



"EX UMBRIS ET IMAGINIBUS IN VERITATEM"
("Out of the Shadows into Reality")

A CRITICAL, COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA
OF JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN
AND THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN STUART MILL

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PREFACE

John Henry Cardinal Newman and John Stuart Mill are two great Victorians who have chosen to reveal themselves by their autobiographies. With time both men and their achievements have been brought into clearer perspective. Viewed as a whole, the Victorian Age exhibits a display of patterns and writers as prolific as it is varied. Newman and Mill as outstanding examples of nineteenth century English thinking qualify well for a comparative study in an age of such diverse activity.

What is permanent in Newman's best works may be more clearly seen as one gets farther from the century in which he lived. Thus his own slogan regarding his works may be verified in our day, "Ex Umbris et Imaginibus in Veritatem"—"Out of the Shadows into Reality." Even in the course of a generation men have begun to recognize him as a living voice, not of his creed alone, but also of other creeds. Newman stood for tolerance, and his great masterpiece, the Apologia pro Vita Sua, remains as a monument to his integrity and tolerant magnanimity.

John Stuart Mill, an autobiographer who combined great learning and scholarship with a keen insight into contemporary affairs, was chosen as Newman's counterpart for this study. He has won for himself enduring fame in the economic world. His publication of his treatise "Logic" met with great and immediate success and established him as the leader of the empirical school of thought in England. This work holds its position still as a standard reference on the subject. In the last five consecutive years his works have been listed in the Great Books of the World.

The writer wishes to express her appreciation to the members of her community, the Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood. Special indebtedness is acknowledged to Dr. Agnes Berrigan, acting head of the English department at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, for valuable guidance, and in particular, to Dr. William Newton, her original adviser in this study. Likewise thanks to Professor John R. Cunningham of the A. and M. Architectural department for constant encouragement and for the original plates of Newman. Thanks and appreciation are also due to the library staff for helpful service and courtesies.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

DEFINITION OF THE SUBJECT

Spanning with their autobiographies almost the entire nineteenth century, are two notable Victorians, John Henry Cardinal Newman (1801-1890) and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873). Both were vitally interested in the development of ideas and exerted, by reason of the principles which they themselves held and advanced, a wide-spread influence in their own time and in subsequent years.

This study attempts to examine Newman's masterpiece, the Apologia pro Vita Sua, as a specimen of mental analysis and to compare significant findings with those inherent in the similarly developed Autobiography of his famous contemporary, John Stuart Mill. By mental analysis is meant the study of the mental attitudes, their gradual change as they contributed to the development of the whole mind of each autobiographer. With some exceptions, both men were much in tune with their time, having emerged from a decline that preceded their age. They show in the one case a vigorous spiritual life and in the latter a revolutionary movement of political and economic thought.

In respect to religion, the relation of the Victorian Age to the spirit of reform is very significant. The aspect presented is far different from that exhibited by politics and economics. The science of politics lends itself to compromise. The co-existence and opposition of a powerful school of rationalism and of the religious spirit of reform give a supreme interest to the literature of the nineteenth century.

Evident in the writings of both men is that pervading spirit of the age, with its "heightened energy and productiveness"¹ which gained impetus through the new ideas they disseminated.

DATA AND SOURCES

Chiefly supporting the conclusions of this study are first-hand sources, including the Apologia pro Vita Sua (1865 version edited by Daniel M. O'Connell, S.J.). This edition, published by the Loyola University Press, Chicago, carrying a foreword written by Hilaire Belloc, will be used for all direct quotations. Two other editions examined are the Oxford University Press edition of 1931, with an introduction by Wilfrid Ward, and the newer 1947 edition with a preface and introduction by Charles Frederick Harrold, published by Longmans, Green and Company.

The Autobiography of John Stuart Mill was published from the original manuscript in the Columbia University Library, New York, with a preface by Jacob Coss, in 1924. Other works of the autobiographers were read and consulted. Commentaries and critical works include John Henry Newman by Charles Frederick Harrold; Tennyson, Ruskin, and Mill by Frederic Harrison; Life of John Henry Newman by Wilfrid Ward (two volumes); Charles Darwin and Other English Thinkers by S. Parkes Cadman; The Art of Newman's 'Apologia' by Walter E. Houghton; Newman as a Man of Letters by Joseph J. Reilly, as well as historical accounts of the national life and outlook of nineteenth century England.

Primary sources were chiefly used in the study to locate significant similarities and dissimilarities in the development of the mental attitudes of the two men. Pertinent English nineteenth century thought

¹Hugh Walker, The Literature of the Victorian Age, (Cambridge, 1931), p. 3.

which influenced or conditioned the writings of the autobiographers in the areas of politics, education, religion, philosophy, and economics was explored. This material was used as a basis for conjecturing the continuing validity of both the autobiographies and their authors.

DELIMITATIONS

This comparative study was limited to the consideration of the autobiography of John Henry Cardinal Newman and of John Stuart Mill as records of mental development of great Victorian minds. In this study the writer is not concerned with the autobiographies as a literary type or as a kind of biography.

Originally the Apologia pro Vita Sua, written in response to Charles Kingsley's vehement attack, not only on Newman's veracity, but also on that of the entire Catholic Church, appeared in seven parts between April 21 and June 2, 1864. Of these Parts I and II, being for the most part controversial, were omitted in Newman's revised edition, except only the latter pages of Part II, which are subjoined to the preface, as being necessary for the due explanation of the subsequent five parts. The edition such as Newman revised will be used in analyzing gradual changes in the development of Newman's mental attitudes.

The Autobiography of John Stuart Mill, unlike Newman's account, was written free from the strain of pressure of time and energy. Mill's purpose was to show the growth of an intellect in the midst of his age. Primarily his work is a record of the social history of England in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, and it affords a record of how early, how intimate, and how profound were the effects of Bentham and Comte's work upon his mind. While this study does not pretend to trace the influences of these earlier men upon Mill, yet the modified

attitudes resulting therefrom will be indicated in so far as he commits himself in his Autobiography.

REASONS FOR AND PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY

By means of comparison and contrast, this study aims to show the gradual development of two great minds. By the use of John Stuart Mill as a counterpart similarities and dissimilarities would stand out in bolder relief than by devoting the study to Newman's personality and work individually. Some of the significant qualities of John Stuart Mill evident in his life and writing become more apparent also by contrast.

In order to show the gradual changes in their mental attitudes and the influence of these men in their own time and in years to come citations have been taken chiefly from primary sources, their autobiographies. It has been assumed that the greatest reception and circulation of their works at the present time is among intellectuals in colleges and universities, who may be responsible for the future continuing validity of both works.

In serving as a counterpart for Newman, John Stuart Mill, with something of the same questioning intellect, the same love of logic, the same precision of expression in thought, living approximately during the same period, seemed to meet the need most nearly. Discussion of Mill's position in the world of thought suggested possibilities for an interesting and useful comparison and contrast when counterbalanced with Newman's intellectual and spiritual development.

CHAPTER II

GENERALIZATION OF THESIS AND SIGNIFICANCE

In making a study of two writers of the Victorian Age, we might well use Lytton Strachey's excuse in writing Eminent Victorians, for he implies that the period is so varied and so far-reaching that the greatest differences in patterns are to be found, and that "it would be futile to hope to give even a précis of the truth about the Victorian Age, for the shortest précis must fill innumerable volumes. Hence by using a searchlight on several men as he did in his book, some visions heretofore undivined may be presented to the reader."¹

Its conscious and deliberate participation in the thought, feeling, and action of the time gave Victorian literature distinctive merit. In spite of the belittling of the achievements and spirit by those who lived too near the century to estimate it, the Victorian Age does command respect. "When the ephemeral injustice of reaction has spent itself," says the distinguished French scholar Cazamian, "the Victorian Age will probably come to be looked upon as the most powerful and the greatest among the periods of English culture."²

In a sense the Victorian Age was a paradoxical age, being a period of criticism and revolutionary minds and a reign of peace. Exemplifying the period in a critical and revolutionary manner are both Newman and Mill. The results of their "War of minds," like that of the Age, produced some of the most varied and intellectual writings found in any

¹Lytton Strachey, Eminent Victorians (New York, 1918), p. vi.

²Louis Cazamian, A History of English Literature (New York, 1927), II, 325.

literary period. Chiefly the literature reflected the pressing social problems and the philosophies of this complex era.

Generally speaking, both Newman and Mill were revolutionaries. In a broad sense their chief interest was the same--an unselfish desire to make the world better. On the one hand, John Stuart Mill, through new philosophies of government, economic freedom, and equality, sought materials and values which might be adjusted to the temporal benefit of the masses. On the other hand, Newman was determined to restore to the people those fundamental principles of religious belief and practice with which he believed their true welfare was ultimately bound. These principles as taught by the National Church, he maintained, had been overlooked, forgotten, and even disbelieved by contemporary nineteenth century Englishmen.

As Englishmen, both men naturally gave their first consideration to the English people. Still, even among their own, both men met with difficulties as they battled for Truth as they saw it. Despite the fact that both were laboring for the public good, each, being identified as a leader of an unpopular movement, was to find opposition directed at his own person. That both men had to face misunderstanding was perhaps natural, but in Newman's case, after the publication of Tract XC, misunderstanding was followed by the defection of the majority of his followers. Of these some were only bewildered; others, however, grown indignant, turned persecutors. Consequently in the Apologia the one-time Anglican leader addressed himself especially to the confused and the hostile, in an attempt to explain his thought and action.

Accordingly, the conditions under which this autobiography was written were much different from those surrounding Mill's account of

himself. Granting that the latter had aroused contention in many quarters by his ideas, still the fact remains that public sentiment against him, even when most intense, amounted to little more than strong disagreement or dissent. Mill, protected by the objective, impersonal, and debatable nature of his subject matter, was spared the personal animosity as a result of the necessity of self-justification which was directed against Newman. Mill's autobiography seems rather to have been motivated by a desire to record the facts of an unusual life, highlighting especially the phases of the unusual education which had been his.

In reply to a personal letter, commenting on the two men, the eminent Bishop Fulton J. Sheen states that Mill and Newman both depreciated rational knowledge, Newman by his glorification of the illative sense, Mill by his attack on the syllogism. At the same time, however, Bishop Sheen is aware of a twofold difference: first, a superficial difference which produced entirely different men because of a search for God in one instance and a neglect of Him in another; secondly, a fundamental difference: Mill in his idea of liberty stressed the individual as against the Natural Law. Newman, however, moved toward liberty as manifested in the Natural Law, in Tradition, and finally in the Church.

The Apologia, Newman's spiritual autobiography, contains a story of his change of religious opinions from childhood until he was received into the Catholic Church in 1845. The act of reviewing some of his most delightful and some of his most painful years, the mental exhaustion from consulting innumerable letters and papers and the amazing speed with which he wrote his longest book (562 pages), made the ten weeks of the spring of 1864 the most enervating period of his life.

Mill's Autobiography, written in the last years of his life with

none of the haste and mental anguish that Newman contended with, is the modest yet resolute presentation of a life witnessing "indefatigable industry, conscientious effort, and beautiful ideals."³ Though he was brought up in absolute indifference to religion, Mill was of a religious nature, as the world was to learn with the posthumous publication of his three essays "Nature," "The Utility of Religion," and "Theism."

Of these two books, Newman's Apologia reveals by far the greater depth and completeness, embracing as it does, although with few personal facts, the whole man, his intellectual, emotional, and spiritual growth from his youth until after his reception into the Roman Catholic Church. Indeed, Newman professes to aim at such completeness. Mill's Autobiography, however, presents a personal history, intense, but limited to little more than an intellectual portrayal. Still, it must be said from the outset, that to know his mind is to know Mill, for intellect dominated, almost absorbed as it were, the whole of his personality.

Newman was primarily a very gifted man who used all his talents to bring the nineteenth century Anglican Church to the high standard that had characterized it during its early history. Newman refers to this: "I do not know when I first learned to consider that antiquity was the true exponent of the doctrines of Christianity and the basis of the Church of England; but I take it for granted that the works of Bishop Bull, which at that time I read, were my chief introduction to the principle."⁴ He believed the English Church should function so that it

³Frederic Harrison, Tennyson, Ruskin, Mill (New York, 1902), p. 302.

⁴John Henry Cardinal Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua (Chicago, 1930), p. 44.

could be rightly called a church; the church should provide true leadership for the people, so that through this means the God-given gifts intended for her spiritual children might be granted.

Besides trying to justify his objection concerning the church, he decided to recreate the visible church that his romantic ideas envisioned. "I felt affection for my own church, but not tenderness. I felt dismay at her prospects, anger and scorn at her do-nothing perplexity ... I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her ... I ever kept before me that there was something greater than the Established Church, and set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and the organ. She was nothing unless she was this."⁵ Newman's concern was not for his own pleasure but for the people of the church of England, for all people in whom he was sincerely interested. The ideal was selfless.

Mill, too, was guided by an ideal that was probably quite as selfless. He was bent on bettering the condition of society. As a classical logician, he attempted through logic to evolve a political and economic system which would aid the people. Uncertain as to the supernatural realities, he put his faith in the idea that the best system of human thought and action is the one that benefits the people as a whole—and not any particular class or individual. He found suited to his purposes Bentham's ethical doctrine that the greatest good would be found in those things which contributed to the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people. Mill developed at first along the straight line of this philosophy advocated by the followers of Bentham and his

⁵Ibid., p. 49.

father. He had depended exclusively on his father's teaching, but he was to learn that such teaching, though broad in a sense, was incomplete.

In his Autobiography Mill speaks of the spiritual crisis through which he passed at the age of twenty. He escaped from this mood of discouragement by a study of poetry, especially that of Wordsworth, and by his friendship with a Mrs. Taylor, later to be his wife. With this renewed vigor, and a reality of feelings, there was "borne in upon him the existence of new mental shades, ... an inner progress, which had a decisive effect in modifying his thought."⁶

To summarize, Newman asked that the Church shake off its lethargy, look about, and start revitalizing herself. His mission was not so much a reformation of the church, in the sense of revolutionary ideas, as a conviction that the people and their spiritual guides had gone too far in the wrong direction. Newman had read the early Fathers, and he was sure the Church no longer represented the primitive spirit. He felt it was a danger to prescribe the Dogmas for the Church of England.

Mill, for his part, saw prosperity and national welfare as an economic problem; hence he devoted his energies to improving the economic system. Inheriting his philosophies from his father, James MILL, an ardent disciple of Jeremy Bentham, he soon became the "final flower of that growth."⁷

⁶Emile Legouis and Louis Cazamian. A History of English Literature. (New York, 1938), p. 1133.

⁷G. K. Chesterton, The Victorian Age in Literature. (New York, 1913), p. 37

In appraising the two nineteenth century authors, G. K. Chesterton, who, to be sure, would find Newman closer to his own thinking, has left the following estimates. Concerning Mill he says:

He was himself fresh and delicate and pure; but that is the business of a flower. Though he had to preach a hard rationalism in religion, a hard competition in economics, a hard egoism in ethics, his own soul had all that silvery sensitiveness that can be seen in his fine portrait by Watts.

He boasted none of that brutal optimism with which his friends and followers of the Manchester School expounded their cheery negations. There was about Mill even a sort of embarrassment; he exhibited all the wheels of the universe rather reluctantly, like a gentleman in trade showing ladies over his factory. There shone in him a beautiful reverence for women, which is all the more touching because, in his department, as it were, he could only offer them so dry a gift as the Victorian Parliamentary Franchise.⁸

In paying tribute to Newman, Chesterton wrote:

Whatever else is right, the theory that Newman went over to Rome to find peace and an end of argument, is quite unquestionably wrong. He had far more quarrels after he had gone over to Rome. But, though he had far more quarrels, he had far fewer compromises: and he was of that temper which is tortured more by compromise than by quarrel. He was a man at once of abnormal energy and abnormal sensibility; without that combination he could not have written the *Apologia*. If he sometimes seemed to skin his enemies alive, it was because he himself lacked a skin ...

Many men would shrink from recording all their cold fits and hesitations and prolonged inconsistencies: I am sure it was the breath of life to Newman to confess them, now that he had done with them forever.⁹

Thus we have here in these two autobiographers, different as they are, two men, both intellectual, both sensitive, with totally different philosophies. The study of two such minds may throw a little more light on the complexities of one of the most complex periods of English literature.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

CHAPTER III

HOW BORNED THE BIOGRAPHIES -- HERMAN

More than a hundred years ago John Henry Newman was converted to the Roman Catholic Church. Already during his life time he was regarded as one of the greatest religious thinkers. His subsequent influence has hardly been in proportion to the reputation enjoyed while he was living. Though appreciative estimates by Catholics and Protestants alike are records for all time to come, yet his influence, however widespread, deserves to be far greater.

Only those inner and outer facts of Newman's experiences which could justify him as an honest and intelligent man are included in the Apologia; hence some of his outstanding influences, omitted in the autobiography because of his great modesty, will be included here. Some of the basic characteristics of the great Cardinal, such as his reticent nature in speaking of himself or his accomplishments and his far-reaching influence, will not be found in his autobiography.

Newman's life, almost coextensive with the nineteenth century, began February 21, 1801. Living nearly half his life as an Anglican and the second as a Catholic, he died August 11, 1890. He was the eldest son in a family of six children, having two brothers and three sisters. His father came of a Cambridgeshire family of land proprietors and was at one time a member of the banking firm of Ransbottom. His mother was of French descent. Both parents conformed to the Church of England, though the mother was inclined toward a modified Calvinism. Her influence led him to love the Bible, whose chapters of which he

knew from memory.¹

His father was a great lover of music, a devotee of Shakespeare, and an expert mathematician—possessing an acute logical mind—a trait which was to be characteristic of his eldest son. Newman's religious experiences, he states himself, began in 1816, when he was "converted" to a strong belief in the existence of God. The fact that he was pre-occupied with the heinousness of sin did not affect his sense of humor as much as a keen objective sensitiveness to the brighter side of life. It is quite evident that, from seventeen on, theological questions continuously gripped his mind at Oxford. He read many sermons and studied much religious literature, under the guidance of his mentor, Mr. Mayers, frequently expressing views which label him as an ardent disciple of John Calvin. His Calvinism, however, began to break up before it was firmly "set."²

Newman's early education began while listening to his mother read The Lay of the Last Minstrel. Later when Waverley and Guy Mannering appeared, he spent early hours of summer mornings in bed eagerly devouring them. Scott was always one of his favorite authors. Newman often referred to the beautiful language and the sweet influences of Scott's works as one of his treasured possessions in his first and even in his last years.

When Newman was seven years old, he was placed in a private academy at Ealing conducted on Eton lines by Dr. George Nicholas. Thomas Huxley,

¹ "John Henry Newman," Encyclopedia Americana XX (1946), 274.

² John Moody, John Henry Newman (New York, 1945), p. 10.

whose father was a tutor there, was also a later pupil. It is said that the high reputation of the school was increased by the fact that two such entirely different men as Huxley and Newman attended there. Being of a studious type, Newman soon developed versatility in writing both prose and verse, became a voracious reader of Scott and Shakespeare, and displayed ability in rendering the plays of Terence which were given annually at the school.

Shortly before his sixteenth birthday Newman matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford. Mr. Newman, his father, at the last minute made the decision for Oxford rather than Cambridge, "one of the accidents of his life which had most far-reaching consequences."³ He began residence in the following June, and within less than a year won a Trinity scholarship. He labored hard over his studies and read widely, but the anxiety over his father's unexpected financial reverses, reaction from overstudy, and the effort of living up to the expectations of his friends had a disastrous result; he passed his examinations for his degree in 1820, but failed to gain the high honors which he had sought. He won the universally coveted election to a fellowship at Oriel College, "one of the highest of scholastic honors."⁴

Years after he recalled it as one of the happiest events of his career; it was that and something more; it proved to be the turning point in his life.⁵

In May, 1824, he had taken Holy Orders and accepted the curacy of

³Ibid., p. 8.

⁴Joseph J. Reilly, Newman As a Man of Letters (New York, 1925), p. 8.

⁵Ibid., p. 8.

St. Clement's; four years later he became Vicar of St. Mary's. From this time dates the influence of Hurrell Froude and Newman's sympathetic reading of the early Church Fathers, seeking for a "new basis for doctrinal and ecclesiastical authority, because its supporters were dominated by religious liberalism and indifferentism."⁶ Here the earliest germ that was to sprout into the Anologia began to take root, as Froude, Keble, and Pusey, his friends who were noted for their "intellectual excellence to the moral,"⁷ shared his antipathy to the rationalistic and liberal tendencies in the church.

The birth of the Oxford Movement can be traced to an inner decision, whereby a certain temperament of soul sets up its particular need and its preferences as a guiding principle of its spiritual beliefs. The type of mind that had been seeking its literary satisfaction in imaginative or mystical Romanticism, in the resuscitation of the medieval past, in the return to national traditions, in the cult of emotions and forms which time had consecrated and exalted, would naturally find it impossible to live in the atmosphere of cold, critical, dry religion, without feeling it acutely.⁸

Newman was closely associated with this group of men, whose object was to reclaim the Church of England from the torpor into which it had fallen. It was a weakness in the Anglo-Catholic position that, although the clergy of the Church of England acknowledged the validity of Holy Orders in the Roman Church, the Church of Rome refused to acknowledge the validity of Anglican Orders. This led to a discussion between Hurrell Froude and Newman which did much to unsettle the latter's mind as to the soundness of the Anglican position, both historically and

⁶Ibid., p. 9.

⁷Bernard D. N. Grobanior and Thompson, English Literature and Its Backgrounds (New York, 1939-40), p. 1162.

⁸Legouis, p. 1183.

rationality.⁹ Because he had a difference with Hawkins, provost of Orick, over the substantially religious nature of a tutorship, he resigned that post in 1632 and went on a Mediterranean tour with Frowle. He visited Rome and many of the ancient shrines of the Christian faith. At Palermo, apparently more attracted by the magnificent churches than repelled by the superstitions of the Sicilian peasantry, he wrote, "O, that thy creed were sound, thou Church of Rome!"¹⁰

During the three weeks' illness he kept saying to himself, "I have not sinned against light," and in analyzing himself and his past actions, he decided he had been very self-willed about the tutorship affair with Hawkins, but, saying "I have a work to do in England," he reassured himself that he would recover. On his famous trip (after recovering from his illness) "in an orange boat bound for Marseilles,"¹¹ he wrote the great spiritual hymn for posterity, originally a profession of faith, "Lead, Kindly Light," considered the "most popular modern hymn in the language."¹² He was also determined to throw himself into a bitter struggle to rescue the English Church from Erastians,¹³ latitudinarians, and politicians. When he at length got to Marseilles, he set off for

⁹John W. Gualiffe, Leaders of the Victorian Revolution (New York, 1934), p. 61.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., p. 52.

¹²Wilfrid Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman (New York, 1901), II, 357.

¹³Hoody, p. 20. The term "Erastianism" is derived from the name of Thomas Erastus, who was a follower of Zuingli, the Swiss reformer, and who before Luther came to the same view, was a pronounced advocate of the subordination of the Church to the State. After Zuingli's death, Erastus developed his theory further, basing it on the old Jewish law. Hence the policy of State control over religion came to be called Erastianism. But the term is really a misnomer, for long before Erastus appeared on the scene, King Henry VIII adopted the principle

England. He reached England and his mother's house on Tuesday. On the following Sunday, July 14, Mr. Keble preached the assize sermon in the University pulpit. It was published under the title of "National Apostasy." Newman considered this day as the start of the religious movement.

For Newman the unpretentious but earnest sermon was a "call to arms."¹⁴ Inspired by John Keble's sermon, which was a forcible attack on the tendencies of the times in both Church and State and a strong plea for a return to the ideals of the primitive Christianity,¹⁴ the reforming spirit which Newman, Proude, and their friends had been planning to promote now began to take form. Keble and Newman began the publication of Tracts for the Times intended to strengthen the defense of the Anglo-Catholic position. The series of Tracts reached No. 90, which was written by Newman to indicate the position at which he had then arrived. It was an attempt to vindicate his desire to stay in the Church of England by the plea that the Thirty-nine Articles were not directed against the Roman Catholic creed but against popular errors and exaggerations of it.¹⁵ At the request of the Bishop of Oxford the series of tracts was discontinued.

Newman came to the conclusion that the position of the Anglican Church concerning Apostolic Succession was untenable and in 1842

in England, while his daughter Elizabeth established it as a permanent system for that country. It still exists in England.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁵Unliffe, p. 62.

withdrew to Littlemore to give consideration to the serious problem that lay before him. In 1843 he retracted all statements he had made about the Catholic Church, resigned his Vicarage at St. Mary's, and preached his "ever memorable sermon 'The Parting of Friends' at Littlemore."¹⁶

On October 6, 1845, a dark, rainy autumnal evening ... the Passionist Father Dominic, chanced to come to Littlemore. On hearing of his sojourn there Newman asked Dalgairns, one of his associates who had been admitted recently at Aston, to tell the priest he wished to be received into the church that night. When the Italian priest was informed of Newman's desire, he said, "God be praised," and spoke not another word until they reached Littlemore.¹⁷

That night as John Henry Newman knelt to be received into the church, the rain came down in torrents as the wind howled forth its equinoctial fury, but in Newman's mind there was peace, for he was now in the church of his desire.¹⁸

The letter to his Superior in Rome describes Father Dominic's reaction to the event: (In part)

The door opened--and what a spectacle it was for me to see at my feet John Henry Newman! And there by the fire he began his general confession with extraordinary humility and devotion. In the morning I betook myself to Oxford to say Mass in a Catholic Church there, and returned to Littlemore once more. There I terminated Mr. Newman's confession, and heard the confessions of two other gentlemen who were there, namely Stanton and Bowles, both of them, like Newman, ministers of the Church of England.

That same evening, I received the profession of faith of all three, and gave them conditional baptism. On the following morning, the Feast of St. Francis Borgia, I said Holy Mass for the first time in their private oratory ... At the Mass

¹⁶Charles Frederick Harrold, John Henry Newman (New York, 1945), p. 44.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 300.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 47.

I gave Holy Communion to Mr. Newman and four other companions of his, formerly Protestants, and now most fervent Catholics.¹⁹

Significant was the influence Newman exerted upon the students at Oxford and upon the young clergy, to whom in particular he had appeal. Some of the leaders were induced to come with him all the way.

Men on both sides suffered intensely, both mentally and physically ... Men were serious on either side and religious arguments which could cause no more than a week's dismay or annoyance today, were followed by life-long enmities and separations ... The fate of the early Converts has often been a subject of pity or surmise.²⁰

While the subject is one for conjecture, Newman without a doubt had a great following and supposedly more than five hundred acknowledged Newman as an influence in their entrance into the Catholic Church. A chart accompanying this chapter (page 24) will illustrate the author's explanation.

In 1846 and 1847 Newman was at the Collegio di Propaganda in Rome and there was ordained priest on May 30, 1847. He was also given the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He had hoped to establish a school of Catholic theology in England, but he was hampered in the project by church authorities who did not feel that so recent a convert could teach theology.²² Returning to England in 1847, Newman settled at the Oratory at Eggibaston, near Birmingham, where he remained for nearly

¹⁹Moody, p. 113.

²⁰Shane Leslie, The Oxford Movement. (Milwaukee, 1933), p. 70.

²¹Ibid., p. 190-191.

²²John Wilson Bowyer, The Victorian Age. (New York, 1938), p. 200.

forty years. He established the London Oratory with Father Faber as head. Newman's best known sermon, "The Second Spring," was preached at the first Synod of Oscott in 1852 on the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in England.²³

Being asked to become rector of a proposed Catholic University at Dublin, he went to Dublin in 1842 for a series of lectures called The Idea of a University. The School of Philosophy and Letters was opened in 1854, but Newman's authority was rather limited, for it was implied, if not indicated to him, that secular education might lead to liberalism and an anti-Catholic spirit. Science particularly was the subject of this suspicion. These difficulties together with the fact that the University did not gain state recognition meant inevitable failure to Newman. He returned to the Oratory in 1858. During the next few years he assisted in establishing the Egbaston School under the Oratory. At the request of his superiors, he agreed to supervise a new translation of the Bible, but after working for a year, he resigned the task because of their indifference.²⁴

In his later years Newman turned to journalistic writing; the best known of which appeared in seven parts and was later edited as the Apologia, a defense of his life, written between April 21 and June 2, 1864. In 1865 he wrote The Dream of Gerontius, the theme being the description of a soul from earthly life through purgatory to the Beatific Vision. His Grammar of Assent is a careful study of the means by which educated minds may find rational grounds for belief in Christi-

²³Harrold, p. 344.

²⁴Bowyer, p. 201.

anity. In 1877 he republished his Anglican works, including two volumes of defense of the Via Media. A great distinction came to him when he was made Honorary Fellow of Trinity College in 1878 at Oxford. The following year he was made cardinal by the new Pope Leo XIII, who out of regard for Newman's advanced age and poor health, waived the requirement of residence in Rome for a cardinal not in charge of a diocese.²⁵

After some misunderstanding was settled which had been caused by Manning, it was officially announced that Newman was to receive the honor of a Cardinalate. He went to Rome for the reception of this honor, Wednesday of Easter Week, April 12, 1879. The Holy Father received him affectionately and on May 12 raised him to the rank of Cardinal with the title of St. George. On the next day when the biretta was conferred on him, he delivered his acceptance speech.

He first spoke of the wonder and gratitude which came to him and was with him still, at the condescension and love of the Holy Father in singling him out for the great honor, and particularly in permitting him to live and end his days in his beloved Oratory. Then he proceeded with the address.²⁶

Illness prevented his returning to Birmingham until July, 1879, when he was greeted affectionately by his companions of the oratory and the laity of the city. At the reception arranged on his arrival, he was attired in his red cassock, cloak and biretta, and cardinal's cap and followed a procession which marched to St. Philip's Chapel. After the ceremony of enthronement and the kissing of the ring, the Cardinal began his deeply touching but very informal address:

²⁵Ibid., p. 202.

²⁶Moody, p. 305.

My dear children, I am desirous of thanking you for the great sympathy you have shown towards me, for your congratulations, for your welcome, and for your good prayers; but I feel so very weak--for I have not recovered from a long illness--that I hardly know how I can be able to say ever so few words, or express in any degree the great pleasure and gratitude to you which I feel. ...²⁷

The life of the Cardinal went on rather peacefully, except for his eagerness to get Catholic students to attend other than Catholic institutions. In this he was always opposed by Cardinal Manning, whose influence with the Pope kept Newman's position in the background until after the death of both Newman and Manning, when the ruling of the Church relating to the Oxford questions was changed, and Newman Clubs in conjunction with non-Catholic colleges were created.

Though Newman was advancing in age, he still took a great interest in the questions of the day, political and economic as well as religious. His distrust of Gladstone never left him. He wrote to Dean Church expressing the regret that Gladstone had not retired to private life when he wanted to, some ten years earlier. As his vision began to fail him, he was no longer able to read his Mass or his breviary regularly, but he could still recite his Rosary. After some time his feebleness prevented even this. A friendly exchange of letters between the two English Cardinals, Manning and Newman, cheered Newman.²⁸

In his ninetieth year, on August 11, 1890, he died of congestion of the lungs. He was buried August 19, 1890, by his own request in the same grave with his friend Ambrose St. John, in the burial ground of the Oratorian Fathers. Enclosed by

²⁷Ward, II, 534.

²⁸Ibid.

yew and oak and laurel, this little cemetery at Rednal contains a fitting memorial of John Henry Newman; a simple Latin cross which bears his chosen epitaph, and expression of his lifelong quest; *IX UERIS ET IMAGINIBUS IN VERITATEM.*²⁹

Cardinal Manning delivered the famous eulogy of Cardinal Newman at a solemn Requiem a few days after the funeral was held at the Droppington Oratory in London. He spoke before a score or more of bishops, over two hundred priests, and hundreds of nuns, an immense company of people from far and near; hundreds of English, American, and Continental admirers of Newman were there, including a large number of Anglican clergy and laity as well as other Protestants.³⁰

In closing his beautiful tribute he said,

A noble and beautiful life is the most convincing and persuasive of all preaching, and we all have felt its power. Our Holy Father, Leo XIII, knew the merits and gifts, both natural and supernatural, which were hidden in his humility; and to the joy of all he called him to the highest dignity next to his own.

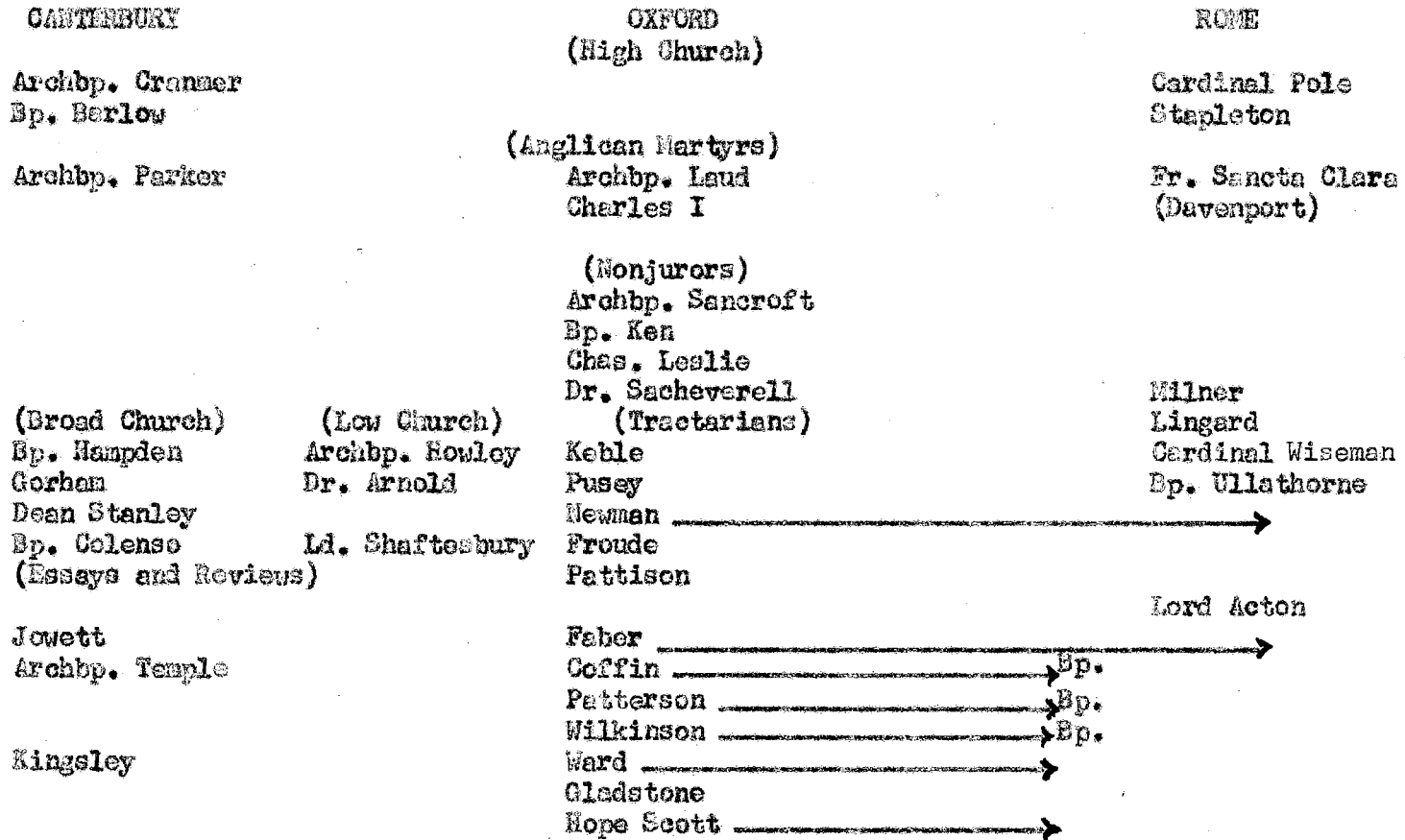
The history of our land will hereafter record the name of John Henry Newman among the greatest of her people, as a confessor for the Faith, a great teacher of men, a preacher of justice, of piety and of compassion. May we all follow him in his life, and may our end be painless and peaceful like his.³¹

²⁹Marrold, p. 52.

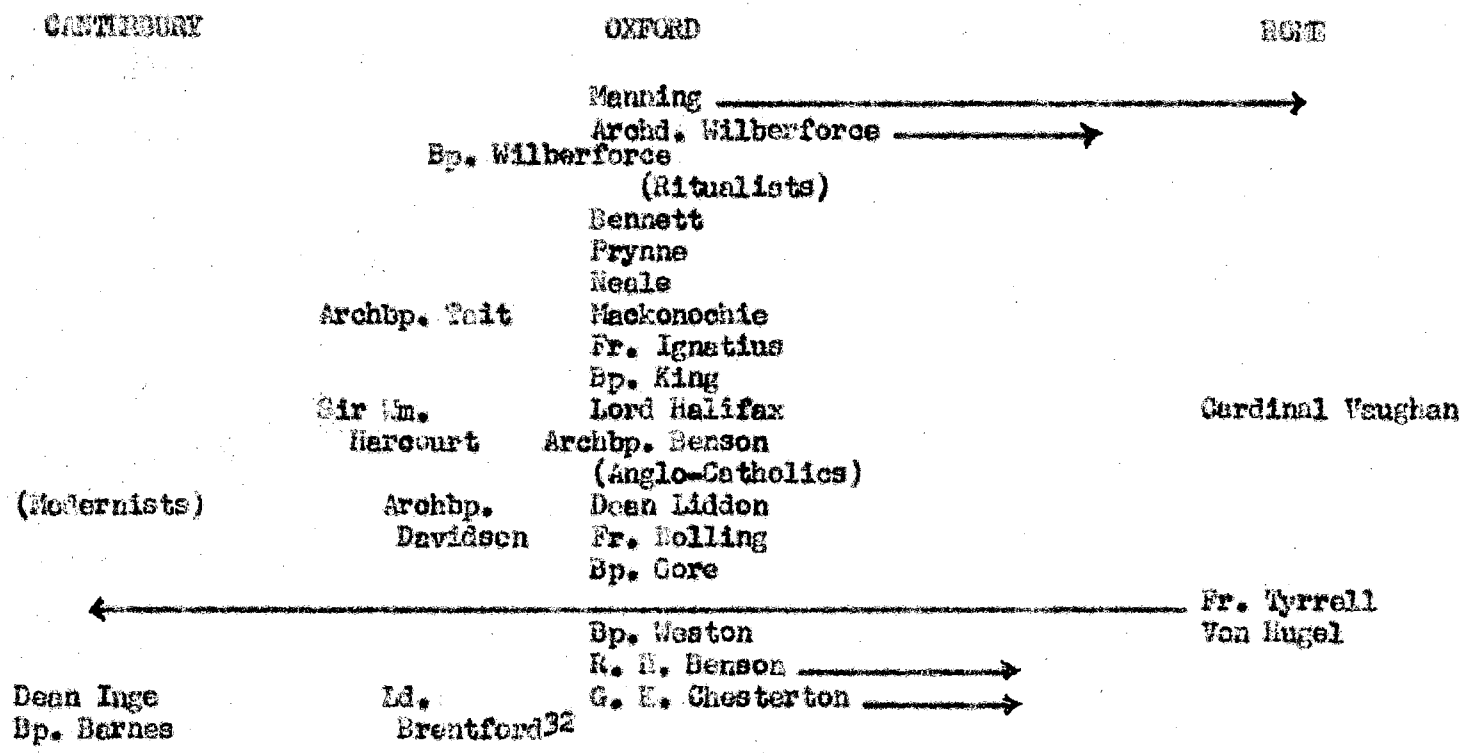
³⁰Moody, p. 335.

³¹Ibid., p. 339.

MAP OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT



(Continued on next page.)



³²Leslie, pp. 190-191.

JOHN STUART MILL

In his Autobiography John Stuart Mill ventured the generalization that almost every important nineteenth century mind had first learned to think either from Coleridge or Bentham. The distinction of Mill was that he learned from both. In passing from Bentham to Mill, we are conscious of a decline in buoyancy and an increase of subtlety; the bluff self-confidence and masculinity of Bentham have yielded to qualities which have been called "feminine" receptiveness, diffidence, self-criticism and a certain spinsterish dryness of thought and style.³³

Mill's Autobiography is a document of great importance in the history of the nineteenth century, being a very careful record of the subject himself and of an educational experiment. The later pages indicate a considerable departure from the rationalistic principles of his early training, which to many may read like a record of medieval torture, yet no one can deny the value of its details. The unusual intellectual feats related by Mill will never be in a spirit of boastfulness, but in support of more profitable educational methods.

John Stuart Mill was born on May 20, 1806, at Pentonville, London, five years later than Newman. Mill showed, as did his intellectual master, Jeremy Bentham, that the ability to combine great learning and scholarship with keen insight into contemporary affairs was one of the chief glories and ornaments of public life in England.

Anyone reading the first chapter of his Autobiography would know

³³Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft. British Authors of the Nineteenth Century (New York, 1936), p. 435.

that he was almost incredibly precocious. He began to study Greek at three and by the time he was eight years old he had read in the original such authors as Herodotus and Plato, besides English historians such as Gibbon and Hume. A contemporary record of Mill's studies from eight to thirteen is published in Bain's sketch of his life, which shows that the Autobiography rather understates the amount of work done by Mill.³⁴

Notwithstanding, the father, James Mill, in 1812 while gazing on his six-year-old son remarked, "Should I die, the thought that would pinch me most sorely would be leaving the poor boy's mind unmade."³⁵ Jeremy Bentham offered his services in educating the elder son according to the father's scheme of education and to see it through either "by whipping or otherwise." To this the father replied, "I take your offer seriously and we may perhaps leave him a worthy successor of us both."³⁶ Mill never seemed too unhappy in this astonishing program. He apparently became accustomed to this rigid life and took some satisfaction in the progress he was making.

Thus far Mill had been educated entirely by his father or by his directions, but when he was fourteen, he was sent to France for a year, where he got a new outlook on life. Here he mastered the French language, learned much of French society and politics, became familiar with French thought and literature, and continued his studies in mathematics, economics, and science. During his residence in France he was influenced by General Sir Samuel Bentham, a noble man with a character

³⁴S. Parkes Cadman. The Three Religious Leaders of Oxford and Their Movements (New York, 1916), p. 436.

³⁵David Patrick Chambers et al., Cyclopaedia of English Literature (Philadelphia, 1938), III, 442.

³⁶Ibid., p. 442.

different from that of his illustrious brother, Jeremy. Samuel Bentham was a man of considerable attainments and general powers, with a decided genius for mechanical art.

In 1823 on his return he entered the service of the East India Company as a clerk in the examiner's office, of which his father was the head. He rose rapidly and finally succeeded his father as chief examiner. His official work left him considerable time for reading and writing. He wrote for papers and helped his father on the Westminster Review and at the same time became impregnated with Bentham's gospel of the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" while editing Bentham's "Treatise on Evidence." His first original work of importance was his "Essay Upon Unsettled Questions of Political Economy," written when he was about twenty-four.

In religion, Mill had been brought up an agnostic and, in philosophy, a utilitarian of the school of Bentham; but after a nervous illness in 1826, he began to be dissatisfied with the intellectualism of his father. He decided that happiness was to be found in the pursuit of other ends than that which seemed implied in the Bentham theory. With the ability he had acquired to detect the minutest breach of incoherence or reasoning, he distinctly and self-consciously told himself that the whole foundation on which his life had been constructed was unsatisfactory. He seemed to have nothing left to live for.³⁷

The heartless, stifled regimentation required by his father could scarcely have resulted in any other than an unhappy sequel. The son was

³⁷John Stuart Mill, Autobiography (New York, 1944), p. 94.

unequal to the task of acquainting his father with his mental disquietude. He had a wide acquaintance among the most active minds in London, and among them were John Sterling and F. D. Maurice, who aided him in humanizing his philosophy. He gained comfort from reading Wordsworth, and he also became a friend of Carlyle. A second visit to France still further helped to broaden his views and sympathies. Important among the friendships which he made was that of Mrs. Harriet Taylor, and invalid lady of whose intellectual powers Mill had a very profound respect and whom he ultimately married. It would seem that his relation with the well-known Mrs. Taylor not only separated him from his highest self but caused division and anxiety to his friends and family as well. In spite of continued remonstrances from his family he persisted in the detrimental compact.

The incident exacted a heavy toll from the man, his work, and his influence ... the bitterest consequences were destined to fall upon Mill's patient and long-suffering mother, whom he does not once mention in his autobiography. He displayed toward this unfortunate lady and her children an implacable spirit of retaliation for their supposed neglect of his belated bride, and on his part arose an immovable reserve which he never relaxed.³⁸

After the separation from his family, Mill and his wife withdrew entirely from society and lived until the death of Mrs. Mill in 1858 in Avignon. He gave up the Westminster Review in 1840, and resumed his studies in logic, which resulted in the publication of his book Logic in 1843 and of Political Economy in 1848, which became standard textbooks at the universities and did much to mold the liberal thought

³⁸ Parkes Godman, Charles Darwin and Other English Thinkers (Chicago, 1910), pp. 104-105.

of the next generation or two.³⁹

In 1858 the East India Company was dissolved by the government, and the administration having been taken over by the English government, Mill was retired on a handsome pension. In the same year his wife died, just after completing with her husband the revision of his famous "Essay on Liberty." His other essays "Representative Government" and "Utilitarianism," published in the next few years, have also become classics in virtue of their exceedingly compact presentation of the views, clear thinking and lucidity of expressions, on vital questions of social and political philosophy.

By this time he had removed much of the ethical offense of Utilitarianism by admitting quality as a criterion in evaluation of pleasures, and self-sacrifice as the best road to happiness ...⁴⁰

Thus far Mill's part in politics had been confined to the writing of pamphlets and articles, but in 1865 he was elected to Parliament, where in spite of a defective voice and a nervous manner, he won members of the House by his fluency, honesty, and independence of speech. He supported the second Reform Bill, which favored the extension of the franchise and the reform of the Irish land laws. A goodly number of projects which he advocated were carried into effect long after his time. In 1866 he made the first move for woman suffrage in the House of Commons, and by 1869 he thought the time was ripe to publish the Subjection of Women. This work was his last and one in which his wife and step-daughter were very much interested during its compilation.

³⁹Gunliffe, p. 53.

⁴⁰Boyer, p. 241.

When Parliament was dissolved (in 1868), he was not reelected. Writing for the Fortnightly Review for the next fifteen years, he expressed himself on incidental issues, such as secret ballot, English foreign policy, labor problems, abolition of slavery in America, American democracy, religious tolerance, rejection of a large standing army, and security from government in the interests of society.

Mill's health now began to decline, and he died on May 8, 1873, having worked to the end for the improvement of the conditions of his people.⁴¹

Although the dominant impression conveyed by the record of Mill's life is that his life is candid and interesting, it is also one of intellectuality, for he was a man of high sensibility and of a tender and affectionate nature. The purity of his motives, the vigor of his thinking, and the energy and independence with which he strove for the realization of his ideals had their effect not merely on the large circle with whom he came into personal contact but in the stimulating and elevating of the general intellectual and moral life of this time.

After his death the story of his life, told by himself when it was about six years from its close, was printed. Also his Three Essays on Religion entitled "Nature," "The Utility of Religion," and "Theism," with introductory notes by Helen Taylor, were published.

Harold J. Laski has the 'dernier mots' and no truer or more fitting ones can be given:

No one can doubt that Mill, as no other figure of his time, raised the moral stature of his generation. He ceaselessly

⁴¹Cadman, p. 137.

directed its attention to the problems that are fundamental; he always made those problems intelligible and interesting.

The Autobiography, in the end the most imperishable of his writings, is a record as noble as any in our literature of consistent devotion to the public good. Whatever he touched he did not fail to clarify ... few men have been more rigorous in their standards, and no man more zealous in the pursuit of justice ... few who better illuminated the tradition of their age, and none whose contribution was more honourable or more nearly stainless.⁴²

Here we have two men representing different facets of the non-ified Victorian world. Mill may not be as spectacular as Hazlitt in his field of thought, but both were magnificent powers in their time, and, we trust, for time to come. To know something of the Men Behind the Autobiographies is to be able to follow more easily their mental development as found in their own intimate self-revelation.

⁴²John Stuart Mill, Autobiography, with a preface by Harold J. Laski, (New York, 1944), p. 122.

CHAPTER IV

MENTAL DEVELOPMENT FOUND IN THE AUTOBIOGRAPHERS

After viewing the men behind the biographies in their personal lives, the next step becomes the interpreting of the record of their self-analyses in order to trace their mental development as found in their own accounts.¹

Those who place these autobiographies among the greatest of the world do so for Newman because they think it a superb work of psychological analysis. Dr. Irons wrote that as "a specimen of mental analysis extending over a life time, the Apologia is probably without a rival."² One of the delights of Newman-lovers, says Charles Frederick Harrold in his introduction to his edition to the Apologia, is to follow his sinuous and probing mind from Oxford and Littlemore to Rome and Birmingham. Newman's self-analysis, he agrees, is really achieved but lies implicit or potential in the book. To trace the development of his thinking, implicit in the Apologia, becomes a difficult yet rewarding experience. The significance of Newman's attitudes, the depth and beauty of his personality as he reveals his inner self is distinctly worthwhile to capture. A most reliable means to convey this development is to let Newman in his Apologia speak for himself in order to accomplish this significant chapter of the study.

Newman affirms that he was not a concealed Roman during the whole

¹Walter E. Houghton, The Art of Newman's 'Apologia' (Boston, 1890), p. 218.

²Apologia, p. 60.

or any part of the years in question. For explanation of the gradual development which Newman always willingly termed "slow course of change"³ we have his own concise analysis beginning in 1833.

For the first four years of the ten, I honestly wished to benefit the Church of England at the expense of the Church of Rome. (1833-37)

For the second four years, I wished to benefit the Church of England without prejudice to the Church of Rome (1837-1841).

At the beginning of the ninth year, I began to despair of the Church of England, and gave up all clerical duty; and then what I wrote and did was influenced by a mere wish not to injure it, and not by the wish to benefit it. (1842)

At the beginning of the tenth year I distinctly contemplated leaving it but I also distinctly told my friends that it was my contemplation (1843).

Lastly during the last half of that tenth year I was engaged in writing a book in favour of the Roman Church, and indirectly against the English; but even then, till it was finished, I had not absolutely intended to publish it, wishing to reserve to myself the chance of changing my mind when the argumentative views which were actuating me had been distinctly brought out before me in writing.⁴

The life of Cardinal Newman was divided into two nearly equal portions by his change of religion in 1845. For the earlier part of his life we have his Apologia, and the second half is best written about by Wilfrid Ward. He will live chiefly in history for having been the real leader and founder of the 19th century Anglo-Catholicism, the movement he created and then tried in vain to destroy. His later successes pale when compared with the activities of earlier years while he was making a chapter of English history.⁵ "From the time

³Ibid., p. 256.

⁴Ibid., p. 219.

⁵William Ralph Inge, Outspoken Essays (New York, 1922), p. 173.

that I became a Catholic, of course, I have no further history of my religious opinions to narrate."⁶

Too little is known of the youthful life of Newman, but one earlier reference to his childhood prior to his own reference in the Apologia may be made.

At some time in the opening years of the nineteenth century two small boys might have been seen playing together in the garden of Bloomsbury Square. "The younger," it is said, "whose head was profuse with long black glossy ringlets, was a child of a rare Jewish type of beauty, and full of life and activity. The other was grave of demeanour, and wore his hair close cut, and walked and talked and moved in a way which in young people is called old fashioned." The elder was John Henry Newman, the younger Benjamin Disraeli. Such an association, however, shortlived and casual, cannot but strike the imagination. Among all differences of temperament, profession and creed, the two men subsequently showed some curious features of resemblance ... Both became severe critics of Liberal Victorian England, with its complacent and its impenetrable optimism.⁷

In writing the disclosures of his mental attitudes some sixty years previous, Newman himself would be reluctant to include anything not relevant to his purpose in writing his autobiography.

One of his earliest delights was the reading of the Bible. When he was older (in 1820), he put on paper his recollections of thoughts and feelings on religious subjects. The two he selected which had a bearing on his later convictions are

I used to wish the Arabian Tales were true: my imagination ran on unknown influences, on magical powers, and talismans ... I thought life might be a dream, or I an Angel, and this world a deception, my fellow angels by playful device concealing themselves from me and deceiving me with semblance of a

⁶Apologia, p. 276.

⁷Bertrem Newman, Cardinal Newman (New York, 1925), p. 1.

⁸Apologia, p. 20.

material world.

I was very superstitious, and for some time previous to my conversion (when I was fifteen) used constantly to cross myself going into the dark.⁹

There seems to have been no affinity to any Catholic influence, and yet such external practices as the Sign of the Cross he revered as a means of security, though not fully understanding the import. The drawing of the solid cross suspended from a set of beads found in his Verse Book which was inserted February 11, 1811,¹⁰ seemed to him indicative of an interest in religion, the source of which he failed to recall.

He experienced delight and pleasure in reading Paine's Tracts Against the Old Testament and in rethinking the objections it contained. Hume's Essays, especially the one on Miracles, and French verses in denial of the immortality of the soul were literary diets of Newman at the age of fourteen. His reasoning on the possibility of immortality of the soul seemed to bring his convictions more and more to a converging point, for he comments: "How dreadful, but how plausible!"¹¹

Until he had passed his fourteenth year, he tells us "he was not very religious--although he possessed a profound consciousness of the reality of God. While he wished to be virtuous, he did not like the idea of being thought religious."¹² As he came under the influences of a definite creed, that of Reverend Walter Mayers, Newman, on arriving and taking residence at Oxford, says that Mayers was the "human means

⁹Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 23.

¹¹Hoody, p. 9.

¹²Ibid., p. 9.

of this beginning of divine faith in me,¹³ though at the time it was Calvinistic in character. He regarded this experience as his "first conversion."¹⁴ His feeling of predestination to salvation was a thought that clung to him as did the preceding ones until the age of twenty-one.

To Thomas Scott, Rector of Aston Sandford, he says he "almost owes his soul."¹⁵ One of his prized possessions was Scott's essays, which with its bold unworldliness and vigorous independence of mind, he believes, would strike any reader. His doctrine of the Holy Trinity was first planted deep in his mind by Scott's writings. Before he was sixteen, he was collecting Scripture texts in proof of the doctrine, which in turn led him to a thorough study of the Athanasian Creed. Also Scott's slogans "Holiness rather than peace" and "Growth the only evidence of life" were guides even for his later life. The reading of Joseph Milner's Church History containing long extracts from St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and the early Church Fathers appealed strongly to him.

Simultaneously with Milner, he read Newton on the Prophecies and became convinced that the Pope was the Anti-Christ predicted by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John. "My imagination was stained by the effects of this doctrine up to the year 1843 ... the thought remained with me as a sort of false conscience."¹⁶

In the autumn of 1816 he had a deep presentiment that it was the will of God that he should lead a single life. The desire for celibacy

¹³Apologia, p. 22.

¹⁴Moody, p. 9.

¹⁵Apologia, p. 23.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 25.

seemed to be strong in him, and only with a few breaks up to 1829 did he ever change his mind, and after that not at all. Missionary work, which would have been a necessary means of carrying out his duty, had an appeal for him.

After 1822 Newman came under very different influences from those to which he had hitherto been subjected. Mr. Whately, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, had showed great kindness to him. From 1822 to 1825 he frequently saw Dr. Hawkins, Vicar of St. Mary's, and especially when he took orders in 1824, was he thrown into his company.

I can say with a full heart that I love him, and have never ceased to love him; and I thus preface what otherwise might sound rude, that in the course of the many years in which we were together afterwards, he provoked me very much from time to time, though I am perfectly certain that I have provoked him a great deal more. Moreover, in me such a provocation was unbecoming, both because he was the Head of my College, and because in the first years that I knew him, he had been in many ways of great service to my mind.¹⁷

This devotion to Dr. Whately in 1822, when he was awkward and timid, for taking him by the hand and encouraging him, teaching him to think and reason, was not so intimate in 1825 when Newman was made Whately's Principal at Alban Hall. Whately's mind was different from Newman's, and it was obvious that their diverging opinions were separating them in their usually kindly feelings. Newman saw him twice after he left in 1831, and their correspondence closed in 1834. In 1829 the formal break came at a party that Whately gave. He invited the least intellectual men in Oxford and men fond of port to dinner. "Whately saw, after placing me between them, that I was

¹⁷Ibid., p. 27.

separating myself from his own friends for good and all."¹⁸ In spite of all Newman "loved Whately too much to bid him farewell without pain."¹⁹ Chiefly, then, in view of his religious opinions he taught Newman the existence of the Church as a substantive body and fixed deeply in his mind those anti-Erastian views of Church polity which were the basic elements of the Tractarian movement.

In an essay entitled "Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian" Dr. Whately maintained chiefly two things: First, that Church and State should be independent of each other. He protests against the interference of the Church in temporals, of the State in spirituals; and secondly, that the Church may justly and by right retain its property, though separated from the State. This opinion of Whately Newman states "had a gradual, but a deep effect on my mind."²⁰ Some of the initial stimulus for the Oxford Movement came of this source.

Ordained to the Anglican Church, June 13, he became the curate of St. Clement's, Oxford, where he remained two years. About this time he had no one to whom he fully opened his heart, but in 1826 things changed;²¹ he became one of the tutors of the College, and that gave him position; besides having written several Essays which were well received, he preached the first of his University Sermons. Newman's influence was steadily increasing.

More important than Whately in developing Newman's mind was the study of Bishop Butler's Analogy, a masterly work which Whately

¹⁸Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 30.

²⁰Ibid., p. 31.

²¹Ibid., p. 34.

recommended to Newman. The underlying principles of a great portion of his teaching Newman mentions in his Apologia were taken from this source.

Several other personalities at this time had contacts which left lasting impressions on Newman. Dr. Hawkins, tutor and later Provost of Oriel, had a decided influence on him through his sermons, especially the one on "Tradition," that is, that the Church is the true interpreter of the Scripture. He obliterated much in his mind that smacked of Calvinism and aided him in understanding the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. In 1828 Hawkins, after fulfilling the University office of Public Examiner in Classics for his B.A. Degree, was presented by his college to the Vicarage of St. Mary's, the university church, from the pulpit of which he was to preach some momentous sermons. The doctrine of Apostolic Succession was taught him by the Reverend William James, then fellow of Oriel, during the course of their walks round Christ Church meadow, and Newman was rather impatient with the subject at the time. Particularly intimate and affectionate were two of his probationer fellows, Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Richard Hurrell Froude, in whom Whately recognized an "incipient party."²² They truthfully became the cell group from which the first elements of the Tractarian Movement germinated.

Hurrell Froude, a pupil of Keble, was a great influence on Newman. Froude's friendship was one of the closest from 1829 to his death in 1836. Keble, the true author of the Tractarian Movement, had relinquished an Oriel fellowship and accepted a country curacy. Keble's

²²Ibid., p. 35.

charm and deliberately undistinguished saintliness, as well as his scholastic reputation, Newman appreciated. From him Newman derived a feeling of importance, a kind of living power of faith and love; he seemed to challenge and awaken in the heart of Newman an original melody, a kind of new music.

From Froude, who openly admired the Church of Rome and would have been among the first of the Oxford converts had his death not prevented it, Newman gained his love of the Blessed Virgin, the practice of penance and mortification, the devotion to the Real Presence, and a high idea of the intrinsic excellence of virginity.²³

Newman in 1833 completed The Arians of the Fourth Century, a work which he was asked to do by Mr. Hugh Rose, in order to provide a reference for the Theological Library. This tremendous work entailed research into the ante-Nicene history and developed his doctrine of Christianity and Antiquity. Exhausted from this two-year work on the Arians and receiving an invitation from Hurrell Froude and his father to accompany them on a Mediterranean journey, Newman gladly accepted. The trip was a thrilling adventure for him and was a good blend with his recent research on the early history of the Church. Throughout the voyage he wrote verses, the best of which were included in his Lyra Apostolica, of which the most famous one is 'Lead, Kindly Light.' This tour to Italy and Sicily proved to be another of the great turning points in his life. In Sicily he nearly died of a fever. He, however, morbidly analyzed his past and reassured himself that he had a "work

²³Ibid., p. 42.

to do in England,"²⁴ and that he should recover. The work was the defense of his Church, and he was determined to accomplish his purpose.

On arriving in England, he found ecclesiastical Oxford in a state of ferment owing to the introduction of a Bill into Parliament to suppress ten of the twenty-two bishoprics of the Irish Protestant Church, which was ministering to a small fraction of population mainly Roman Catholic. He reached Oxford in July, 1833, just in time to hear Keble preach a sermon on "national apostasy," in which he denounced the Irish Bill as a 'direct disavowal of the sovereignty of God.' Within a half century the Irish Protestant Church was disestablished by the devout Anglican Premier, W. E. Gladstone, but in 1833 any measure of reform directed at the Protestant Church of Ireland was regarded by conservative churchmen as a blow at the prestige of the Church of England.²⁵

Presently Newman returned to his regular routine duties, save that he had a strengthened motive, a more vehement urge to get the Movement started. Newman always considered the assize sermon of Keble's as the start of the religious movement of 1833. Uniting their forces for the cause were Keble, Froude, Palmer, and Hugh Rose and Newman. Hugh Rose seemed especially gifted for such a high task, but his delicate health and premature death frustrated his plans.

Hugh Rose had position in the Church, a name, and a serious responsibility ... Froude and I were nobodies; with no characters to lose, and no antecedents to fetter us. Rose could not go ahead across country as Froude had no scruples in doing ... Mr. Rose said of him with quiet humour that "he did not seem to be afraid of inferences."²⁶

Because Mr. Rose was a conservative, it devolved upon the younger Oxford group to start the movement. He was also separated from the Oxford Movement by distance; the rest were impeded by similar difficulty.

²⁴Ibid., p. 52.

²⁵Unliffe, pp. 61-62.

²⁶Apologie, p. 63.

Essential to the progress of the movement was the unity of "antecedents," that of a common history, common memories, intercourse of mind with the mind of the past, and a progress and increase of that intercourse in the present.²⁷ After neither Keble nor Rose accepted the leadership, they turned to Newman to start the agitation by individuals of like mind, with discussion, writing, preaching, and correspondence. Newman, who was blessed with better writing talent than any of the others at Oxford, began to write vigorously, the first tract appearing in September of 1833. At first they were very brief in form; later more lengthy discussion appeared. Over thirty appeared before the end of the year, and from then on they were issued less frequently, until Tract XC in 1841 brought the series to a close. A statement of Dean Inge here may clarify his position.

In his first Tract, he says: 'A notion has gone abroad that the people can take away your power. They think they have given it and can take it away. They have been deluded into a notion that present palpable usefulness, produceable results, acceptableness to your flocks--that these and such-like are the tests of your Divine Commission. Enlighten them in this matter. Exalt our holy fathers the Bishops, as the representatives of the Apostles, and the Angels of the Churches, and magnify your office, as being ordained by them to take part in their ministry.'

This was the keynote of the whole Tractarian Movement. A weapon was needed to smite liberalism ... Newman and his friends hoped to find it in the Anglican Church.²⁸

The Tracts filled some with trepidation immediately, for they feared action from their bishops. This reaction came at once because Newman had given the Tracts a Roman Catholic tinge from the start; in view of the opposition, he was ready to drop the Tracts very soon; but

²⁷Ibid., p. 64.

²⁸Inge, p. 165.

Keble and Froude strongly advocated their continuance and were angry with him for consenting to stop them.²⁹ Newman continued calling on clergy in various parts of the country and wrote letters. A series of letters appeared in the Record Newspaper which he labeled "Church Reform." They treated of Revival of Church Discipline, Scripture proofs, Application of the Doctrine, Answer to Objections, Benefits of Discipline, and then the series was abruptly terminated, because of an attack on "Temperance Societies," for which an apology came from the editor, who did not wish a controversy in his columns. This officious act was very distasteful to Newman's sensitive nature, ungenial to the Movement and its success, but he was pleased that as many had been published without interference.

Newman had supreme confidence in his cause. "We were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church and which was registered and attested in the Anglican Formularies and the Anglican divines."³⁰ While the Tracts were anonymous and contributed by various members of the group, such literary importance as they possessed can be ascribed to Newman. Although they were viewed by some with mild amusement, by others with interest, and as treachery by others, Newman seems to have rationalized thus: "St. Paul bids us avoid those who cause divisions; you cause divisions, therefore I must avoid you."³¹ His conduct was so changed that Blanco White, who knew him earlier, says:

²⁹Apologia, p. 65.

³⁰Ibid., p. 63.

³¹Ibid., p. 72.

In this party I found, to my great surprise, my dear friend, Mr. Newman of Oriel ... his sudden union with the most violent bigots was inexplicable to me. That change was the first manifestation of the mental revolution, which has suddenly made him one of the leading persecutors of Dr. Hampden, and the most active and influential member of that association, called the Fuscycite party, from which we have those very strange productions entitled, Tracts for the Times ... Such is the venomous character of orthodoxy. What mischief must it create in a bad heart and narrow mind, when it can work so effectually for evil, in one of the most benevolent of bosoms, and one of the ablest of minds, in the amiable, the intellectual, the refined John Henry Newman! ³²

Fundamentally Newman's principle of religion had not changed.

"What I held in 1816, I held in 1833, and I hold in 1864."³³ Some of the doctrines that Hurrell Froude used to try to rub out of his mind for him disturbed him. He states:

I think up to 1843, at least during the Tractarian Movement, I thought the essence of her offence (Church of Rome) to consist in the honours which she paid to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints; and the more I grew in devotion—both to the Saints and to Our Lady, the more impatient was I at the Roman practices, as if those glorified creations of God must be gravely shocked, if pain could be theirs, at the undue veneration of which they were the objects.³⁴

Newman deliberates on his earlier conviction that assents may and do change but certitude endures. He is wrestling with his feelings of admiration toward the Church of Rome, but still his reason is not affected. He gives expression to this in one of his early Tracts published in 1834:

Considering the high gifts and the strong claims of the Church of Rome and its dependence is on our admiration, reverence, love and gratitude; how could we withstand it,

³²Ibid., p. 72.

³³Ibid., p. 73.

³⁴Ibid., p. 77.

as we do, how could we refrain from being melted into tenderness, and rushing into communion with it, but for the words of truth itself, which bid us prefer it to the whole world? ... My feeling was something like that of a man who is obliged in a court of justice to bear witness against a friend; or like my own now, when I have said, and shall say, so many things on which I had rather be silent.³⁵

Whole parties decided to meet and at their convocation to vote down the Popery of the Tractarian Movement. Monsignor Wiseman at the time anticipated their intents and delivered lectures in London on the Catholic doctrines. After three years Newman was ready to publish his answer, "The Prophetical Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism." Newman attempted to trace the lines on which Christian faith and practice proceed as a means to determine the relation of the Roman and Anglican systems to each other, for he felt that there was an intellectual cowardice in not finding a basis in reason for his belief and a moral cowardice in not avowing that basis. This was his chief reason for the publication of Tract XC ...

It was my portion for whole years to remain without any satisfactory basis for my religious profession, in a state of moral sickness, neither able to acquiesce in Anglicanism, nor able to go to Rome. But I bore it, till in course of time my way was made clear to me.³⁶

Newman next wrote the volume Via Media as the true position of Anglicanism. As a system it had scarcely had an existence except on paper.³⁷ Newman's Via Media ideas were enthusiastically received by those who resented being accused by Protestants and Liberals of flirting

³⁵Ibid., p. 78.

³⁶Ibid., p. 90.

³⁷Ibid., p. 92.

with Romo.³⁸

In both systems the same Creeds are acknowledged. Besides other points in common we both hold, that certain doctrines are necessary to be believed for salvation; we both believe in the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation and Atonement; in the supernatural grace of the Sacraments; in the Apostolical succession; in the obligation of the faith and obedience, and in the eternity of future punishment.³⁹

Newman reasoned that if the two Churches are one in such fundamentals, then the two Churches are really one—despite disagreements in lesser fundamentals. With the conviction that if this is true, then the Anglican Church is surely a true 'branch' of the Church Catholic, he delves deeper into his study of the early Church Fathers and the Monophysite⁴⁰ controversies in the Church of the fifth century. While he was puzzling over the subject, the article on the schism of the Donatists written by Wiseman that had just appeared in the Catholic Dublin Review is brought to his attention, which gave him food for thought.

Things were in a state of ferment and went on for years up to 1841 even more than Newman surmised. Agitation was in the air as we can glean:

If we inquire what the world thought of it, we have still more to raise our wonder; for, not to mention the excitement

³⁸Moody, p. 72.

³⁹Apologia, p. 93.

⁴⁰Moody, p. 74. The Monophysites were an heretical sect of the fifth century who taught, among other things, that there is but one nature in Christ, some of them rejecting His Human nature while others contended that His one nature was both human and divine ... Donatists (fourth century) taught that the validity of the sacraments depended on the moral character of the minister and that sinners should not be recognized as Christians unless their sins were secret.

it caused in England, the Movement and its party-names were known to the police of Italy and to the back-woodsmen of America. And so it proceeded getting stronger every year, till it came into collision with the Nation, and that Church of the Nation which it began by professing especially to serve.⁴¹

The first shock came in 1838 from his bishop. Newman offered to withdraw his Tracts, but his bishop at the time deemed it unnecessary. In the turmoil, storm, and stress he was disturbed by the words, "securus judicat orbis terrarum"--of the Ancient Father, St. Augustine found in the Wiseman article, which in the interpreting and summing up the long and varied course of ecclesiastical history absolutely pulverized the theory of his Via Media.⁴²

In the indignation caused by Tract XC (1841) Newman recognized "much of real religious feeling, much of honest and true principle, and much of straightforward ignorant common sense."⁴³ In Oxford there was a smoldering kind of animosity that seemed to have got into action even before the publication. Newman was quite unprepared for the outbreak and was taken aback by its violence, but he agrees that in one point of view it was a relief to him.⁴⁴

Newman saw clearly that his place in the Movement was lost; and he knew he was being denounced as a traitor. Though some of his immediate friends, men of name and position, took his part, he lost

⁴¹Apologia, p. 100.

⁴²Moody, pp. 76-77. "Quapropter securus judicat orbis terrarum, bonos non esse qui se dividunt ab orbe terrarum quacumque parte orbis terrarum." ("The entire world judges with security that they are not good, who separate themselves from the entire world in whatever part of the entire world.")

⁴³Apologia, p. 112.

⁴⁴Ibid.

all confidence in himself. In his last letter to his Bishop resigning his place in the Movement, he wrote:

I have nothing to be sorry for except having made your Lordship anxious, and others whom I am bound to revere. I have nothing to be sorry for, but everything to rejoice in and be thankful for. ... I have acted because others did not act, and have sacrificed a quiet which I prized. May God be with me in time to come, as He has been hitherto! and He will be, if I can but keep my hand clean and my heart pure. I think I can bear, or at least will try to bear, any personal humiliation, so that I am preserved from betraying sacred interests, which the Lord of grace and power has given into my charge.⁴⁵

One of the most significant periods in Newman's sphere of thought which led him to his final conviction were the years 1839 to 1841. He termed it the course of that "great revolution of mind which led me to leave my own home, to which I was bound by so many strong and tender ties."⁴⁶ The numerous subtle influences which he recollected after twenty-five years, became an extreme trial for him to analyze. In the spring of 1839 his position in the Anglican Church was at its height, and his confidence in the controversial issues still growing. In summarizing the history of the Tractarian effort and relating it to the current thought of the day, represented by the romantics, Scott, Coleridge, Southey, and Wordsworth, he concluded by putting the ominous alternatives: the Via Media of Anglicanism or Roman Catholicism.⁴⁷ In reviewing his course of action he remembers his article "Home Thoughts Abroad" (1836), a dialogue in which the Anglican disputant stands upon Antiquity, the Roman upon Catholicity, and the argument in behalf of Rome is stated with considerable force.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 114.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 122.

⁴⁷Harrold, p. 39.

His astonished friends considered it imprudent and even insidious, but he was intent on discovering the truth. He tried to be fair with his adversaries, being of the opinion that "Flagrant evils cure themselves by being flagrant."⁴⁸

At the beginning of the ninth year (1842) he began to despair of the Church of England and gave up all clerical duty, writing in order to benefit and not to injure. He admits that he has a great affection for Oxford and Oriel, yet "I had a secret longing love of Rome, the Mother of English Christianity, and I had a true devotion to the Blessed Virgin, in whose College I lived, whose Altar I served, and whose Immaculate Purity I had in one of my earliest printed Sermons made much of."⁴⁹ He was in earnest when he preached or reasoned for himself that one should not be swayed in religious inquiry by our sympathy rather than by our reason.⁵⁰

He was convinced that all the logic in the world would not have made him move faster toward Rome than he did. He arrived at the end of his venture ... "Rome was my ultimate destination."⁵¹ For some time he had nurtured a desire for greater holiness, but he said that "would be very unpleasant to confess such a wish to my Bishop because it would seem arrogant, and ... may come to nothing."⁵²

It had been Newman's resolution to keep everyone back from being received into the Church that he could, but he mentioned one particular

⁴⁸Apologia, p. 139.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 198.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 202.

⁵²Ibid., p. 207.

young man: "The immediate occasion of my resigning at St. Mary's, was the unexpected conversion of one of them."⁵³ He no longer felt it was possible for him to go on or to keep his word to his bishop. About the same time he acknowledges that his sympathies have grown towards the religion of Rome, and his reasons for shunning her communion have lessened or altered, though he believes it difficult to prove.

He was convinced that "there are but two alternatives, the way to Rome and the way to atheism: Anglicanism is the half-way house on the one side and Liberalism is the half-way house on the other."⁵⁴ Because a perfectly consistent mind must embrace either the one or the other, he resigned his position at St. Mary's in 1843. He had one final advance of mind to accomplish, one final step to make. The advance of mind was to be able honestly to say that he was certain of the conclusion at which he had arrived. The final step was his submission to the Catholic Church. He allowed himself to be guided by his present state of opinion, and to him his method of procedure was clear. He decided to take the final step in the summer of 1846, which would end the seven years he had deliberated.

It was not to be that long, for at the beginning of October 1845, when the little Italian Passionist priest chanced to pass through London, Newman assented to the proposition made him to have the priest take Littlemore on the way. Of him Newman said: "He is a simple, holy man; and withal gifted with remarkable powers. He does not know of my intention; but I mean to ask him admission into the One Fold of Christ."⁵⁵

⁵³Ibid., p. 210.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 236.

⁵⁵Apologia, p. 265.

Newman left Oxford for good on Monday, February 23, 1846, having bid farewell to various friends Saturday and Sunday nights. On the morning of the 23rd, he says: "I left the Observatory, I have never seen Oxford since, excepting its spires, as they are seen from the railway."⁵⁶

He had traveled about visiting various leading Catholic colleges and centers, meeting bishops and churchmen, while he was still uncertain of his future. With regard to his mental attitude, we have his own final statements:

From the time I became a Catholic, of course I have no further history of my religious opinions to narrate. In saying this, I do not mean to say my mind has been idle, or that I have given up thinking on theological subjects; but that I have had no variations to record, and have had no anxiety of heart whatever. I have been in perfect peace and contentment. I never have had one doubt. I was not conscious to myself, on my conversion of any change, intellectual or moral, wrought in my mind. I was not conscious of firmer faith in the fundamental truths of Revelation, or of more self-command; I had not more fervour; but it was like coming into port after a rough sea; and my happiness on that score remains to this day without interruption.⁵⁷

Thus terminates the first half of the life of the great Cardinal and begins what was termed his most beautiful sermon, his "Second Spring," the fullest, the richest, the saintliest period of his life.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 276.

MENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF MILL

Mill's account of his intense intellectual activity, while almost totally different in aim, approach, and style from that of Newman, shows again in the wide differences in quality of mind which the Victorian Age produced.

His autobiography lacks that power of self-analysis which makes the great autobiography above all, for instance, ... the Confessions of Saint Augustine, a part of the essential literature of the world."⁵⁸ John Stuart Mill's own introductory paragraph to his Autobiography assigns to his work the quality of "unusual and remarkable."⁵⁹

In tracing the education of a man so single-minded, so unselfish, so abstract, and so rare as Mill, it becomes evident in the Autobiography that his father must have been a man of high intellectual abilities and attainments. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, in the usual course, his father was licensed as a preacher, but never followed the profession, because he could not believe the doctrines of any church. After spending some years as private tutor, he took up residence in London and devoted himself to writing. His best known work is the History of British India, which took him two years. He had no other means of support until 1819, when he obtained a position in the India House.

Mill's curious interest in his father's position caused him some anguish. He wondered about his father's only source of revenue being

⁵⁸Autobiography, Preface by Harrold J. Laski, p. x.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 1.

the precarious one of writing for periodicals, with such a large family to support; then he mused at the extraordinary energy which was required to lead the kind of life in which his father engaged. Added to all his usual and unusual labors, he spent a considerable part of almost every day in the instruction of his children. Concerning Mill, Samuel C. Chew writes:

The remorselessly rigorous education to which, in accordance with Benthamite principles, he was subjected by his father would have turned into a hopeless pang the boy who at the age of fifteen had formed a little society of "Utilitarians" had not his character contained hidden elements of greatness.⁶⁰

Mill confirms the fact that as a child he was almost incredibly precocious, for he began Greek at three and at eight had read such Greek authors as Herodotus and Plato in the original besides such English historians as Robertson, Hume, and Gibbon. He also began the study of Latin at this time. His father frequently proposed to his son much more than he was capable of doing. "My father, in all his teaching, demanded of me not only the utmost that I could do, but much that I could by no possibility have done."⁶¹

His father, one of the most impatient of men, permitted incessant interruptions from his son, who worked at the same table and found it necessary to ask the meaning of every Latin word he did not know. Besides Greek, he studied arithmetic, a task he remembered for its disagreeableness, every evening. He engaged in a great deal of reading by himself, and when his father would take his daily walks before

⁶⁰Albert C. Baugh et al., A Literary History of England (New York, 1948), p. 1322.
⁶¹Ibid., p. 4.

breakfast, his eldest son always accompanied him, and from notes on slips of paper he made while reading he would tell the story to his father. The books he chiefly delighted in reproducing were histories, especially those of Watson, Philip the Second and Third, and Hook's History of Rome. His father used to have frequent talks with him about the books read, and as opportunity offered gave him "explanations and ideas respecting civilization, government, morality, mental cultivation, which he required me to re-state to him in my own words."⁶² Books which would never have been his choice he was required to read, among them Miller's Historical View of the English Government, Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, McOrie's Life of John Knox, and even Sewell and Rutzky's Histories of the Quakers.

Books which exhibited men of energy and resource in unusual circumstances, struggling against difficulties and overcoming them, were the types of reading his father selected. Such books as Anson's Voyages and Hawkesworth's Voyages Round the World were delightful reading for him. Children's books, like playthings, were scarcely ever given to him. Robinson Crusoe, a gift of a relative, gave him supreme joy through all his boyhood, but such books of amusement were allowed very sparingly in his boyhood, and when they were allowed, they were borrowed. Several that John Stuart remembered having borrowed were the Arabian Nights, Casotte's Arabian Tales, Don Quixote, Miss Edgworth's popular Tales, and Brooke's Pool of Quality.⁶³

In his eighth year, as he began the study of Latin, he also taught

⁶²Ibid., p. 4.

⁶³Ibid., p. 6.

his sisters and brothers. This task was disgusting to him, and as a learning process, he says was very inefficient, and "I well know that the relation between teacher and those taught is not a good moral discipline to either."⁶⁴ Because of his demonstrated ability he was directed to read the Greek poets beginning with the Iliad. At the same time he began to study Latin. Somewhat later he read Euclid and started algebra under his father's supervision. Between his eighth and twelfth year, he enumerated some of the books read: Virgil, the Aeneid, Horace, the Fables of Phaedrus, the first five books of Livy, Sallust, considerable part of Ovid's Metamorphoses, some of the plays of Terence, two or three books of Macrobius, several of the Orations of Cicero, Letters to Atticus. In Greek he read the Iliad and the Odyssey, one or two plays of Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, all of Thucydides, the Hellenics of Xenophon, a great part of Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Lydias, Theocritus, Anacreon, a little of Dionysius, several books of Polybius, and lastly Aristotle's Rhetoric, which was the first expressly scientific treatise on any moral or psychological subject he had read. During the same years he learned elementary geometry and algebra thoroughly and the differential calculus and other portions of higher mathematics as far as his father had acquired his early knowledge.

He next chose for his literary diet Pope's translation of the Iliad, the first English verse he cared to read which he did possibly thirty times. History was always his chief delight, and especially ancient history. One of his voluntary exercises engaged in from boyhood

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 7.

was writing histories. He selected events of his favorite historians like Hooke and Watson and compiled his notes. Later in contempt of his childish efforts, he destroyed them.

Writing verses was one of the most disagreeable tasks which his father required of him, probably because he had read little of English poetry up to this time. Shakespeare's historical plays were next placed before him. His father's tastes, works of Milton, Goldsmith, Burns, and Gray were given him. One of his greatest amusements was experimental science. He devoured treatises on chemistry.

"From the age of twelve, I entered into another and more advanced stage in my course of instruction in which the main object was no longer the aids and appliances of thought, but the thoughts themselves."⁶⁵ He began a thorough study of the scholastic logic and at the same time read Aristotle's logical treatise in the original. In the following year he was introduced to political economy and studied Ricardo and Adam Smith with his father. He says:

I know nothing, in my education, to which I think myself more indebted for whatever capacity of thinking I ever attained. The first intellectual operation in which I arrived at any proficiency, was dissecting a bad argument, and finding in what part the fallacy lay ... I am persuaded that nothing, in modern education, tends so much ... to form exact thinkers. The boasted influence of mathematical studies is nothing to it; for in mathematical processes, none of the real difficulties of correct ratiocination occur.⁶⁶

As he read Plato and Demosthenes, which he could do with perfect ease now, he was required to read them aloud to his father, who gave the elocution particular attention, stressing the inflection, articulation,

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 12.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 13.

or expression. John, when reproved for reading ill, was never shown how to read by his father. His son considered this a defect in his father's otherwise admirable modes of teaching.

A book which contributed much to his mental development and education was his father's History of India, published in 1818. Though his father had a round of business affairs, he never relaxed in his attention to his son's education. Ricardo's Political Economy was next discussed. His father deliberately educated him to think for himself and occasionally when his conclusions were different from his father's, the elder's opinions were the ultimate standard. Later his son occasionally convinced the father and altered his opinions on some points of detail.

Mill was always convinced that much time is wasted in the training of youth and that a pupil never does all he can when he is not demanded to do more than he is capable of doing. This was the manner in which his father helped him early to achieve remarkable intellectual maturity. His unusual attainments were never an excuse for conceit. His father impressed him with the fact that his achievement was due to his father's time and energy expended which other lads did not receive. His physical strength was never developed; his animal need of physical activity was satisfied by walking, which made him grow up healthy and hardy, but not muscular.⁶⁷

His father's constant reproofs for his inattention, inobservance, and slackness of mind in matters of daily life kept him modest and humble in his mind, expressions, and attitude. He was conscious, however, that there were defects in his father's teaching. "The education

⁶⁷Autobiography, p. 25.

which my father gave me, was in itself much more fitted for training me to know than to do."⁶⁸ He infers that his father frequently expected effects without causes.

Those who knew Mill were surprised by his "Three Essays on Religion" (1874), published the year after his death. These essays show a more mature judgment and much that he imbibed from his father. They also "show how much there was latent in him which he did not find a place in his inherited system. In harmony with the moral and religious experience of mankind he found the idea of a morally perfect God whose power is not infinite and who, needing the active cooperation of man in the struggle against the negative world-principle, leads the cosmic process upward."⁶⁹

His father, although educated as a Scotch Presbyterian rejected what is commonly called Natural Religion, and the son was reared with the same beliefs. The Autobiography reveals that Mill's father had read Butler's Analogy. To his son the father always spoke of this work with great respect and said that it was the turning point of his mind on the subject. For some time it kept the father a believer in the divine authority of Christianity, but after some deliberation he hesitated in his acceptance of God as the Creator of the universe. Finding no "halting place in Deism, he remained in a state of perplexity, ... yielding to the conviction that concerning the origin of things nothing whatever can be known."⁷⁰ Mill attests to the correctness

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 26.

⁶⁹Baugh, p. 1324.

⁷⁰Autobiography, p. 28.

of this opinion, for he is assured that his father looked upon dogmatic atheism as absurd. His rejection of these views was moral rather than intellectual.

Mill's father could not conceive that God would make a Hell after having created the human race with infallible foreknowledge. He failed to believe that the majority were doomed to everlasting perdition, because such a standard would conflict with the dispensations of nature. Hence for him "morality continued a matter of blind tradition with no consistent principle, not even any consistent feeling, to guide it."⁷¹

Mill was receptive of all the influences to which he was subjected, and certainly it would have been wholly inconsistent with his father's ideas of duty to permit his son to acquire impressions contrary to his own religious convictions and feelings. His father impressed on him deeply that the manner in which the world came into existence was a subject on which nothing was known, that the question "Who made me?" cannot be answered, because we have no experience or authentic information from which to answer it; and that any answer only throws the difficulty a step further back, since the question immediately presents itself, "Who made God?"⁷²

At an early age he was made to read ecclesiastical history and to take a great interest in the Reformation. Thus he cites himself as one of the few who has "not thrown off religious belief, but never had it."⁷³

⁷¹Ibid., p. 30.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

Because he could not prudently express his contrary views, he had the habit of keeping his thoughts to himself at an early age, a procedure which had some disadvantage to him. Although he followed closely in his father's footsteps, the matter of withholding his moral convictions was detrimental to him.

The elder Mill's moral convictions, completely separated from religion, had much in common with those of the Greek philosophers. He had imbibed from the Memorabilia of Xenophon a deep respect for the character of Socrates, who stood in his mind as a model of ideal excellence, and somewhat later the lofty moral standard exhibited in the writings of Plato operated on him with great force.

My father's moral inculcations were at all times mainly these of "Socratical viri:" justice, temperance, veracity, perseverance, readiness to encounter pain and especially labour; regard for the public good; estimation of persons according to their merits, and of things according to their intrinsic usefulness; a life of exertion in contradiction to one of self-indulgent ease and sloth ... These and other moralities he conveyed in brief sentences, uttered as occasion arose, of grave exhortation, or stern reprobation and contempt.⁷⁴

His father's views were triangular--partaking of the character of the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Cynic--but personally the Stoic qualities predominated. His Epicurean standard was as much utilitarian as it was Epicurean; he took as the exclusive test of right and wrong the tendency of actions to produce pleasure or pain, but the cynic element in him was strong enough almost to exclude any pleasure. Pleasure to him was something that must be paid for, and the greatest disorders in life he attributed to the overvaluing of pleasures. Moderation was a central point in his educational program.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 33.

For passionate emotions his father had the greatest contempt; feeling he seemed to consider neither good nor bad; and conscience itself distrusted for the very desire to act right often led people to act wrong. His father was tolerant, in that he was not insensible to good qualities in an opponent nor governed by the estimation of one individual. Mill's opinions, on account of his father's rather rigid moral order of minds, were not likely to err either from laxity or indulgence. The element which his son deemed deficient in his moral relation to his children was that of tenderness, but he ascribes lack of his demonstrative signs of feeling to his strictly English traits, which barred all expression of feelings or emotions. In later life the younger children loved and were shown a more tender love. Mill does not know whether he was better or worse for the experience. His childhood was not unhappy, but there was a strain on his constitution, and he suffered from the unnatural development which was enforced on him. For Mill believed that fear should not be a main element in training, because the exclusion of love and confidence causes the child to remain reticent and uncommunicative.

During this first period of his life he was somewhat influenced by the friends of his father, who were few, and because he was always with his father in his study, he met and listened with interest to their conversations. One of those was David Ricardo, who later taught him political economy, and another was Hume, the historian, a colleague of his father's, who later went to Parliament with Mr. Bentham, a close intimate of his father, who was the earliest Englishman of any rank to understand and adopt his general views of ethics, government, and law. His father and he made an excursion which included Oxford,

Bath, and Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and Portsmouth. This gave him a taste for natural scenery. Large mansions with architectural beauty opened his mind to his larger and freer existence, as did the character of the grounds and the poetic sounds of the falling waters.

Another fortunate circumstance in MILL's education was his residence with General Sir Samuel Bentham, brother of Mr. Bentham, but a man of totally different equipment from his brother. Mill noticed the "contrast between the frank sociability and amiability of French personal intercourse, and the English mode of existence in which everybody acts as if everybody else was either an enemy or a bore."⁷⁵ In passing through Paris on his return, he met M. Say, an eminent political economist, friend of his father's, a "fine specimen of the best kind of French Republican, of those who had never bent the knee to Bonaparte though courted by him to do so; a truly upright, brave, and enlightened man ... acquainted with the chiefs of the Liberal party."⁷⁶ Another noteworthy person that Mill met was Saint-Simon. He took up his regular course of education with his father on his return to England in July, 1821.

After returning from France Mill resumed his earlier studies with some additional new ones. He attempted to read his father's manuscript, Elements of Political Economy, then almost ready for the press. Next his father put into his hands Condillac's Traite des Sensations and the logical and metaphysical volumes of his Cours d' Etudes. Soon thereafter he read a history of the French Revolution. He was apparently astonished to find that the principles of democracy had been a creed of

⁷⁵Autobiography, p. 42
⁷⁶Ibid.

the French nation for over thirty years, which fact and the struggle encountered for that democracy had been unfamiliar to him until then. He allied himself then permanently on the side of democracy.

Mr. John Austin was permitted to read Roman law to him during the winter of 1821-22. Adding much to the best ideas of Bentham's principles, Mr. Austin gave him valuable introductions to legal studies and education in general. He also accompanied his studies with Bentham's principal speculations as interpreted by Dumont, in the Traite de Legislation. Mill states definitely that the reading of this book was "an epoch in my life; one of the turning points in my mental history."⁷⁷

Having been taught previously to apply the Benthamic standard of the "greatest happiness," Mill after some speculating was impressed by the manner in which Bentham put into scientific form the application of the happiness principle. Dumont's treatise was more clear and compact than Bentham's original. He could detect as a result of his study of logic ... some of the weak points in the work. He acquired a strong relish for accurate classification.⁷⁸

With this improvement in his outlook and the heightening of his mental power, his aspirations began to take definite shape. Under his father's direction he studied analytic psychology, began to read Locke's Essay and Hartley's Observations on Man. By contrast Mill felt the insufficiency of the verbal generalizations of Condillac and some of the explanations of Locke. Other English writers on mental philosophy that he read at this time were Berkeley, Hume, Reid, Dugald Stewart, and Brown on Cause and Effect.

Contributing materially to his development during the next year was Bentham's "Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion on the

⁷⁷Autobiography, p. 45.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 47.

Temporal Happiness of Mankind." While making the marginal analysis, he was impressed by its searching analysis. He admits his later reading made him think differently, and at that time he found weak arguments, but he passed it by with the feeling that the sound arguments overbalanced the weak ones.

I have now, I believe, mentioned all the books which had any considerable effect on my early mental development. From this point I began to carry on my intellectual cultivation by writing still more than by reading.⁷⁹

In the summer of 1822 he wrote his first argumentative essay, with which his father was well satisfied. As a logical next step, he prepared himself for oratory, and here his two greatest aids were the contacts with Mr. Grote and Mr. John Austin, who were great intellectual powers exerting a salutary influence on him. By the winter of 1823 Mill had formed a little society composed of young men agreeing in fundamental principles--acknowledging Utility as their standard in ethics and politics, accepting certain corollaries drawn from its philosophy, meeting once a fortnight to read essays and discuss questions on premises agreed upon. Mill himself gave the name to the society, 'The Utilitarians', which has come down to us in history. He took it from one of Galt's novels, the Annals of the Parish, in which the Scotch clergyman is represented as warning his parishioners not to leave the Gospel and become 'utilitarians'. Mill says, "With a boy's fondness for a name and a banner I seized on the word, and for some years called myself and others by it as a sectarian appellation."⁸⁰

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 50.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 56.

This society, which at first consisted of three members, never reached ten and broke up in 1826. The chief effect on Mill was that it gave him valuable contacts with several young men on whose mental progress he exerted some influence. In May 1823 Mill's professional occupation was decided for the next thirty-five years of his life. He obtained a position just below his father in the office of the East India Company, which permitted an allowance besides that which he might gain by writing. It was an opportunity to see, hear, deliberate on the difficulties of the company. Mill profited by seeing the necessity of compromise:

I became conversant with the difficulties of moving bodies of men, the necessities of compromise, the art of sacrificing the non-essential to preserve the essential. I learned how to obtain the best I could, when I could not obtain everything; instead of being indignant or dispirited because I could not have entirely my own way, to be pleased and encouraged when I could have the smallest part of it; and when even that could not be, to bear with complete equanimity the being overruled altogether. I have found, through life, these acquisitions to be of the greatest possible importance for personal happiness, and they are also a very necessary condition for enabling any one, either as theorist or as practical man, to effect the greatest amount of good compatible with his opportunities.⁸¹

About 1822 Mill began to write for newspapers along with his other vigorous business pursuits. His first attempt was a reply in the "Globe and Traveller" on an attack made on some opinions of Ricardo and his father. Next he wrote in defense of freedom of discussion in religion. In 1823 a considerable number of his articles were inserted in the "Chronicle and Traveller."

Up to this time it had been almost a universal creed of Englishmen that the law of England, the judicature of England, and the unpaid

⁸¹Ibid., p. 60.

nightmare of England were models of excellence. Mr. John Black, who became editor of the "Chronicle" and was joined by his father, had the greatest share in breaking down this wretched superstition.⁶² Mill learned from their experience as they kept up incessant fire against it, exposing absurdities and vices of the law and the courts of justice, until they forced some sense into people's minds. Black was one of the most influential personalities around him. Mr. Black now began to set up the Discriminating Review and offered the editorship to Mill's father, but he declined. He did contribute articles which were really the work of his son. This aided John Stuart much in organizing and analyzing for publications in time to come.

At this period Liberalism became a dominating tone of the time; improvement of institutions was pressed, along with a complete change of the constitution of Parliament. Being in the headquarters with writers who were aroused to action thereby, Mill was very conscious of its direction. Even at this time Mr. Bentham's influence was noticeable in Mill's writings; Mill felt that he had produced, was producing effects on the conditions of mankind, wider and deeper than ever his father had.⁶³ Chiefly his father was admired for his personal ascendancy ... his vigour and instructiveness in conversation, which he used for the diffusion of his opinions. Mill, no doubt, continued to acquire for himself some of the merits he gloried to find in his father:

I have never known any man who could do such ample justice to his best thoughts in colloquial discussion. His perfect

⁶²Ibid., p. 65.
⁶³Ibid., p. 71.

command over his great mental resources, the terseness and expressiveness of his language and the moral earnestness as well as the intellectual force of his delivery made him one of the most striking of all argumentative conversers; and he was full of anecdote, a hearty laughter, and when with people whom he liked, a most lively and amusing companion.⁸⁴

Mill admits that he only learned later to really appreciate the "extreme rarity"⁸⁵ and the moral support gained from conversation with his father. He also concedes that his father's opinions through three channels gave the distinguishing character to the Benthamite or utilitarian propagandism of that time. Firstly, his son was the only mind directly formed by his instructions, who in turn exercised a considerable influence over various men, who became, in turn, propagandists; secondly, through some of the Cambridge contemporaries of Charles Austin, who were either initiated by him or under the general mental impulse which he gave, had adopted many opinions allied to those of his father; and the third channel was that of a younger generation of Cambridge undergraduates who were drawn to that estimable person by affinity of opinions introduced by him to his father.

Other qualities which developed in Mill were his ambition and desire of distinction, his zeal for what he thought the good of mankind. At the same time he regrets his lack of poetical culture, but there was a superabundance of discipline antagonistic to it, that of mere logic and analysis.⁸⁶ Mill's father tended to undervalue feeling because he thought that if action were properly cared for, feeling would take care of itself.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 71.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Ibid.

At the most sectarian period of his Benthamism, Mill remarks that he happened to read Pope's Essay on Man. It reacted powerfully on his imagination because the opinions expressed were all contrary to his opinions. This was a mere passive state.⁸⁷ Before he had changed in any considerable degree, the basis of his intellectual creed, "he had obtained in natural course of his mental progress poetic culture of the most valuable kind, by means of the reverential admiration for the lives and character of heroic persons; especially the heroes of philosophy."⁸⁸

The work of condensing and simplifying Mr. Bentham's treatise on the English Law of Evidence further sharpened his mental faculties. After replying to some of the objections to some of the doctrines sent in by reviewers, Mill added a few supplementary remarks on the abstract parts of the subject. Bentham then insisted on putting his name as the editor, and it was in vain that he tried to persuade him to do otherwise. This was his first volume in print, as such, and although it was not fundamentally his own, he realized how much he had gained from this experience, and commenting on the book Rationale of Judicial Evidence, he maintains that it is

one of the richest in matter of all Bentham's productions. The theory of evidence being in itself one of the most important of his subjects, and ramifying into most of the others, the book contains very fully developed, a great proportion of all his best thoughts; while, among more special things, it comprises the most elaborate exposure of the vices and defects of English law ... The direct knowledge which I obtained from the book, and which was imprinted upon me much more thoroughly than it could have been by mere reading, was itself no small acquisition ... it gave a great

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 79.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 79.

start to my powers of composition.⁸⁹

Everything Mill wrote subsequent to his editing this publication was of a superior quality, he believes. Reading of such French and English authors in conjunction with the project (Goldsmith, Fielding, Pascal, Voltaire, and Courier) took from his writing he says the "jejuneness"⁹⁰ of his earlier compositions. At the same time that he was engaged in writing for the public, he began to learn German. These group discussions of various books several nights a week contributed very much to his mental progress. Logic, analytic psychology and essays on government were inaugurated also at this time to stimulate original and independent thinking. Mill has alluded to them as the great force in strengthening a mental habit to which he attributed all that he had ever done or would do, in speculation.⁹¹ From 1825 to 1830 he did considerable public speaking, which he also grants "had important effects on my development."⁹²

Comparable with Newman's period of doubt and hesitation, in a sense, is the interlude in Mill's life, which for all practical purposes seems to lend itself conveniently as the highest peak or level in his mental development. Mill thus far had developed along straight lines⁹³ and was the rather willing follower of Bentham and his father. Almost as immediate as the action of an atom bomb, he recognized his dilemma, the crisis of conscience which he terms a "crisis in my mental

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 81.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 82.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 86.

⁹²Ibid., p. 86.

⁹³Legouis, p. 1133.

history,⁹⁴ and in his so-called concluding or climaxing chapter of his mental development, he leaves a clear account of it.

From the winter of 1821, when he read Bentham, he conceived the idea that his object in life was to be a reformer of the world. He was accustomed to felicitate himself on the certainty of a happy life which he more or less enjoyed during his years of general improvement. "But the time came when I awakened from this dream," he says. "This was the autumn of 1826."⁹⁵ In this frame of mind it occurred to him to ask himself:

Suppose that all your objects in life were realized; that all the changes in institutions and opinions which you are looking forward to, could be completely effected at this very instant; would this be a great joy and happiness to you?" And an irrespressible self-consciousness distinctly answered, "No!"

At this my heart sank within me: the whole foundation on which my life was constructed fell down. All my happiness was to have been found in the continual pursuit of this end ... I seemed to have nothing to live for.⁹⁶

Although Mill reached a period of hesitation, a "halt which lasted five years,"⁹⁷ he continued his profound interest in education and propagated the idea for the welfare of humanity. In the life of everyone there comes the time when he is most fully and powerfully himself. When this period coincides with an equal maturity of conscience, of intelligence, and of artistic sense, he is ready to produce his greatest creation or to enjoy his fullest living.

The period in life of John Stuart Mill at the end of his mental crisis (1831) and in the life of John Henry Cardinal Newman (1845) at

⁹⁴Autobiography, p. 93.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 94.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 126.

the time of his conversion and acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith, the autobiographers reveal, was the time when both men resolved their lives. The autobiographies are concerned with their revelation of mental development and leave both of them in a fashion from which there will be little change. Their lives become enriched by association and circumstances, Mill's chiefly by the friendship and assistance of his future wife, Mrs. Harriet Taylor, Newman's with his association and acquisition of the faith of his desire. Though they were still actively engaged, an honest peacefulness pervades the remainder of the lives of both Newman and Mill.

CHAPTER V

RESEMBLANCES AND DISSIMILARITIES

To understand sympathetically the qualities of likeness in the mental attitudes of Newman and Mill, who are as different as Strachey's choice in his Eminent Victorians of an ecclesiastic, Cardinal Manning, and a woman of action, Florence Nightingale, is to be conscious of the vitality and variety of England as such, the England of the past, and the state of this great nation in the nineteenth century. Both men were of this England; they were peculiarly English in characteristics, in outlook, and in sentiment.

England had come to the crossroads. She could love "Bracebridge Hall" that our own Washington Irving saw and portrayed so beautifully; she could read her own Charles Dickens who had little to say of Bracebridge Hall but a great deal to say of the victims of a society that was changing—a change which from all appearances was for the worse. England was in the midst of an industrial revolution where political reforms and imperialism were rampant. She had to deal with Ireland, almost completely Catholic, and Scotland, not at all sympathetic toward the Anglican Church.

During this time of slow change (for England abhors quick reforms, in fact, any hasty change that affects the lives of the whole of the nation, or even a part of it) were two young minds, of exceptional character, tenacity, intelligence, and of an unusual quality of selflessness. This latter quality is universally notable in the true saint, philosopher, and reformer. A dictator may reform to gratify his ego, but he does so by grim force. A true saint cannot be one simply through the

desire to save his own soul, and the philosopher cannot evolve a philosophy unless he takes into consideration all of mankind, that is, all the people of the universe.

Mill and Newman are selfless in this sense. As a philosopher Mill could have little hope of personal material gain. He worked as an official in the East India Company to be able to live, but he spent untold hours of labor writing, thinking, talking for liberal democratic action, and he felt that action had to be brought into being in England; hence he would be apt to lose more than he would gain, and with no thought of recompense. He was interested in the people of England. Characteristic of the Victorian writings and of these autobiographers in particular is that spirit of extreme earnestness which gave their writings a distinctively serious and even moral tone. In both men one can discern that painstaking and assiduous concern to a unique degree, to reach the goal, once the aim has been established. In their seriousness and their interest in the well-being of their fellowmen they might be termed missionaries, each in his own sphere of action with the impersonal, that selfless motive which both must have imbibed from their Bibles: "As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me."¹

Indicative of the earnestness of purpose of Newman is his own key to the manner in which he attained his pulpit appeal as expressed in The Idea of a University. He recommends precisely that the preacher's aim must be twofold: first, the ministering of some definite good to those who hear him and, secondly, an intense earnestness in pursuing it.

¹Matthew, 25:40.

Newman could well dismiss logic, learning, words, and action as of secondary importance, but always there must be "definiteness of object."²

Earnestness and concentration on his message could always be sensed when he spoke, and even when his hands remained at his sides, his very soul and body seemed to glow with suppressed emotion and gave his voice a thrill and force that his audience described as irresistible. His determination is easily discernible when we sense how he said bluntly:

He called me a liar, a simple, a broad, an intelligible, to the English public a plausible arraignment; but for me, to answer in detail charge one by reason one ... I must give the true key to my life, I must show what I am ... False ideas may be refuted indeed by argument, but by true ideas alone are they expelled. I will vanquish, not my Accuser, but my judges ... I will draw out, as far as may be, the history of my mind ...³

Equally constant in pursuing his theories and the execution of them was Mill, who, though not a very original thinker, had the unusual faculty for assimilating and organizing the ideas of others and to use them for his purpose. "A stern sense of civic duty which he had caught from Plato drove him into active politics, although he could ill spare the time, and although his social and economic status was endangered by the unpopularity of his opinions."⁴ Neff also mentions how Mill's determination in carrying out his standard often exposed the "less pleasing side of his character."⁵ That he was totally engrossed in the welfare of his people we can see from Hugh Elliot:

I believe it would be altogether impossible to name any philosopher who has had the welfare of humanity so deeply at heart, or who has laid himself out so consistently and

²Newman, The Idea of a University (New York, 1947), p. 403.

³Apologia, preface, pp. 16-17.

⁴Henry Neff, Carlyle and Mill (New York, 1926), p. 109.

⁵Ibid.

unsparingly in labouring for the progress of his fellow-men.⁶

Singularly honest, both Newman and Mill were similarly sincere in the manner in which they rationalized their desire for the faith. Both were obliged to follow their intellectual convictions concerning their religious beliefs. Both encountered disagreements and almost unsurmountable obstacles in their environments. Mill's father would have his son "acquire no impressions contrary to his own convictions and feeling, respecting religion." The son admits early in his youth that he had "not thrown off religious belief, but never had it."⁷ Newman says, "We Englishmen like manliness, openness, consistency, truth." To Newman, truth was beautiful, at least metaphysically speaking, and who would blame him for seeking as he did for the Truth. He went back to the ancients. "To him the Fathers were not dead. He consulted them and as soon as their minds were clear to him he made them his own. This was the influence which proved decisive."⁸

Mill, who desired the faith but was shielded from its taking roots in his early youth, philosophically speaking, could only accept that which he could prove in himself. Somewhat later in life he assures us that he, after reading Bentham's treatise on Legislation, had a "creed, a doctrine, a philosophy; in one among the best senses of the word, a religion; the inculcation and diffusion of which could be made the principal outward purpose of life."⁹ Subsequent to his death his

⁶Hugh Elliot, Letters of John Stuart Mill (New York, 1910), I, xxxvii.

⁷Autobiography, p. 30.

⁸Apologia, p. 180.

⁹Autobiography, p. 47.

Three Essays on Religion entitled "Nature," "The Utility of Religion," and "Theism" were published, showing his position on religion and astonishing many of his readers. He had been reared as an agnostic, but as years went on, his association with active minds broadened his views considerably. In 1863 he published his book Utilitarianism, in which he felt that

Darwin's Origin of Species had thrown theological creeds into philosophical chaos and that a humanistic approach to life might find support. But by this time he had removed much of the ethical offense of Utilitarianism by admitting quality as a criterion in the evaluation of pleasures, and self-sacrifice as the best road to happiness ...¹⁰

Philosophers have to defend their philosophies. Newman's philosophy, somewhat like Mill's religious aspect, grew and changed as it were in a glass house, with all who cared to see, looking on. This was, no doubt, to his advantage, for thus he did not have to spring his philosophy upon the public full blown, because in such cases a retraction is apt to negate the whole philosophy.

It was natural for Mill to admire Wordsworth, who wrote of natural beauty. The positive intellect fastens itself on beauties of nature. Newman was more moved by the beauties of the beatific vision attained by the intellect of the soul. Had Mill been in the same situation as Newman, he might possibly have proceeded in the same way in his search for the Truth, nor would he have considered the personal cost. For both the defect when seen must be uprooted, shown to all concerned, and if possible mended. There could be no turning of heads; it must be met, even if personal disaster would result.

There was general disagreement about ideas of religion and politics

¹⁰Lowyer, p. 241.

with Mill and his father, just as there was the rapture over Newman's new creed. Under this aspect the two men are much the same. The method of attack for both would always be personal and direct, and all the force of logic and reason at their command would be directed upon the question at hand. Both found it necessary to stand alone for the principle in question, and both, having spent their energy, would simply retire, not defeated, but to be quiet; Newman to his Gratory and Mill to his private life in another county, only to rise again at the proper time, should occasion demand. Animosity was not a dominant personality trait of either, but, being human, they had some harsh feelings for individuals.

The greatest element of resemblance perhaps in Newman and Mill was the unusual vigor with which both minds achieved the highest goal they attempted; with Newman, it was the Oxford Movement and all it stood for including the writing of the Apologia to justify it; with Mill, it was the lectures on Liberalism and the logic he used to qualify it. His standard book on Logic interpreted his ideals.

As champions of reform both were revolutionary in the zeal and manner in which they hoped to attain a strengthening of the Anglican position and the propagation of the principles of Utilitarianism, or the happiness principle. The intensity with which Newman subscribed to his cause can be found in his diary, which tells us that while working at Part III he wrote "one day for sixteen hours at a stretch. The record is reached in Part V, and given in this entry: 'At my "Apologia" for 22 hours running.' June 2 saw the end of the narration and the publication of the Seventh Part." He had begun the Apologia on April 11 of that year.¹¹

¹¹Apologia, p. 179.

Mill's early education was an interminable round of study and effort, giving him the advantage of a quarter of a century over his contemporaries in the acquisition of knowledge through the painstaking industry which his father demanded of him. Apparently he never lost this habit of industry, for late in life his biographer writes:

Mill possessed an endowment of practical energy to a degree far higher than the average. His life throughout was intense; his output of literary work was astonishing; he scarcely ever appeared to require rest.¹²

And how are these two great men chiefly different? Dissimilarities can be found in their antecedents, their education, their temperament, their purposes, but principally in their philosophy, their restraint.

Though minor emphasis may be placed on their antecedents, it does have some bearing on their mental attitudes. Newman's father and mother come of the upper middle class, and although he is silent about the elder Newman in the Apologia, there are numerous and affectionate references to him in his "Letters and Correspondence."

He was a Freemason of high standing; a man of the world, prosaic, honest, choleric, enterprising, full of good sense; animated by a love of justice and a hatred of oppression and fraud.¹³

Newman eulogized his forbearance and generosity as a father, and it is believed he inherited from his father a taste for classical music and an excellent capacity for business.¹⁴ His mother was of a French Huguenot family who emigrated to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Both parents conformed to the Church of England.

The family of Mill sprang from a part of Scotland, on the slopes

¹²Elliot, p. xxv.

¹³Cadman, p. 436.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 437.

of the Grampian chain, that is famous for the production of metaphysical talent. James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill,

was the eldest son of a small shoemaker, who appears to have been an honest intelligent man, but not notably different from his neighbors. The shoemaker's wife was believed to have been brought up in better circumstances, her descent in the world being due to the fact of her father joining in the Stuart rising of 1745 ... she set her heart from an early date on bringing up her eldest son as a gentleman. In this ambition she was greatly encouraged by the marvelous precocity that her young James soon displayed ... His parents succeeded ... in finding money to carry him through a continuous course of education.¹⁵

The incidents of his life for ten or twelve years are involved in obscurity. His father's marriage to Harriet Burrow was never happy, she being hardly competent to enter into the intellectual occupations of her husband. John Stuart was the oldest of a family of nine children. His life, as that of his father, was restricted because of lack of financial resources at almost all stages of his life.

Little more need be mentioned concerning the varied, the unusual education of both men, which of necessity would influence their dispositions as shown in both their philosophy and the purposes in carrying out their ideals.

As we know, Mill was reared in restraint, and he was a philosopher. A philosopher knows that once he has published his philosophy or any part of his ethical principles, he has either forever to uphold that philosophy or invalidate it completely. Mill was aware of this, for his father and Bentham would have taught him thus, and his own logical mind would arrive at that conclusion very early in his writing career. He might have changed, elaborated upon it in different facets, small details, but utilitarianism remained intact.

¹⁵ Elliot, p. xi.

Newman was not so fortunate when he developed his Tracts. He stated with facts publicly, and he was to arrive at a conclusion that he did not suspect nor at first even want. The result was that his friends were left stranded; he had to repudiate much of his writing, or at least repudiate the end he had in mind when he started writing. The final outcome was confusion. That did not mean that his ideas were illogical in themselves. His logical steps had proved something to him that he had not wanted to prove. But now that it had been, he turned his back upon all that he meant to strengthen and save--and that meant beloved friends of a lifetime--to accept what had come to be an end in the struggle for the good of his church. He faced the situation publicly since he had made it a public issue and proceeded to do what had to be done.

Newman was an ecclesiastical reformer, though not the initiator of the Oxford Movement. "For myself, he writes, "I was not the person to take the lead of a party; I never was, from first to last, more than the leading author of a school; nor did I wish ever to be anything else."¹⁶ He was the greatest figure in the Movement, and without a doubt the man of greatest genius among the leaders. The importance of this spiritual reform is interpreted by Webb:

The Movement which has by general consent appropriated to itself the name of the Oxford Movement was one of very considerable importance. While its doctrinal teaching probably affected the religion of the nation as a whole less than is often supposed, it unquestionably created a new ideal of the Church's ministry and a new type of clergyman; and its influence in this respect has spread not only far beyond the boundaries of the party in the Anglican Communion which would recognize itself or be recognized by others as the heir of

¹⁶Lunn, p. 34.

the Tractarian tradition; it has extended outside the limits of the Anglican Communion itself.¹⁷

Totally different in philosophy from Mill is Newman with his anti-dogmatic principle, which while its reaction is in a different direction, paradoxically seems to be the action of a liberal:

The most oppressive thought, in the whole process of my change of opinion, was the clear anticipation, verified by the event, that it would issue in the triumph of Liberalism. Against the Anti-dogmatic principle I had thrown my whole mind; ...¹⁸

John Stuart Mill was "born on the crest of a wave of democratic sentiment, Parliamentary Reform, and the rights of the people."¹⁹ His many-sidedness is shown in his absorbing interest in a system of politics, economics and education, venturing that the best system is the one that benefits the whole, and not a particular class. According to Legouis it is to the science of social life that he had devoted the best of his thought:

Utilitarian radicalism had, it seemed, definitively established the foundations of democratic liberty. But the liberty of the individual is by no means a clear or a self-sufficient principle; it must be defined, and must be combined in an organic whole with the limits imposed by social life. The law of majorities is not a perfect expression of justice in a democratic state; more supple modes will have to be found in order to represent all shades of opinion. Every fully conscious being has the right to share in the government of all by all; and women, unjustly excluded, must be admitted into the pale of electoral privileges. Political economy should be no longer the impassible theory of the natural link which binds up the maximum of production with the greatest independence of the productive agents; it should purpose as well to study, and to improve, the

¹⁷G. J. Webb, Religious Thought in the Oxford Movement (New York, 1928), p. 9.

¹⁸Apologia, p. 235.

¹⁹Elliot, p. xxxii.

distribution of wealth; and if in this domain the intervention of the State, as the organ of collective interests, were necessary, then the uncompromisingness of a doctrine should finally yield before the more sacred demands of life.²⁰

So the two minds differed, to put it shortly. One played safe and spoke sure because he examined all he had to say, publicly, to fit a philosophy. The other accepted known and given authorities and examined promises after he had spoken in good faith, but he paid in full for his errors.

In similar circumstances, Mill would probably have acted in a similar manner. He certainly would not have quibbled. Undoubtedly he would have confessed his error and corrected it and then re-examined the whole work for other defects, but by nature he would never have done anything quite so explosive and dramatic as Newman did.

²⁰Legouis, p. 1135.

CHAPTER VI

STYLE OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHERS

If as Buffon, the French scholar, says, "Le style, c'est l'homme,"¹ then a brief discussion of the qualities and style of writing used by the autobiographers will be apropos in summary after tracing at some length the gradual development of their mental attitudes. Victorian literature, like all literature that is destined to survive, contains those universal elements of human interest and literary art which preserves it for posterity. Works of both men are distinguished by style, which added to their subject matter, gives them an even greater chance of survival.

Likewise the works of Newman and Mill are the results of their own philosophy. Some of the philosophy of each man would psychologically affect his style. Philosophy is rooted in metaphysics--Newman was a theologian, and Mill was a logician. Newman would of necessity in his philosophy use metaphysics to bolster theology in human reasoning, and since the Apologia was directed to his detractors, believers in the Anglican faith, he was not trying to prove the existence of God or the authenticity of Divine Revelation but defining his interpretation of the latter. Newman was not primarily a logician, yet logic must needs abound in his defense. Yet his manner of usage was in the interpretative sense, and not one of constant proof of every statement made. Newman is at ease when he does so, and this is the manner, the style which he had

¹Heilly, p. 290.

cultivated from his youth. The style he used was that of one who had trained his already musical ear to hear rhythms and cadences; these had long since become a habit. The writing of poetry was a further aid in the style in his autobiography.

But Mill's philosophy was one built on sociology, Comte's in particular, and substantiated by logic and principally inductive logic, which indicates that he had not accepted truths that metaphysics gave him. Hence, he must substantiate every proposition he makes. As Newman's ear was cultivated to be sensitive to sounds, so Mill's mentality demanded a reason for his statements, and thus his prose is made up of minute and careful qualifications, which can be a joy to the one who wants to "know" but annoying to the reader who is already familiar with the subject matter. There are portions of Mill that are smooth, restful, but the result of his unnatural education, he honestly admits, denied him certain appreciations. His was a struggle after the crisis in his mental development to get back to his own natural heritage, the enjoyment of natural wonders and music, even human friendship. And apparently when he had achieved these normal gifts, he needs must go back and examine them logically!

Newman has been characterized at all times as a master stylist, and his own comment on his influence and definition of style is a safe criterion by which to measure his Apologia. In a letter to Rev. John Hayes, April 13, 1859, Newman wrote: "As to pattern of imitation, the only master of style I have ever had (which is strange considering the differences of the language) is Cicero. I think I owe a great deal to him, and as far as I know to no one else. His great mastery of Latin

is shown especially in his clearness.² In definition he states, "Matter and expression are parts of one; style is thinking out into language."³

As to the matter and form of the Apologia, Newman explains that after a brief reflection the solution of his problem had been reached. To preserve his integrity in his own mind and that of others, he had to substitute for the unreliable publicity, the truthful account of his life, motives, and career. Curious to note is the fact that he used only fifteen pages in refuting Kingsley; the remainder of the book was used to analyze the motives which prompted his action.

Mill's Autobiography is not, in the purely literary sense, one of his best works, but it is one of the most interesting revelations of a great mind ever given to the world. No form of literature is more attractive than autobiography when it is thoroughly sincere, as Mill's is.⁴ He sets down what he really believes. It is this, combined with the fact that throughout is used Mill's simpler, more homely style, which gives the book its literary charm. Without effort, without pretense, he deliberately but never boastfully, tells his story.

In support of Moody and Lovett's estimate of Newman's prose, in which they grant he achieved a very high distinction in English literature, they characterize his style of prose by the quality of "wonderful transparency."⁵ Hilaire Belloc, perhaps the greatest English Catholic

²William Lamm, The Golden Thread of Newman (San Antonio, 1946), p. 31.

³Waji Ewing, A Guide to Better Writing (New York, 1942), p. 338.

⁴Hugh Walker, The Literature of the Victorian Era (Cambridge, 1931), p. 159.

⁵William Vaughn Moody and Robert Monss Lovett, A History of English Literature (Chicago, 1935), p. 348.

writer living, who wrote the Preface to the 1930 O'Connell edition of the Apologia, admires the lucidity of his work. Lucidity is the test of prose⁶ according to Belloc. The following paragraphs chosen almost at random illustrate his lucidity.

I am not going to criticize here that vast body of men, in the mass, who at this time would profess to be liberals in religion; and who look towards the discoveries of the age, certain or in progress, as their informants, direct or indirect, as to what they shall think about the unseen and the future.⁷

or again

This power, viewed in its fullness, is as tremendous as the giant evil which has called for it. It claims, when brought into exercise but in the legitimate manner, for otherwise of course it is but quiescent, to know for certain the meaning of every portion of that Divine Message in detail, which was committed by our Lord to His Apostles.⁸

If "Macaulay's idea reaches us through a resisting medium; Newman's idea is one with the medium; his words convey his meaning as ether conveys light" one can see how this occurs in the illustrations and further in the "personal colloquial tone,"⁹

I was in a humour, certainly, to bite off their ears. I will freely confess, indeed I said it some pages back, that I was angry with the Anglican divines. I thought they had taken me in; I had read the Fathers with their eyes; I had sometimes trusted their quotations or their reasonings; and from reliance on them, I had used words or made statements, which by right I ought rigidly to have examined myself. I had thought myself safe, while I had their warrant for what I said. I had exercised more faith than criticism in the matter.¹⁰

Newman also had a great interest in music, and was known to have played the violin with some skill. His favorite composer was Beethoven, to

⁶Apologia, Foreword by Hilaire Belloc, p. vii.

⁷Ibid., p. 298.

⁸Ibid., p. 287.

⁹Moody and Lovett, p. 349.

¹⁰Apologia, p. 235.

whom he was so passionately devoted that his Oratorians were always impressed with his love of Beethoven. Newman had a profound appreciation for classical music. He was heard to exclaim one time, "What can be more beautiful than Handel's Mozart's and Beethoven's melodies?"¹¹ Beethoven had already possessed him in his twenties. He would listen to Mendelssohn's "Elijah," but he never conceded to him the copious melodious gift of Mozart. Late in life when hearing Cherubini's First Requiem in C Minor, he kept saying, "Beautiful, beautiful!" But when the second Requiem in D was played for his pleasure, Newman had to admit, "It is magnificent music! That is a beautiful Mass, but when you get as old as I am, it comes rather too closely home."¹²

Consonant with Newman's fine sensitivity for music, the classical music he appreciated is indicative of the musical values noticeable in his Apologia, "haunting melody of this cadences"¹³ especially in the closing lines after his peace of mind has been established.

Starting then with the being of a God, (which, as I have said, is as certain to me as the certainty of my own existence, though when I try to put the grounds of that certainty into logical shape I find a difficulty in doing so in mood and figure to my satisfaction,) I look out of myself into the world of men, and where I see a sight which fills me with unspeakable distress. The world seems simply to give the lie to that great truth, of which my whole being is so full; and the effect upon me is, in consequence, as a matter of necessity, as confusing as if it denied that I am in existence myself. If I looked into a mirror, and did not see my face, I should have the sort of feeling which actually comes upon me, when I look into this living busy world, and see no reflection of its Creator.¹⁴

¹¹Ward, II, 351.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Moody and Lovett, p. 349.

¹⁴Apologia, p. 273.

Newman indicated frequently in his Apologia how difficult it was for him to delineate or paint what the mind sees and feels. He amplifies this view later by implying that one must try to represent the outline and character, the hues and the shades in which any intellectual view really exists in the mind, by trying to capture not the thought but the tone of thought. As in any classic writing, Newman was speaking of the all-important instrument, the use of imagery and the metaphor. With Newman a master of metaphor¹⁵ one easily detects the use of techniques employed by him.

In speaking of the Monophysites we can see how his thoughts are more or less vividly conveyed by imagery and metaphor. "The shadow of the fifth century was on the sixteenth" and continues "It was like a spirit rising from troubled waters of the world, with the shape and linaments of the new."¹⁶ And in another place in summarizing he repeats the imagery and develops his characteristic metaphor.

I became excited at the view thus opened upon me.... After a while, I got calm, and at length the vivid impression upon my imagination faded away.... I had to determine its logical value, and its bearing upon my duty. Meanwhile, so far as this was certain,--I had seen the shadow of a hand upon the wall. It was clear that I had a good deal to learn on the question of the Churches, and that perhaps some new light was coming upon me. He who has seen a ghost, cannot be as if he had never seen it. The heavens had opened and closed again. The thought for the moment had been, "The Church of Rome will be found right after all;" and then it had vanished. My old convictions remained as before.¹⁷

¹⁵Walter E. Houghton, The Art of Newman's Apologia (New York, 1934), p. 53.

¹⁶Apologia, p. 144.

¹⁷Apologia, p. 146.

Newman's own style was influenced undoubtedly by the Authorized Version. He "was taught by the Bible the grave severity, the chastened colour, and the passionate yet reserved tone that lends his writing a more than human power."¹⁸ The Oxford converts realized surely the contrast between the Douay and the Authorized Version, none more than Newman whose "ear, delicately attuned to its harmonies, could not endure a novel rhythm."¹⁹ Although it was felt by the Church to which they had gone, that the Douay Version of the Bible was a great improvement, its style lacked dignity and charm. Father Faber, convert, whose wholehearted allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church is seldom qualified by his faintest touch for his old communion has at least expressed his appreciation of the King James version of the Bible.²⁰

"Who will say that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country. It lives on one's ear like music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, the anchor of national seriousness. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. In the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant with one spark of religiousness about him whose spiritual biography is not his Saxon Bible."²¹

Conveying Newman's tenderest and most suggestive religious feelings is the masterly, simple yet personal conclusion to the

Apologia:

¹⁸Arnold Lunn, Roman Converts (London, 1924), p. 51.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., p. 52.

And to you especially, dear AMEROSE ST. JOHN; whom God gave me, when he took every one else away; who are the link between my old life and my new; who have now for twenty-one years been so devoted to me, so patient, so zealous, so tender; who have let me lean so hard upon you; who have watched me so narrowly; who have never thought of yourself, if I was in question ...

And I earnestly pray for this whole company, with a hope against hope that all of us, who once were so united, and so happy in our union, may even now be brought at length, by the Power of the Divine Will, into One Fold and under One Shepherd.²²

Not unlike Mill, Newman had a fondness for the long sentence. His sentences ran from one hundred fifty words to three hundred. With lavishing great care in the form and arrangement of his sentences, he shaped each one into a precise and definite form of its own and fitted it into the structure of the whole paragraph.

Mill's autobiography written for more prosaic reasons as his lines give, are also characteristic of his undramatic style of writing:

I have thought that in an age in which education, and its improvement, are subject of more, if not of profounder study than at any former period of English history, it may be useful that there should be some record of an education which was unusual and remarkable ... had proved how much more than is commonly supposed may be taught, and well taught, in those early years in the common modes ... are little better than wasted.²³

Means of expression are adequate in Mill, though not colorful; there is generally a lack of emotional training through the type of reading in which he was taught to indulge. This would readily keep them from being as universally interesting as was the writing of Newman, with a rare quality of ease and grace. An ordinary sentence from Mill runs:

²²Apologia, pp. 319-320.

²³Autobiography, p. 1.

If I am asked, what system of political philosophy I substituted for that which, as a philosophy, I had abandoned, I answer, no system; only a conviction that the true system was something much more complex and many-sided than I had previously had any idea of, and that its office was to supply, not a set of model institutions, but principles from which the institutions suitable to any given circumstances might be deduced.²⁴

At the age of fifteen Mill's education was rooted in the classics.

He also became interested in music, and the type of music which Mill enjoyed is rather typical of his personality and his writing. In his Autobiography he speaks of

The only one of the imaginative arts in which I had from childhood taken great pleasure, was music; the best effect of which (and in this it surpasses perhaps every other art) consists in exciting enthusiasm; in winding up to a high pitch those feelings of an elevated kind which are already in the character, but to which this excitement gives a glow and a fervour, which though transitory at its utmost height, is precious for sustaining them at other times. The effect of music I had often experienced; but like all my pleasurable susceptibilities it was suspended during the gloomy period.²⁵

Mill's style, though "heavy and humorless" is lucid, logical, strong in and clever in illustration," which was proper to the formal expression of the day. His method of writing is seen in his rather tiring line:

The only thing which I am careful, in the first draft, to make as perfect as I am able, is the arrangement. If that is bad, the whole thread on which the ideas string themselves becomes twisted; thoughts placed in a wrong connexion are not expounded in a manner that suits the right, and the first draft with his original vice is next to useless as a foundation for the final treatment.²⁶

Illustrating his lucid and logical line, we have

²⁴Ibid., p. 113.

²⁵Autobiography, p. 101.

²⁶Ibid., p. 156.

My education, I thought, had failed to create these feelings in sufficient strength to resist the dissolving influence of analysis, while the whole course of my intellectual cultivation had made precocious and premature analysis the inveterate habit of my mind. I was thus, as I said to myself, left stranded at the commencement of my voyage, with a well-equipped ship and a rudder, but not sail, without any real desire for the ends which I had been so carefully fitted out to work for: no delight in virtue, or the general good, but also just as little in anything else.²⁷

Strong in argument and clever in illustrations which would be the most common sense to look for in the works of a logician, would be found almost at any point in his last chapters, which incidentally are all much smoother than any part of the first half.

Both these classes must learn to practice to labour and combine for generous, or at all events for public and social purposes, and is not, nor is ever likely to be, extinct. Education, habit, and the cultivation of the sentiments, will make a common man dig or weave for his country, as readily as fight for his country. True enough, it is only by slow degrees, and a system of culture prolonged through successive generations, that men in general can be brought up to this point.²⁸

To point out his quality of careful social restraint one would refer to that section of his life that was his deepest secret for twenty years and of which he writes in a subdued fashion and harmonizing style

Between the time of which I have now spoken, and the present, took place the most important events of my private life. The first of these was my marriage, in April, 1851, to the lady whose incomparable worth had made her friendship the greatest source to me both of happiness and of improvement, during many years in which we never expected to be in any closer relation to one another. Ardently as I should have aspired to this complete union of our lives at any time in the course of my existence at which it had been practicable, I, as much as my wife, would far rather have foregone that privilege for ever, than have owed it to the premature death of one for

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 97.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 163.

whom I had the sincerest respect, and she the strongest affection. That event, however, having taken place in July, 1849, it was granted to me to derive from that evil my own greatest good, by adding to the partnership of thought, feeling, and writing which had long existed, a partnership of our entire existence. For seven and a half years that blessing was mine; for seven and a half only! I can say nothing which could describe, even in the faintest manner, what that loss was and is.²⁹

Characteristic of his labored, tiresome, and unduly burdened sentences with qualifying phrases is the following:

This improvement was first exhibited in a new field. Mr. Marshall, of Leeds, father of the generation of Marshalls, the same who was brought into Parliament for Yorkshire, when the representation forfeited by Crampound was transferred to it, an earnest parliamentary reformer, and a man of large fortune, of which he made a liberal use, had been much struck with Bentham's Book of Fallacies; and the thought had occurred to him that it would be useful to publish annually the Parliamentary Debates, not in the chronological order of Hansard, but classified according to subjects, and accompanied by a commentary pointing out the fallacies of the speakers.³⁰

In his book The Art of Newman's Apologia, Walter Houghton illustrates the so-called "back-and-forth" movement as he sees it reflected in Newman's paragraph. In setting forth a diagram of his interpretation he attempts to show the characteristic oscillation of Newman's mind. In this particular paragraph he speaks of his mixed feelings about the group of young Anglican Romanists who "cut into the original Movement at an angle" and formed a new party different from earlier Tractarians:

Though I neither was so fond of the persons, nor of the methods of thought, which belonged to this new school, as of the old set, though I could not trust in their firmness of purpose, for, like a swarm of flies, they might come and

²⁹Autobiography, p. 168.

³⁰Ibid., p. 82.

go, and at length be divided and dissipated, yet I had an intense sympathy in their object and in the direction of their path, in spite of my old friends, in spite of my old life-long prejudices. In spite of my ingrained fears of Rome, and the decision of my reason and conscience against her usages, in spite of my affection for Oxford and Oriel, yet I had a secret longing love of Rome, the author of English Christianity, and I had a true devotion to the Blessed Virgin.³¹

Houghton states that the structure is so "intricate and involved," the meaning difficult to follow at first reading, that he charges it with "unnecessary awkwardness and obscurity."³² In contrasting John Stuart Mill with Newman, Houghton conjectures that Mill would have said the same thing in the more neatly balanced structure, not lacking in clarity and ease. Mill to his mind would have written

On the one hand, I was not so fond of the persons, nor of the methods of thought, which belonged to this new school, as of the old set. As for the persons, I could not trust in their firmness of purpose, and I felt greater love for my old friends. As for the methods, I still retained my old life-long prejudices and my ingrained fears of Rome, and the decision of my reason and conscience was against her usages. On the other hand, I did have an intense sympathy in their object, and in the direction in which their path lay because I had a secret longing love of Rome, the author of English Christianity, as well as a true devotion to the Blessed Virgin.³³

In neither form nor thought could Mill have written as Houghton illustrates because of his inclusive and synthetic mind for he concentrated on bringing ideas together, while Newman rejected one idea to take the other. The thought of the entire book of his justification (he states) was constantly projected in a sense of wavering as being pulled back and forth and forth and back, as Houghton tries to show in his diagram. In devising the chart to show this oscillation, the

³¹Houghton, p. 50.

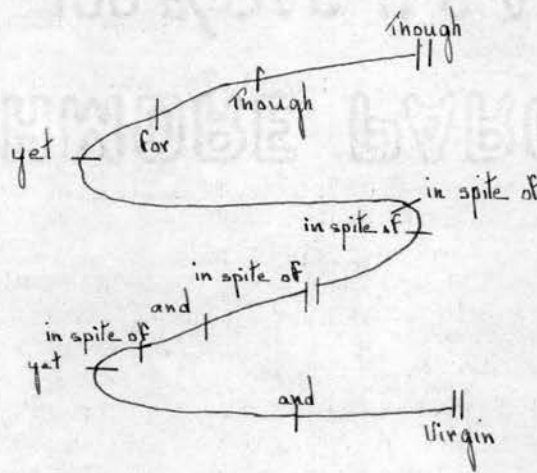
³²Ibid., p. 50.

³³Ibid., p. 53.

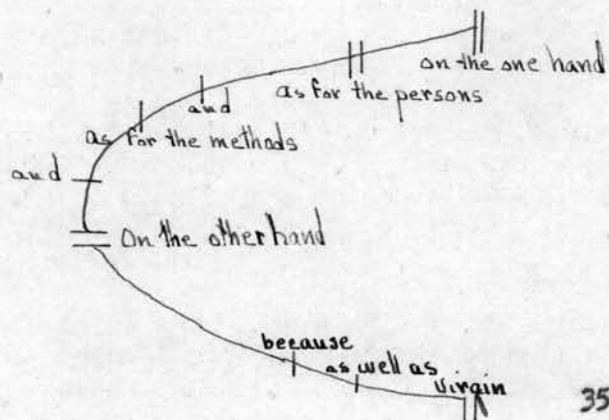
left direction marks disapproval of the new group, the right, approval. The diagram found on the succeeding page, according to Houghton renders this quality of his style superbly.³⁴

³⁴Ibid., p. 53.

CHART SHOWING
PARAGRAPH TRANSITIONS OF NEWMAN AND MILL



By contrast, the statement attributed to Mill would look like this:



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In summary, the style of both men seems absolutely honest, just as both men were honest. In both cases the style reflects closely the nature of the men who used it. No place in their autobiography gives evidence of any "trick" used to catch the reader. And their uniformity of style in each is astonishing!

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study has come to the place where it becomes a difficult task to bring to a conclusion that which has not ended. Human problems are always with us, and they seem to be the same problems, generation after generation. Not to try to solve them would be disaster, and each human being, wittingly or unwittingly, does try to solve them, but only to the extent that the intellect of each can see the solution. It is our only hope of life and happiness to do this; we do it of necessity, often for our own immediate needs, or if we have the insight, the goodness, and the courage, we do it for the future of our human race. Two men with this distinguishing quality have been the subject of this study--Newman and Mill.

Neither of these Victorians could possibly have done otherwise; but we can only speculate as to the truth of this statement. We have looked closely at the records of these men, the records they themselves have left, and have found them extraordinarily selfless, absolutely honest, and with almost a painful capacity of love for their people, with a far-seeing mentality, of unusual strength in any age. Destiny, chance, accident brought them into being at a time when their peculiar qualities allowed them little alternative.

Both men faced the situation, in which they found themselves, but not in the same way. Mill felt himself equipped to evolve a philosophy that would be instrumental in revolutionizing the whole world, and he was neither foolhardy nor a power-seeking tyrant. He had those

qualities that make for sainthood. He was modest and humble always; he faced facts simply; and the facts were that he was by training and by his unusual mentality capable of evolving a philosophy that would overcome most of the evils of the society he knew, and though he realized that this would not give him happiness even if he succeeded, yet he needs must fulfill his apostolate, no matter what the cost might be for him.

Newman's fate was even more difficult. He found that he must invalidate the application of his whole earlier philosophy which he had expressed publicly, only to follow the very belief that he at one time considered unsatisfactory and unsound. Neither of the men faltered in their purposes.

Mill might have thrown his full power into being a powerful politician had he wished. It would have necessitated the overcoming of a quality of meekness in him. It would also have meant compromise. He would have had to support his party, possibly have achieved fame and more worldly goods. But this was not Mill's way; he must use his gifts in another way.

Newman could have stopped short of Tract XC and felt that he had reached the height of his position; with all England conscious of his worth and influence, and because of his contacts in Oxford, he was sure that his following would be great. Perhaps these suppositions are far-fetched. One knows from the two autobiographies that such thoughts could not take deep root in either of the men.

How far can we say that they succeeded? To a considerable extent, but not completely. Mill lived long enough to hear much of his philosophy accepted in principle, but society was to have much greater need before it adopted these principles. A great portion has been adopted,

and who can deny that great benefit has come from them? Yet society now, as then, has not reached that state of perfection for which Mill had hoped. One can hardly say that this is due to a lack of perfection in his scheme, but rather it could be blamed on human society. His principles of reform have passed through several generations, somewhat changed by the interpretation of each generation, a fate that is almost inevitable to any philosophy of a practical nature.

It is interesting to note here that from the church of Newman's desire came a document of a Liberal, even a Utilitarian nature, that astounded the world, but should not have done so had the world been more familiar with Mill's true sentiment. This document was the Encyclical known as Rerum Novarum on the condition of labor, in which Leo XIII states the necessity of each man's right to privately owned property, protective laws for labor and management, the right of every man to just wages, and the right of man to organize, to insure justice for both the worker and the employer.¹ Had Mill been living in 1891, he also would have said, "That sounds familiar," and so he could have assented to some of the reforms and utterances of Franklin D. Roosevelt. We can safely say that much of Mill's reforms are in evidence today. How successful they might be, if conflicting reforms, purporting to be the foundation of totalitarian governments, we can again only speculate.

For two thousand years Aristotle has been a chief authority on deductive logic. It seems probable that Mill's inductive logic may last as long. Works on inductive reasoning refer to Mill's work as the authority on the subject.

¹Gerald C. Treacy, Five Great Encyclicals (New York, 1939), pp. 1-5.

The Autobiography is, in a sense, a history of the beginning of our modern economy. As such it will be examined for some time to come. It will always be examined by scholars of political economy, philosophy, sociology, and logic. The history of philosophy is incomplete without even the minor philosophers. Mill's philosophy, however, can hardly be classed as minor, for too much has come from his thought in practical application and effect. Those interested will benefit from the reading of the Autobiography (to reiterate the substance of Laski's fuller thought)

in the end the most imperishable of his writings ... a record as noble as any in our literature of consistent devotion to the public good ... there are few who have better illuminated the tradition of their age, and none whose contribution was more honourable or more nearly stainless.²

and they will bemoan the fact that we have not had more such works from other great men.

Then what of the Apologia? Does it have the same chance of survival? It deals with a subject of universal interest, namely, conversion. Most human beings at some time in their life come face to face with some kind of situation that demands a decision that changes certain aspects of their life. It need not be religious, or even moral, but whatever it happens to be, it is a turning point in their lives, and the event is usually important enough to create a desire to know how others lived through a similar experience. There are seen countless editions of The Confessions of Saint Augustine. A portion of it may be wrongly interpreted as "Confessions" but not completely so. In a sense the Apologia has something in common with the Confessions. The most astounding example is the conversion of St. Paul, perhaps, but the

²Autobiography, Preface by Harold J. Laski, p. vii.

subject is universal. As literature, the Apologia is splendid.

The Apologia holds its place among the greatest autobiographies by virtue of its stylistic charm, its remarkable absence of pose, its simple dignity as it reveals the intimate self of a very sensitive and reserved man.³

Historically, perhaps the Apologia has not the same importance as Mill's work, but it does have a place, for it did arouse all in any way concerned to re-examine institutions and dogmas that were neglected and even forgotten, and thereby created a new spirit in the Anglican Church as well as the churches of all faiths. The controversy caused by Newman was healthy, even if it was bitter.

It gives the writer of this study an uncomfortable feeling to be judging two great minds who are so far her superior. In this comparative study while placing the autobiographers in a kind of balance scale and watching the lever slowly lower and rise from side to side, she cannot say which outweighs the other. Their aims were different, but in the end they seem to merge—the practical, the spiritual—they seem to overlap, in their desire to aid humanity, each in his own way. These too must eventually merge, and, finally, when we come to love justice, truth, and selfless endeavor to find the universal good, the balance becomes horizontal at last, and so we leave two great Victorians of the nineteenth century, a period of such varied patterns and complexity, bright and untarnished!

³Harrold, John Henry Newman, p. 317.

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AND THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN STUART MILL.

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