: Note the result if the progress of a projectile is computed without reference to air resistance.
         C. Newton depends on Metaphysics.
   2. Granting theology is a science, it cannot be excluded.
      a) Theology borrows from the sciences, e.g., Astronomy.
      b) Other sciences, in the interest of truth, must accept what theology has to offer.
      c) Parallel case: If anthropology were omitted from a general course of education because of controversy on the question: no one would set up a university on sucha basis.

d) Parallel case: Imagine a discussion of science in which the agency of man is ignored, a university teaching all sciences but omitting mention of the mind and its powers; such a state of affairs would result in teaching that the laws of gravity built a bridge.
e) Just as a denial of volition is a denial of the soul (equivalently) so ignoring a Divine agency is a virtual denial of God's existence.

II. What is theology?
1. It is not solely Catholic.
2. Not Physical theology.
3. Not polemics.
4. Not the vague "Christianity the law of the land."
5. Not acquaintance with the Scriptures.
6. It is the science of God put into a system.
a) Not God as the soul of the world.
b) It is this idea of God: God as the Creator, etc.
c) It is not the accident of particular minds; authorities listed.

III. Summary and conclusion.

Discourse IV: Bearing of Other Knowledge on Theology

I. Why dread secular education unless it is opposed to you?
1. As far as this relates to any supposed opposition between secular acience and divine science, it is answered in the previous discourse.
2. To have truth one must have the whole truth; no one science or group of sciences has the whole truth.

II. Introduction: If you drop a science from the field, you cannot keep its place vacant, e.g.,
1. Ethics would be replaced by law, politics, economy, and physiology.
2. In regard to theology, any science that rejects it would be going beyond its rights. Enemies of Catholicism would hold this since they object to Scripture's making the sun go around the earth.

III. Proposition: Any secular science cultivated exclusively may become dangerous to religion.
1. No science, if constituted sole exponent of everything in heaven and on earth, will avoid error, because it will be encroaching on territory not its own.
a) The mind appropriates what meets the senses - throws it into a system. The mind prefers an absurd view rather than have none. Examples....
b) The narrow scientist falls into error when he goes

into fields calling for restraint from other sciences; Bacon mentions this as a bar to knowledge.

2. Refusal to recognize theology leads to loss of theology and the perversion of other sciences.
   a) Some examples:
      A. Art's relation to religion: If Catholicism's teaching were removed from its influence on painting, painting would in time minister to corrupt nature, although it might depict beauty.
      B. Music if completely free, will use religion instead of ministering to it.
      C. Architectural revival would be evil if it comes as the emblem of a past ceremonial or an extinct nationalism.
   b) Many who are devoted to one subject and make it the measure of all things become enemies of revealed religion before they know it, because they neglect religion.
      A. A book on Comparative Anatomy denies the immateriality of the soul.
      B. Philosophy of history led to a discussion of the history of the Jews as secular.
      C. Look at Political Economy.
         I. Definite views on this subject are in Scripture.
         II. This science cant do more than give rules on wealth.
            a) It cannot declare itself subordinate
            b) It cannot declare itself an ultimate end.
         III. Inaugural lecture at the University of Oxford on Political Economy by its professor claims an ethical value for it.
            a) Part of this is ethical or theological.
            b) Its rank is a question for Philosophy.
         IV. Pursuit of wealth as a great source of moral improvement is refuted in Scripture.
         V. Wealth depends on pursuit of wealth.
            Education depends on wealth.
            Knowledge depends on education.
            Religion depends on knowledge.
            Religion depends on pursuit of wealth.
            Refutation: Pursuit of wealth "is the root of all evils."
      D. History documents are not everything in

revelation.
I. Gibbon argues against the darkness of the Passion because historians (Pagan) do not mention it.
II. Transubstantiation is attacked on a similar basis.

IV. Summary
1. For this discourse: Hostility to theology leads to the deflection of other science from its course. The human mind insists on systematizing and theology must be present to defend its own territory.
2. Previous discourses.
a) University, since it takes in all knowledges, cannot exclude theology.
b) The bearings of all sciences on each other make it impossible to teach them all thoroughly unless all are taken into account. This includes theology.
c) Important influence of theology on other sciences.
d) If theology is not taught, other sciences will encroach into its field.

Discourse V: Knowledge Its own End

Introduction
I. We will now consider that type of education imparted in virtue of the principle that knowledge is a whole of which science is a part.
1. In what sense does the teaching viewed in relation to the taught carry the attribute of utility?
2. If one science is over-emphasized, then the sciences and the boundaries of them are disturbed; corresponding effect in education, every science looks different when viewed as a part of a whole.
a) Colors look different when beside other colors.
b) Classics cause different reaction in England from that in France.
3. If all sciences are taught, the student is the gainer though he cannot study all.
a) The teachers are helped by working together.
b) Students are helped by working under such teachers and in such an atmosphere, liberal education is the result.
A. He apprehends the great outlines of knowledge.
B. He apprehends the principles it rests on.
C. He sees the scale of its parts.

Body
I. Knowledge is capable of being its own end.
1. I will not discuss the relative worth of this acquire-

ment as compared with others.

2. I will show it as an object good and worth while; in attaining it we are satisfying a need of our natures, even disregarding other advantages.
   a) Cicero recognizes such.
   b) Cato recognized the distinction; he favored what is practical.
3. Things which are cut off from everything else and issue in nothing and still live must have their end in themselves. Concerning this note the force of the epithet, Liberal, which is the popular name for the knowledge under discussion.
   a) Liberal is opposed to servile.
   b) Liberal is opposed to commercial and professional.
   c) Many things have been called liberal, even war.
   d) That is liberal which stands alone, independent of sequel. The professions because of their great ends are not such as to merit the name of liberal, Aristotle's authority.

II. Knowledge is liberal, i.e., sufficient for itself, when and so far as it is philosophical.
   1. Knowledge is philosophical when it is impregnated by reason.
   2. Knowledge may become art and end in a mechanical process and tangible fruit; this is useful knowledge.
      It may fall back on reason and then it becomes philosophy or Liberal Knowledge.
   3. Such knowledge is a personal possession a state of mind.

III. There is such knowledge and it is worth possessing for what it is; I deny that if it has no end which makes it Useful or Religious knowledge, it has no good at all and is not worth the trouble.
   1. Philosophy is often divorced from practice, cf. Rasselas.
   2. Bacon's philosophy was not heroism; his useful knowledge did its work.
   3. Liberal knowledge has done its work because it has its own end in itself.
   4. Knowledge is one thing and virtue another.
   5. Liberal education is cultivation of the intellect, its object is cultivation of the intellect, intellectual excellence.

Discourse VI: Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Learning

Summary

I. Unable to find a word to express mental or intellectual

perfection, hence many words are necessary:
1. To bring out the idea itself,
2. To recommend what is no unreasonable object,
3. To describe the particular perfection in which the object consists.

II. These terms will be used: philosophy, philosophical knowledge, enlargement of the mind.

III. University taken in its bare idea has this as its direct scope (i.e., apart from the Church and State)(This is discussed in the last discourse).
1. Intellect must have an excellence of its own.
2. Otherwise there is no point in the distinction, "useful" and "liberal."
3. Ideas of philosophical temper throw one into the idea of research and system as ends in themselves.
4. Philosophical scheme of knowledge could not from the nature of the case issue in any definite pursuit or art as its end.
5. Discovery and contemplation of truth, to which research and systematization led, were sufficient.

Introduction

I. Proceeds to inquire what this mental breadth or power consists in. Three questions to be answered:
1. Relation of intellectual culture and mere knowledge,
2. Relation of intellectual culture and professional knowledge,
3. Relation of intellectual culture and religious knowledge.

II. Common idea is that the University is a place for the acquirement of knowledge; memory is the first developed of the mental faculties.

III. Good reason for this idea; to this extent at least:
1. There is no true culture without acquirements;
2. Philosophy presupposes knowledge, but knowledge is not the whole matter.

Body

I. Present business is to show that not mere knowledge is the end of Liberal Education. Will proceed by setting down obvious examples of both.
1. Physical sciences and their order enlarge the mind.
2. History enlarges the mind.
3. Seeing the world enlarges the mind.
4. First meeting with an unbeliever enlarges the mind.
5. Religion has its own enlargement.

II. From the above examples some statements about enlargement can be made.
1. Communication of knowledge is a necessary condition.
2. Enlargement is not the mere passive reception of ideas.
3. It is the mind's energetic action on these ideas.
4. It is the action of a formative power reducing to order and meaning the material o f our acquirements.

5. It is a digestion of what we receive.
6. It is not memory alone.
7. It is not in men who have seen the world and have not generalized.

III. Enlargement of the mind does **these things.**
1. It is a power of viewing several things at once and of referring them to their true place in the universal system.
2. It is the highest state that nature can aspire to by way of intellect.
3. It puts the mind above the influences of chance and necessity.
4. It avoids:
   a) Exaggerated views of the importance of one object,
   b) Lack of principles resulting in loss of way,
   c) Lack of opinion which shows itself when things come up suddenly.
5. Such a mind cannot be partial.
6. Such a mind is patient and calm.
7. It is not the result of genius but of training and teaching.

IV. Taking as the end of intellectual training thought or reason exercised upon knowledge, we will look upon mistakes.
1. It must have these elements:
   a) Generalization,
   b) Grasp of principles.
   c) The possessor of knowledge must be above knowledge, or it will oppress, Examples:
      A. An author who is inexhaustible in his resources but pointless,
      B. Scriptural commentators who lose track of the whole.
2. Error of the past has been to force on the student so much that he has rejected all (the "smattering of everything" idea).
3. Not opposed to the education of the people.
   a) The more real education the better.
   b) Cheap scientific and literary works are fine for those who can benefit.
   c) Science and literature can be good innocent recreation.
   d) Superficial periodical science is in a sense an accomplishment.
4. Call things by their right names.
   a) Recreation is not education.
   b) A university is an Alma Mater, not a factory.

V. Prefers a university merely bringing the students together to one which has nothing but examination requirements.
1. Note the results of the public schools, great men, etc.
2. Men learn from one another.

3. Such a system gives principles of thought and action (prescinding from mental and moral issues).
4. Such gives a bond of unity, characteristic tone, recognized standards and is preferable to:
   a) Teachers with no mutual sympathy,
   b) Examiners with no opinion they dare to profess.

VI. Self education is preferable to such a system (I.e. Cf. V).
1. Self esteem that is morally bad results from self education.
2. It has breaks, deficiencies, irregularities.
3. It has confusion of principles, etc.
4. Yet more true enlargement than in:
   a) Cramming for exams,
   b) Taking a science on faith, etc.
   c) Throwing it all up in disgust when it is all over.
5. When one has learned the rudiments, it is better to learn from reading and from life.

Discourse VII: Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Professional Skill

I. Summary: Liberal education is training in which the mind is not sacrificed to some particular or accidental purpose, but is disciplined for its own sake for the perception of its own proper object.
1. This is never perfectly accomplished.
2. The university should set forth the standards in this, train according to it, and help students toward it.

II. This idea of education is attacked by great men who favor strict utility.
1. History of Oxford:
   a) Its founding;
   b) In following the spirit of the founder they did not promise to follow the ideas of those who uphold "low Utilitarianism."
2. Defenders of Oxford:
   a) Dr. Copleston vs. Playfair, Jeffrey, and Smith who wrote on the subject in their Review,
   b) Mr. Davison vs. Edgeworth's work on Professional Education, really against the northern critics who brought Edgeworth into prominence, and against a great author of a past age (Locke).
3. Attacks
   a) Locke attacks:
      A. Verse-making,
      B. Learning Latin when destined for a trade.
      C. His general tone attacks cultivation of the mind.

b) More disciples of Locke (Edinburgh Reviewers)
   A. Favor the "useful" over the Classical Literature.
   B. They differ from Locke in their favoring of science as the real end of the University.

4. Answers.
   a) Since intellectual culture is its own end, it has its use in itself.
   b) The reviewers seem to agree, in some passages, with the idea of cultivation.
   c) If a liberal education is good, it must also be useful too.
      A. We prize health for what it does as well as for what it is.
      B. I deny that we must point out a profession or a business resulting from cultivation before we can call it useful.
      C. As health is a help to labor, so is general culture a help to the professions.
      D. I do not deprecate particular studies (Law and Medicine, for example) because it is through them that a University teaches all knowledge.
   d) Authorities
      A. Copleston: Excessive specialization degrades a man; he becomes a subordinate part of some powerful machinery, though the art itself may be thereby advanced.
      B. Davison: Liberal Education is higher in utility than the Useful Education, and it is necessary for professional education.
         I. A man does not always work at his profession.
         II. There is value in the intelligent conversation; the narrow specialist is worse off in conversation.
         III. Cultivated faculties are the greatest requisite for professional ability.
         IV. A specialist is not a good judge even in his own subject (i.e., ability to "seize the strong point in it"). Judgement involves religion, ethics, history, eloquence, poetry, etc.

III. Concluding remarks: Liberal education is best for the individual and best suits him for his duties in society.
   1. It neither confines a man.
   2. Nor does it create heroes and geniuses.

Discourse VIII: Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Religion

I. Introductory remarks
   1. The educated mind is religious with a religion of its own independent of Catholicism.
   2. Catholicism here refers to pastoral instruction and moral duty.
   3. I will compare the moral and social teaching of philosophy with Catholicism.

II. Benefits the philosopher confers on the Pastors of the Church:
   1. Intellectual cultivation expels the excitement of the senses by introducing those of the intellect;
   2. Substitution of pride for sensuality can happen but not necessarily;
   3. The tastes and disciplines connected with cultivation refine the mind and give it an abhorrence for the excesses and enormities of evil.
   4. "Sensual excess (is) the holyday of resourceless ignorance."

III. To show the radical difference between mental refinement and genuine religion, I will point out the principles on which morality from refinement is based.
   1. Self reproach replaces fear with its implied law, lawgiver, and judge.
   2. It substitutes a moral sense or taste for conscience in the true meaning of the word.
   3. Note the specious nobility of the Emperor Julian.
   4. Lord Shaftesbury is a great proponent of this type of morality.
      a) He attacks the idea of reward and punishment.
      b) He upholds the idea of beauty in virtue; moral good springs from love of virtue for its own sake; this love being inspired by beauty.
      c) He claims conscience depends on taste.
      d) Ridicule is the test of truth, since truth and virtue are beauty, and vice and falsehood are deformity.

IV. Evaluation of this type of morality.
   1. Much of the above is true but only half true.
   2. It reduces itself to: "To seem becomes to be."
   3. Detection and not sin is the crime.
   4. Because it abhors deformity, where it cannot prevent vice it embellishes it.
   5. It seems to turn out more living copies of this typical excellence than Christianity, answer:
      a) The world aims to set right the surface, the Church aims to regenerate the heart;
      b) The Church aims at the necessary rather than at the desirable, Shaftesbury scoffs at the idea of saving souls.

6. Because embellishment of the exterior is the main thing in philosophic morality, it aims at modesty rather than humility.
7. Pride gets a new name - self-respect - and it ceases to be the disagreeable quality which it is in itself. It seldom shows itself though it is the motive principle of the soul, and when it shows itself it attires itself in delicacy and gentleness.
8. Because of an impatience of the tragic and the bombastic, duelling is opposed.

V. Closes with a picture of the gentleman as one who does not inflict pain (the ethical character resulting from the cultivated intellect apart from religious principles.

Discourse IX: Duties of the Church Towards Knowledge

I. Review ofpast lectures.
II. Simple recognition of Catholicism does not make a University a Catholic institution nor is it sufficient to secure the due weight of religious consideration in its philosophical studies.
   1. Danger of a peculiar bias or drift.
   2. Such institutions pursue liberal knowledge and may tend to put a philosophical theory of life and conduct in the place of revelation.
   3. There is a danger of trying to bring religion up to date (in a bad sense).
   4. These are the dangers to Revelation if the Church does not protect it:
      a) Ignoring of Revelation,
      b) Adulteration of the spirit of Catholicism.
   5. Human reason employs itself on God (Theology), Nature (Science), Man (Literature). Let us consider the influence of Letters on Religion.
      a) Physical sciences.
         A. Science and religion cannot contradict each other.
         B. Jealousy does exist between these studies, cf. Gallileo.
         C. Reasons for this opposition.
            I. The investigation in each science must be kept distinct from the other (i.e., Theology and Physical science)
            II. Differences in method: inductive and deductive.
            III. Changelessness of Revelation, etc. clashes with the scientific methods of starting from the material and

and sensible.

IV. Revelation refers to things coming after the heavens and earth were made. Nature is silent on these things, hence the imagination may be seduced.

b) Literature and Religion

A. Literature expresses man's history as science does Nature's.

B. Man is sure to sin, and his literature will express his sin.

C. Science necessarily ignores moral evil; literature may easily know and understand it too much.

D. For a literature of saints we must first have a nation of saints.

E. If we fit men for the world, we must give them the literature of the world. If you remove authors because they smell of Adam, you will make the world the student's university; he will learn outside the university.

6. The Church must not prohibit truth but it must see to it that no doctrine goes under the name of truth which cannot rightly claim the title.

7. St. Philip Neri teaches us this lesson.

III. If I have anything to do with the great undertaking which has been the occasion of these lectures, I will follow St. Philip Neri.

Chapter VIII

Apologia Pro Vita Sua
(1864)

The work of Newman's which perhaps more than any other approaches the field of true literature is his "Apologia." His own principles of literature, as set forth in his lecture by that name ("Literature") in the "Idea of a University," seem to pronounce this work to be literature. It expresses his individual personality; it delineates his feelings and mental sufferings; language in the "Apologia" is dominantly a vehicle of thought rather than of things. Almost every student of literature is somewhat familiar with it. Wilfrid Ward considers it the "most typical" of his works; it is listed among his chief prose compositions (he wrote over thirty volumes of prose); and it is often classed with the great religious autobiographies of world literature.

The "Apologia" was occasioned by that momentous pen battle between Kingsley and Newman. At the time, it aroused the attention of the reading public in a manner not easy to visualize today. Kingsley made a remark in an article in "Macmillan's Magazine" in which he attacked the truthfulness and honesty of the Roman clergy and referred to Newman as an authority. This attack came at a time of low ebb in Newman's popularity and influence; he had experienced setbacks and failures in the years immediately preceding; a sort of despondency came over him, resulting in rumors of his return to Anglicanism. This

put him at some disadvantage in the struggle with Kingsley; but added to this were other and greater problems.

> His chance lay in a battle against heavy odds. Kingsley was a widely popular writer. In accusing the Catholic priesthood of being equivocators and indifferent to truth, he had on his side the widespread prejudice of the English public of 1864. When he added to his original indictment a list of "superstitious" beliefs which Newman himself could not repudiate, he could count on still wider sympathy. 1

What were the steps leading up to the decisive battle? Newman started his defense by means of a correspondence aiming at the obtaining of what was to him an adequate apology for the insult to the Catholic priesthood as well as to himself; he was not successful; Newman suspected the sincerity of the apology and felt that its wording was inadequate in view of the enormity of the insult. Newman finally published the correspondence together with some cleverly devastating remarks on Kingsley's defense of himself. The main point of these remarks is Kingsley's inconsistency in accepting Newman's explanation after he had called him equivalently a "professor of lying." Newman also felt that Kingsley still believed that the meaning he originally attributed to the passage in question was the true one (in spite of what he said in his apology in "Macmillan's Magazine").

The outcome of this pamphlet written by Newman was Kingsley's pamphlet: "What, Then, Does Dr. Newman Mean?" The two major lines of argument are mentioned by Wilfrid Ward in the

1. Ward, Wilfrid, "Kingsley Versus Newman 1864-5" Introduction

above quotation; the details of the argument are given in the outline at the end of the chapter. Mr. Kingsley's pamphlet is in sharp contrast to Newman's general style of controversy. Kingsley is brilliant and witty but definitely inferior in logic; emotionally, his argument goes little beyond an appeal to anti-Catholic prejudice. Ward characterizes the pamphlet thus: "Every line of this pamphlet speaks of an indignant man who is convinced that he has much the best case in the dispute and who cannot bring himself to conceal his contemptuous dislike for his opponent." [1]

Such was the state of the controversy when Newman came to pit his rhetorical strength against the prejudice of his readers. More than simple explanation was required; he was not defending himself against simple logic or misunderstanding, as in the case of the letters to Pusey and the Duke of Norfolk. In the "Apologia" Newman had to fight emotional prejudice with rhetoric, not simple argument or exposition; he was equal to the task; Kingsley was crushed and he replaced himself in the position of influence he once held in English thought.

Outside of the powerful blows at the beginning and end of the original version, the bulk of the "Apologia" is not rhetoric, however; the greater part is simple, sincere, self-revealing narrative of his mental changes. This was his best defense against the charges of trickery and deceit before his

1. Ward, Wilfrid, "Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman" Vol. II, Page 11.

embracing the Catholic religion. However, the controversial value of the rhetorical sections must be be underestimated. In the first two sections he answers with brilliant irony, sarcasm, and Ad Hominem a few major arguments. After this he swings into the long narrative section; then follow quick, detailed, crushing blows against the detail in Kingsley's argument.

This brings the discussion to a subject not out of place in a treatment of this sort. A quotation from F.J.A.Hort in Bremond's book serves to introduce the topic.

> He seemed to revel in religious warfare, and as a combatant he was bitter and scornful beyond all measure....But the temptation to use his remarkable controversial powers unscrupulously must have been too strong for him; and so towards opponents, or those whom he chose to consider such, it is sadly uncommon to find him showing gentleness, or forbearance, or even common fairness. It was so both at Oxford and in his early Roman Catholic days. Then came the collision with Kingsley - a tragic and shameful business. Kingsley was much to blame for his recklessly exaggerated epigram, though it had but too sad a foundation of truth. Newman's reply, however, was sickening to read, from the cruelty and insolence with which he trampled on his assailant. Kingsley's rejoinder was bad enough but not so horribly un-Christian. 1

Bremond seems to agree with the general tenor of this criticism. What is to be said of this? First of all, for a full discussion of the problem see Wilfrid Ward's introduction to the Oxford University Press edition. It deals dominantly with Newman's own attitude and actions. Newman had wide experience with this sort of anti-Catholic prejudice, its emotional basis

1. Hort, F.J.A., "Life and Letters of F.J.A.Hort" quoted in "The Mystery of Newman" Bremond, Henri, Page 49.

and its refusal to die; he felt this was the way to fight it. His wide experience taught him this: simple denial is not believed; but if harshness or invective is used, it is believed though the harsh words are attacked. He felt similarly in the affair concerning the " Apologia"; he had something to crush and an indignant tone would be believed. Personally, he felt no animosity toward Kingsley; he expilicitly said so; and when Kingsley died, he said a Mass for his soul. Even more important than these points is the fact that Newman struck out parts I & II of the "Apologia" from the permanent version; what was anger of the moment he felt should not be repeated in"cold blood."

A view of the works themselves does not warrant the above criticism. After a comparison with Kingsley's remarks Newman seems rather restrained at times and at others justly indignant. He tells us himself why he seems to be overdoing the refutation.

> What is the use of going on with this Writer's criticisms upon me, when I am confined to the dull monotony of exposing and oversetting him again and again, with a persistence, which many will think merciless, and few will have the interest to read? Yet I am obliged to do so, lest I seem to be evading difficulties. (Pages 335-6)

Newman wanted to set at rest this sort of attack; he wanted his refutation to be as final as such a thing can be. From his correspondence of the period, there is much to indicate that criticism, suspicion, and misunderstanding of his acts had been for years constant and outspoken.

If in spite of all this, one still thinks Newman crushed his opponent too completely and overdid his defense of truth, it must be remembered that he was human and the "Apology" may have been the fruit of rebellion expressed in the language of agony in a passage referring to similar circumstances in the days of Littlemore (after Tract 90).

> Why will you not let me die in peace? Wounded brutes creep into some hole to die in, and no one grudges it them. Let me alone, I shall not trouble you long. This was the keen heavy feeling which pierced me, and, I think, these are the very words which I used to myself. (Page 209)

Finally, it must be remembered that if Newman was anything, he was sincere; there is good reason to believe he found this sort of writing distasteful and went to it only at the call of duty. From his correspondence it is clear that many personal attacks he did ignore; he wrote this at the call of duty.

Because this work is dominantly not rhetoric, the outline has been omitted; because of this omission, a glance at the general outline of thought will be incorporated into the discussion of argumentation.

Part I is a bitter, sarcastic, humorous attack on Kingsley's method of arguing. To understand the argument here, one must grasp the fact that Kingsley had apologized to Newman and had therefore declared him to be honest up to that date; hence Kingsley says that he cannot honestly or logically prove Newman's dishonesty from anything written before the date of the apology. Kingsley, therefore, argues thus: since Newman is not

dishonest (i.e., a knave) then he is a fool. This is the phase of the argument that Newman attacks in this section.

> He does not commit himself to a definite accusation against me, such as requires definite proof and admits of definite refutation; for he has two strings to his bow;- when he is thrown off his balance on the one leg, he can recover himself by the use of the other. If I demonstrate that I am not a knave, he may exclaim, "Oh, but you are a fool!" and when I demonstrate that I am not a fool, he may turn round and retort, "Well, then, you are a knave." (Page 24)

Also note this combination of Ad Hominem and Reductio ad Absurdum in which he refers to Kingsley's attack on him as a fool.

> This is what he really meant in his letter to me of January 14, when he withdrew his charge of my being dishonest. He said, "The tone of your letters, even more than their language, makes me feel, to my very deep pleasure,"- what? that you have gambled away your reason, that you are an intellectual sot, that you are a fool in a frenzy. And in his Pamphlet, he gives us this explanation why he did not say this to my face, viz., that he had been told I was "in weak health, "and was "averse to controversy," pp. 6 and 8. He "felt some regret for having disturbed me."
> (Page 25)

Newman attacks with bitterness the fact that Kingsley feels obliged to attack him as a fool, now that the charge of knavery has been withdrawn.

> "Vain man!" he seems to make answer, "What simplicity in you to think so! If you have not broken one commandment, let us see whether we cannot convict you of the breach of another. If you are not a swindler or forger, you are guilty of arson or burglary. By hook or by crook you shall not escape. Are you to suffer or I? What does it matter to you who are going off the stage, to receive a slight additional daub upon a character so deeply stained already? But think of me, the immaculate lover of Truth, so observant (as I have told you p. 8) of 'hault courage and strict honour' - and (aside) - 'and not as this publican'-

> do you think I can let you go scot free instead of myself? No; noblesse oblige. Go to the shades, old man, and boast that Achilles sent you thither."
> (Page 26)

But worse than this, Kingsley finally ends up by calling Newman a knave after all; Newman quotes twelve instances in which Kingsley insinuates this conclusion; he shows it further in this piece of Ad Hominem referring to Kingsley's concession that he was honest.

> ... at the very time that he is recording this magnanimous resolution, he lets it out of the bag that his relinquishing of it is only a profession and a pretence; for he says, p. 8: "I have accepted Dr. Newman's denial that [the Sermon] means what I thought it did; and heaven forbid" (oh!) "that I should withdraw my word once given, at whatever disadvantage to myself." Disadvantage! but nothing can be advantageous to him which is untrue; therefore in proclaiming that the concession of my honesty is a disadvantage to him, he thereby implies unequivocally that there is some probability still, that I am dishonest. (Pages 29-30)

The final point in Part I is Newman's attack on Kingsley's "poisoning of the wells"; this seems to be dominantly Ad Hominem also.

> ...what I insist upon here, now that I am bringing this portion of my discussion to a close, is this unmanly attempt of his, in his concluding pages, to cut the ground from under my feet;- to poison by anticipation the public mind against me, John Henry Newman, and to infuse into the imagination of my readers, suspicion and mistrust of every thing that I may say in reply to him. This I call poisoning the wells.
> (Page 34)

Such in general, is the thought and treatment of thought in PartI; it is perhaps the most bitter and most personal of Newman's attacks on Kingsley. As is evident, the dominant type of refutation is Ad Hominem. In a situation such as this one

this type of refutation is the most telling; it arrests the attention of the reader, and by pointing out the unfairness of Kingsley, it prepares the reader to follow more attentively the narrative which is to follow shortly.

Here are a few figures and devices not so closely related to the outline of thought. In this example of irony he is referring to Kingsley's refusal, as a matter of honor, to prove Newman's dishonesty from anything preceding the official apology.

> What a princely mind! How loyal to his rash promise, how delicate towards the subject of it, how conscientious in his interpretation of it! (Page 30)

Simile:

> Now I ask, Why could not Mr. Kingsley be open? If he intended still to arraign me on the charge of lying, why could he not say so as a man? Why must he insinuate, question, imply, and use sneering and irony, as if longing to touch a forbidden fruit, which still he was afraid would burn his fingers if he did so? (Page 30)

In the above note also: emotional expansion, anaphora, and the use of the rhetorical question. Note this metaphor which he extended and developed in the latter section of Part I:

> I say it with shame and with stern sorrow; - he has attempted a great transgression; he has attempted (as I may call it) <u>to poison the wells</u>. (Page 33)

This transition is significant:

> And now I am in a train of thought higher and more serene than any which slanders can disturb. Away with you, Mr. Kingsley, and fly into space. Your name shall occur again as little as I can help, in the course of these pages. I shall henceforth occupy myself not with you, but with your charges. (Page 36)

In Part II Newman goes on to discuss the true manner of meeting the arguments of Mr. Kingsley; he tells us that it is in the charge of untruthfulness that he finds reason to occupy himself. Before he plunges into this, he removes this sort of attack from consideration (another Ad Hominem):

> I confine myself then, in these pages, to the charge of Untruthfulness; and I hereby cart away, as so much rubbish, the impertinences, with which the Pamphlet of Accusation swarms. I shall not think it necessary here to examine, whether I am "worked into a pitch of confusion," or have "carried self-deception to perfection," or am "anxious to show my credulity," or am "in a morbid state of mind,"..... (and so on for eighteen lines more) (Page 39)

After this Newman takes up "Wisdom and Innocence," the sermon used by Kingsley to show that the Roman clergy do not consider truth a virtue. Newman had already answered that this was a Protestant sermon. Kingsley retorted in his major pamphlet (see outline, II,2,a), page 133) that it is a Romish sermon and uses as proof the fact that Newman opposed the name Protestant when the sermon was written. In the part of the "Apologia" now under discussion Newman answers this partly by an Ad Hominem; he accuses Kingsley of incomplete enumeration of alternatives.

> My Accuser, indeed, says that "it must always be remembered that it is not a Protestant <u>but</u> a Romish Sermon." He implies, and, I suppose, he thinks, that not to be a Protestant is to be a Roman; he may say so, if he pleases, but so did not say that large body who have been called by the name of Tractarians, as all the world knows. The movement proceeded on the very basis of denying that position which my Accuser takes for granted that I allowed. (Page 41)

After this Newman goes on to show a third alternative:

that it was an Anglo-Catholic Sermon and hence not Romish; Newman's argument is thus unimpaired; Kingsley cannot take an Anglo-Catholic, non-Romish sermon as speaking for the Roman clergy. The real introduction to the great part of this work, the part which he himself considers worthy of being remembered, starts with this as an introduction; he uses as a stepping stone to the main "Apologia" the idea that many considered he was Romish when he wrote the sermon in question.

> It is not he alone who entertains, and has entertained, such an opinion of me and my writings. It is the impression of large classes of men; the impression twenty years ago and the impression now. There has been a general feeling that I was for years where I had no right to be; that I was a "Romanist" in Protestant livery and service; that I was doing the work of a hostile Church in the bosom of the English Establishment, and knew it, or ought to have known it. There was no need of arguing about particular passages in my writings, when the fact was so patent, as men thought it to be. (Page 45)

This is why he decides that the best way to meet Kingsley is to lay bare his life with simplicity and sincerity and show how mistaken Kingsley and so many others were.

Of major interest in a discussion of Newman's rhetoric is the appendix. The main narrative pertains more to true literature than to rhetoric and does not lend itself to the type of examination and evaluation used in this thesis. The appendix, however, is the overwhelming refutation of Kingsley; there is little in the way of lengthy rhetorical development; most dominant is the refutation by denial and Ad Hominem. In some cases, where necessary, lengthy positive proof is added.

In cogency the section is overwhelming; perhaps this is the section which caused the criticism that Newman crushed Kingsley too thoroughly. In it the reader is startled to find with what ease Newman topples over arguments which seemed rather unanswerable in Kingsley's pamphlet; the point is, however, that either Kingsley misunderstood an argument, missed its point, or failed to glance at the context; in several cases Kingsley garbled passages. Of course the bulk of Kingsley's argument when subjected to examination without the help of Newman, is found to be very shallow and inconclusive; but a few points did seem well defended.

In structure the appendix is divided into 39 Blots, note the allusion to the 39 Articles. A glance at a few will give an idea of how they are handled.

> This is not the case. I have neither given a definition, nor implied one, nor intended one; nor could I either now or in 1843-'4, or at any time, allow of the particular definition he ascribes to me. As if all Christians must be monks or nuns!
> What I have said is, that monks and nuns are patterns of Christian perfection; and that Scripture itself supplies us with this pattern. Who can deny this? Who is bold enough to say that St. John Baptist, who, I suppose, is a Scripture Character, is not a pattern-monk; and that Mary, who "sat at our Lord's feet," was not a pattern-nun?.....
> This is Blot <u>one</u>. (Page 306)

Note the use of denial and Ad Hominem:

> Now then for Blot <u>two</u>.
> "Monks and nuns are the <u>only</u> perfect Christians.. what more?"-p. 9. A second fault in logic. I said no more than that monks and nuns were perfect Christians: he adds, <u>Therefore</u> "monks and nuns are the <u>only</u> perfect Christians." Monks and nuns are <u>not</u> the only perfect Christians; I never thought so or

said so, now or at any other time. (Pages 306-7)

He asserts, p. 9, that I said in the Sermon in question, that "Sacramental Confession and the celibacy of the clergy are 'notes' of the Church." And, just before, he puts the word "notes" in inverted commas, as if it were mine. That is, he garbles. It is not mine. Blot five. (Page 307)

This is a brief picture of the nature of the appendix; some of the "Blots" are of greater length; some are more cogent. Note the irony here:

"Dr. Newman," he says, "might have said to the Author of the Life of St. Augustine, when he found him, in the heat and haste of youthful fanaticism, outraging historic truth and the law of evidence, 'This must not be,'" - p. 20

Good. This juvenile was past 40, - well, say 39. Blot seventeen. "This must not be." This is what I ought to have said, it seems! And then, you see, I have not the talent and never had, of some people, for lecturing my equals, much less men twenty years older than myself.

But again, the author of St. Augustine's Life distinctly says in his Advertisement, "No one but himself is responsible for the way in which these materials have been used." Blot eighteen. (Page 328)

DETAILED OUTLINE

What, Then, Does Dr. Newman Mean?
By the Rev. Charles Kingsley

I. Before commenting I must give an account of the circumstances leading to this controversy which seem to have been misunderstood.
   1. In an article in "Macmillan's Magazine" I said: "Truth for its own sake had been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not....."
   2. I based this on his sermon, "Wisdom and Innocence" No. XX in "Sermons on Subjects of the Day."
   3. Dr. Newman complained of this as a slander.
   4. Upshot of the correspondence was my apology published in "Macmillan's Magazine." My object was peace because I thought Dr. Newman wanted peace.
   5. Dr. Newman changed his tone, printed the correspondence together with reflexions on it, and tried to convict me of not having believed the accusations I made.

II. There remains nothing for me to do but justify my mistake.
   1. From the terms of my explanation I cannot prove my assertion from anything he wrote before the 1st of February for I declared him to be an honest man up to that time.
   2. But in self justification I have the right to put before the public so much of the sermon and the rest of his writings as will show why I formed so harsh an opinion of him then.
      a) As to "Wisdom and Innocence,"
         A. It is a Romish sermon because:
            I. He gives the monk and the nun as examples of the scriptural pattern of Christianity;
            II. He gives sacramental confession and celibacy as notes of the Church.
         B. In this sermon he tells how Christians must defend themselves and how they get their reputation for cunning. In so doing he says what amounts to the statement that truth is not a virtue for its own sake but for the spread of Catholic opinion, and that heaven allows them cunning with which to defend themselves against Protestants.
         C. The evil results of this are seen in one of his disciples, Mr. Ward, who in his "Ideal of a Christian Church" says that "candour" does not go with a "saintly mind."
         D. Errors, such as mine, viz., that Newman knew the practical results of his words and meant

what they seem to say, are due to his method.

I. As a member of the Church of England he dealt with matters dark and forbidden, at least according to the notions of the great majority of English Churchmen.

II. He chose a style which he admits the world associates with dishonesty.

E. There is no distrust of Catholics as such, as he implies on page ten of his pamphlet.

I. At the time of the Gunpowder Plot feeling did run high.

II. There is no distrust now except of proselytizing priests and of men who, like Newman, have turned upon their mother-Church with contumely and slander.

b) Tract 90 I shall not bring forward, but:

A. In some sections he seems to make some Articles say what they were not meant to say.

B. I saw in the tract a danger to the writer: if he continued to use his mind in this way, he would either lose his sense of conscious truthfulness and become dishonest, or he would destroy his unconscious truthfulness and become a slave to his own logic, really his own fancy. I thought he became the former, now I see he became the latter.

c) Lives of the English Saints are a public outrage to historical truth and common sense.

A. Some of the statements in the "Life of St. Augustine" to which he gave his sanction could easily lead one to believe he did not care for truth for its own sake.

B. The "Life of St. Walburga" he connects himself to formally. It is the most offensive of all. He tells us much that is nonsense.

C. He shows similar lack of common sense in the "Present Position" when he discusses the holy coat of Treves, the liquification of the blood of St. Januarius, and the motion of the eyes of the pictures of the Madonna in the Roman States.

D. In the case of St. Walburga he gives as a miracle what historically was none at all.

d) "Lectures on Anglican Difficulties"

A. In Lecture VIII, he attacks wilful untruths in the face of the permissions to do it which Roman casuists explain. He extols the "magical powers" of his Church at the expense of natural virtue. In this he strikes at all morality. He says that thefts meriting trans-

portation can be pardoned by private contrition.

B. In Lecture IX he points out that faith and works are separable, and that poor wretches may be without works and still have faith whereby they are better off than Protestants.

e) In "Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations" two especially exemplify what is being shown: "The Glories of Mary for the Sake of Her Son," and "On the Fitness of the Glories of Mary."

A. He says that the Blessed Virgin was inspired first of womankind to dedicate her virginity to God. What about Buddhist Nuns?

B. He says that the world "blasphemes" Mary.

f) Volume of sermons, "Chiefly on the Theory of Religious Belief," a sermon called "On the Theory of Developments in Religious Doctrine."

A. Historical truth is undermined.

B. Physical truth is undermined.

C. He tries to tell us that we can know nothing with certainty and must take blindly what the Church teaches. The Church teaches by half-truths or "economy" and is not bound to in fact cannot tell the whole truth.

D. This is not conscious dishonesty. It is simple credulity, the child of skepticism.

3. Written after the 1st of February, "Reflexions"

a) He puts the word, "Protestant," into my mouth; I would not call him such; he was teaching his disciples at the time to repudiate and scorn the title.

b) If he was a priest when he delivered the sermon does not matter, but it is clear he was speaking of Romish priests when he referred to a celibate clergy.

c) On the title page he committed an "economy"; he omitted four words of mine: "for its own sake."

d) He tries to show that I did not believe the accusation when I made it.

e) He asks why I believe his denial; I do not know, since after the 1st of February he is a convert to the economic views of St. Alfonso da Liguori. At this point Kingsley attacks the view of the "Roman Casuists" on truth and lying, etc.

4. Dr. Newman says that Catholics and Protestants agree in their views of the substance of the moral virtues, but differ in detail and application to human conduct. I say that he has slandered the Catholic gentry; I find that they do not differ in detail from Protestants in truthfulness.

III. So I leave Dr. Newman fearing that if he continues to "economize" and divide the words of his adversary as he has done mine, he will be in danger of forfeiting again his reputation for honesty.

Abstract of Thesis:

Newman, the Rhetorician

The thesis discusses Newman as he applied, in his major works, the precepts of rhetoric. Today, rhetoric has a wide meaning, involving, in general, excellence in prose composition. The older more classical meaning will be followed here. Rhetoric is persuasive speech; persuasive speech aims at moving the hearers to action and differs from simple conviction which aims merely at mental acceptance of a proposition.

Newman's life covered the whole of the Nineteenth Century. During this time he was influential in the Oxford Movement and in the Catholic revival in England. As an Anglican he wrote sermons which interest us; as a Catholic he wrote also controversial works and lectures which interest us in this thesis. He wrote "Twelve Lectures" to help Anglicans; he wrote to Dr. Pusey explaining Catholic doctrines on the Blessed Virgin, and to the Duke of Norfolk on Papal Infallibility; these three works are widely separated in time, but they are discussed together since they are printed together in the present standard edition, and since they have also an internal unity, viz., unity of aim. "The Present Position of Catholics" aimed at quieting the outbreak of anti-Catholic prejudice. "The Idea of a University" is just what the title implies; Newman wrote these lectures as an outcome of his Rectorship of the new Catholic University in Dublin. The "Apologia" defended himself and his

fellow priests against Kingsley.

Newman did not care particularly for this sort of writing; it was to him a matter of duty. However, this did not prevent his doing a very thorough and masterly piece of work. In view of the subject of this thesis it is worthwhile noting that Newman never aimedat ornamentation or rhetoric; he did strive very hard to put into words what he found in his mind.

In Newman's theory on preaching much of the above is treated; but in that he also mentions the aim of the preacher, viz., to do some spiritual good. "The Parochial and Plain Sermons" are simple and restrained; they were written before his conversion. Those after his conversion, "Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations" and "Sermons on Various Occasions," are characterized by vigor and self-confidence. The greatest of all the sermons is the "Second Spring"; reading it is like reading a poem because of its beauty of imagery and because of its rhythmic prose.

"Difficulties of Anglicans," as said above, in its standard edition includes three sections. The "Twelve Lectures" were intended primarily to persuade and to lead to the Catholic Church those who were on the verge of coming over. The point of special interest in these is emotional expansion and development; they furnish examples of the inductive method, the presenting of instances leading to a general conclusion. The last five lectures are in his regular style of refutation; the first seven are aggressive controversy.

The "Letter to Rev. Pusey" belongs to this group. It was occasioned by Pusey's "Eirenicon" in which Pusey confused ideas on Catholic doctrine. In a masterpiece of tactful refutation Newman explained his errors; Pusey had been a good friend of Newman's.

The "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk," the last of this trilogy, consists of approximately 150 pages of closely argued history and theology. It is more hard hitting and less tactful than that to Dr. Pusey. Newman had to face and set straight theerrors of a politician dabbling in theology. Gladstone had attempted to attack the loyalty of Catholics on the grounds of Papal Authority. This work is at times satirical, always powerfully logical.

"The Present Position of Catholics in England" aimed at the alleviation of the emotional tension occasioned by the reestablishment of the Catholic hierarchy. It was addressed to the common people and is interesting for that reason alone. Its style is simple and an understanding of it requires no introductory course in Church history or theology. Rhetorically it is dominated by brilliant Ad Hominem, Reductio ad Absurdum, humor, satire, irony, etc. It can be read for enjoyment. Especially humorous is Newman's description of the reaction of the populace at the building of the oratory; the people were on the look-out for torture rooms, etc. where he had decided the food would be stored. The work is still read; a 1925 edition was put out and edited for class room use.

The "Idea of a University" is a series of lectures and essays growing out of Newman's position as Rector of the Irish Catholic University in Dublin. The first nine lectures deal with that subject so much talked about and so often deprecated today, mental culture or liberal education. The other lectures are on more or less miscellaneous subjects, such as the nature of literature, the relation of the Church to scientific investigation. Especially important rhetorically is the technique of exposition (the lectures and essays are dominantly expository). Arguments from analogy abound, and much opportunity is furnished for the study of how to use abstract and concrete words, etc., to the best advantage. Of special interest is the work on "University Preaching" here Newman reveals something of his technique. He emphasizes two things: strive not for earnestness or eloquence; strive for your object, the spiritual good of the hearers, and those things will follow.

The "Apologia Pro Vita Sua" is a defense of his own honesty and that of his fellow priests against Kingsley's most unmannerly attack. After knocking down two of Kingsley's arguments in the first part, Newman plunges into an intimate spiritual autobiography which ranks with the greatest in all world literature. To the student of rhetoric the first and last parts are of special interest. In the first part he shows clever refutation, but it is in the appendix or Thirty-Nine Blots that one finds short, sharp, crushing blows against Kingsley's arguments which are a joy to any young student of

debating who has ever spoken in rebuttal. The arguments are positively devastating. Wilfrid Ward characterizes some of the "Apologia" thus: some of Newman's ideas did lend themselves to studied criticism, but Kingsley did not even enter into them. To a reader of Kingsley's pamphlet it is evident that he never tried to understand Newman. In return, Newman was able to hit him hard; in some sections in a personal way which has been severely criticised by some critics. What can be said in defense of Newman on this score has been said by Wilfrid Ward in his introduction to the Oxford University Press Edition of "Kingsley Versus Newman."

The student of rhetoric cannot afford to neglect Newman. Newman shows a power over language positively uncanny; he was always master of it and he whipped it into shape to express his thoughts. This much is evident from reading him; but in addition to this internal evidence one must never forget the judgement of posterity; he had a phenomenal success in his day which is remarkable maintained now.

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