An Explanation of the Similarity of Style in the Writings of Newman and Cicero

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AN EXPLANATION OF THE SIMILARITY OF STYLE IN THE WRITINGS OF NEWMAN AND CICERO

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

January 1955
LIFE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Some English prose authors, especially Gibbon, Macaulay and De Quincey, have written somewhat in the style of Ciceronian Latin. But it is commonly asserted that no English author has written so much like Cicero as John Henry Newman. Although Newman critics consistently assert this similarity of style between Newman and Cicero, none, as far as the author of this thesis could determine, have explained it. It is the purpose of this thesis to explain this similarity of style.

The problem of the thesis may be stated in this fashion: How may the similarity between the literary styles of Marcus Tullius Cicero and John Henry Newman be explained?

The following method will be used to solve this problem: in this chapter the meaning of the word style will be discussed and defined. Here also the distinction between substantial and accidental similarity of style will be explained. It will be seen that this distinction is necessary for the proper solution of the problem. Chapter II will substantiate the fact of the similarity of style between the two authors. The general fact will be proved from authority. The facts of substantial and accidental likeness
will be proved from intrinsic evidence. In this way the problem of the thesis is logically approached, for only after the fact of the similarity of the two styles is established, does the real problem appear. The thesis is to explain how the fact is able to be explained. Chapter III will explain how the two styles can be substantially similar. Chapter IV will explain how they can be accidentally similar.

Throughout the thesis, the word style will be constantly used. A definition of that word must be established before the work can proceed.

Two kinds of style which must be clearly distinguished are literary style and scientific style. In the following passage Newman points out clearly the difference between the style of literature and the style of science.

Literature expresses, not objective truth ... but subjective; not things, but thoughts.

Now this doctrine will become clearer by considering another use of words, which does relate to objective truth, or things ... which, even were there no individual man in the whole world to know them or to talk about them, would exist still. Such objects become the matter of Science, and words indeed are used to express them, but such words are rather symbols than language, and however many we use, and however we may perpetuate them by writing, we never could make any kind of literature out of them, or call them by the name.¹

A use of words which aims at expressing the impersonal and the objective with no consideration of man's relation to the things expressed, is the style of science. Another explanation of this

A man who has absolute facts to communicate from some branch of study external to himself, as physiology, suppose, or anatomy, or astronomy, is careless of style; or at least he may be so, because he is independent of style, for what he has to communicate neither readily admits, nor much needs, any graces in the mode of communication; the matter transcends and oppresses the manner. The matter tells without any manner at all.²

Scientific style is to be understood and set aside. It will not be the subject of this thesis. It is literary style which must be considered here. Even literary style must be looked at from different points of view. De Quincey distinguishes between two meanings of the word.

The word style has with us a twofold meaning; one, the narrow meaning, expressing the mere synthesis onomatop, the syntax or combinations of words into sentences; the other of a far wider extent, and expressing all possible relations that can arise between thoughts and words—the total effect of the writer as derived from manner.³

Style, according to the first part of that quotation would be careful composition. It would follow that the neater and more careful the grammar and the logic, the better the style. It could then be true that a perfectly dull paragraph, or essay, could be said to have a fine style. This description of style is inadequate of itself.

The second part of the quotation, that style is the


³ Ibid., 64.
"total effect of the writer as derived from manner," deserves consideration. What is manner? Herbert Spencer tells the reader in his remark on the character of the British national mind.

In no country on earth, were it possible to carry such a maxim into practical effect, is it a more determinate tendency of the national mind to value the matter of a book not only as paramount to the manner, but even as distinct from it, and as capable of separate insulation.4

The meaning of manner becomes clearer when distinguished from matter. Manner is the natural way a man expresses an idea, it is the outward expression of his thoughts. At the end of a dinner party when the guests are leaving, some hostesses will say, "Thanks for coming. I hope you'll be back soon." The more sophisticated may offer a limp hand and say simply, "It was very charming." The matter in both cases is the same, but the manner is obviously different. This illustration also indicates something of the character of the two hostesses, and this is as it should be. For the manner of style cannot be divorced from the character of the speaker or writer. For the manner of expression and the speaker are one. As Newman wrote, "Thought and speech are inseparable from each other. Matter and expression are parts of one; style is thinking out in language."5

4 Ibid., 64

In speaking of style men commonly speak of the manner of style. An examination of writings reveals, at first glance, the manner. For it is the outward expression which is seen. But to be included with the manner in a study of style is the matter of style, and the person who writes. Manner is the way an idea is expressed. Matter is the idea expressed. The person is the one who conceives the idea and expresses it. Newman indicates the absurdity of divorcing any of these terms from each other in a consideration of style.

Such men ... consider fine writing to be an addition from without to the matter treated of—a sort of ornament superinduced, or a luxury indulged in, by those who have time and inclination for such vanities. They speak as if one man could do the thought, and another the style.6

For the sake of analysis, the person, the matter, and the manner of style may be studied separately, but only for the sake of analysis, and with the consciousness that something is being separated which was meant to be united. This individuality was undoubtedly in the mind of Buffon when he said "le style est l'homme meme."7 Keeping in mind that this thesis deals with the literary style of accomplished literary artists, it is possible now to offer a serviceable definition of style: Style is an accomplished literary man's expression of his thoughts. That is

6 Ibid., 293-294.
what the author means throughout the thesis when he uses the word *style*.

Throughout the remainder of the thesis, too, much will be said of substantial and accidental likenesses of style. It is imperative that these terms be properly understood.

In treating of style, the substance to be considered is the man, the personal being who thinks and writes according to his nature and his outlook on life. Recall Buffon's "the style is the man." Substantial style then, will be the general expression of a man flowing from the substance, man. If two men have styles generally alike in their modes of expression, that similarity of style will be called substantial similarity of style. Because this similarity of style is due to the similarity of the substances, the two men, it is clear that the two substances, or men, must have a similar cast, or habit, of mind. That similar cast of mind will have been caused by similar natures, and by similar character reactions to the difficulties and successes of life. Newman's example of the "habit of a lofty intellect" is both an example of what is meant here, and a basis for a comparison of writings to determine a substantial similarity of style.

And since the thoughts and reasonings of an author have, as I have said, a personal character, no wonder that the style is not only the image of the subject, but of his mind. That pomp of language, that full and tuneful diction, that felicitousness in the choice and exquisiteness in the collocation of words, which to prosaic writers seems artificial, is nothing else but the mere habit and way of a lofty
intellect.8

Pomp of language, tuneful diction, felicitousness in the choice and exquisitiveness in the collocation of words, are the hallmarks of the habit of a lofty mind. They reveal the substance of a high-minded style.

The accidents to be considered in speaking of style are the accidents of the substance man in his expression. They are the ramifications born of training or imitation which determine the details of style. For example, they may be the way a man organizes a paragraph, the way he arranges sentences, or the way in which he uses figurative language. Accidental style then, is the way this substance, man, expresses himself in the details of his writing. If there is a likeness in the details of the style of two men, their styles will be called accidentally similar.

CHAPTER II

THE FACT OF THE SIMILARITY OF STYLES
OF NEWMAN AND CICERO

It is now commonplace to hear that the styles of Cicero and Newman are similar. The fact seems so obvious to most critics that they spend little space on the subject, if any. While this does not aid the writer of a research paper, it is well that the truth about the paucity of matter on the subject be known. Few writers go into detail. Walter Pater, for example, is satisfied with the passing statement that language is "musical with Cicero and Newman."1 Joseph Reilly says of Newman's style that his "was a studied ease ... like that of Cicero which never falls into the slipshod nor is wanting in dignity."2 Bertram Newman discusses the topic at greater length, indicating areas of similarity between the styles of the two authors. It is of some

2 Joseph Reilly, Newman As a Man of Letters, New York, 1925, 262.
value to notice his stress on the worth of oratorical Latin.

In its absence of mannerism Newman's prose shows its traditional character, a character grounded, as we have seen, in the source and center of European prose. 'The Latin of Cicero,' says a recent translator (H.D. Blaikston), 'is an almost perfect instrument for the expression of ideas oratorically (that is, not only in the exact order in which they are to be presented to the mind of the hearer, but also with the exact amount of emphasis which is to attach to each) by means of sentences which leave a harmonious expression of niceness of phrase combined with completeness of statement'; the three qualities which make up Ciceronian style being 'logical arrangement, distinct emphasis, and well-balanced rhythm.' No less may be said of Newman's own style, and we know that he was in the habit of translating a sentence of English into Latin every day.

William Barry writes of this likeness in much the same way.

Dating then, from Cicero, Newman belongs to the central tradition of European prose which, since Lysias and the Greek orators made it current, is good coin in all our dialects. He exhibits the 'copious, majestic, unmixed flow of language,' that he admires in his prototype.

Sencourt, quoting Quintillian on Cicero, identifies the art of Cicero with the art of Newman.

'Cicero had aimed at seeing what was various, whole and sublime in his subject. He aimed at appeals to feeling, and adorned his style with the splendour of imagery. If he could not surpass the elegance of the Greeks, he could be more vigorous .. .' So Quintillian had written. Newman quoted it and learnt.

The same author tells us that, in a way, Newman was a pleader of cases like Cicero, resembling the great Roman in this art also.

Sometimes each word is precisely weighed, and pronounced with dignity, like that of a judge giving his judgement—yet at other times Newman is not a judge, but the pleader, eager, yet accomplished, who uses every device commended by Cicero, of rhetoric, imagery, irony or variety, in order to bring others to share in the full reality of his own conception.6

The writer has searched all the Newman commentaries at his disposal, and they were many, and nowhere has a denial of this similarity between the styles of Cicero and Newman been found. Those who mention the subject at all simply express the fact of the similarity and are content with that.

One proof then, for the fact of the similarity of styles of the two men, is the proof from authority. The critics say so. Another proof which can be advanced is the proof from intrinsic evidence. This proof would be the result of an examination of the writings of the two men in which similarities would be observed and detailed. It is our purpose now to conduct this examination. It need not be in great detail, but it must advance sufficient evidence to verify both substantial and accidental likeness of style.

First, to verify substantial similarity of style, a parallel habit and "way of a lofty intellect" will be the object

6 Ibid., 298-299.
of this search. Such a parallel will reveal substantial similarity of style. Newman's description of the habitual modes of expression of the lofty intellect will be used: "that pomp of language, that full and tuneful diction, that felicitousness in the choice and exquisiteness in the collocation of words ...." 7 If these qualities can be noted as parallel qualities, the minds expressing these qualities may be termed parallel also, and it will be honest to predicate substantial similarity of styles to the two authors.

Pomp of language is the first note, or habit of the lofty intellect, to consider. In the context of Newman's use of the word pomp, it is obvious that he does not mean "a vain display," which is the present-day meaning of the word according to a modern dictionary. 8 He means rather a language which marched on its way, a continued procession of words towards a climax. This meaning is more in accord with the classical understanding of the word deriving from the Greek. This march of language is one of the more obvious characteristics of the writing of both Newman and Cicero. This pomp is displayed in the following passage from Newman. If the passage is read aloud, the ear will catch the forward stride of the vocabulary.


8 Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, New York, 1948.
And in like manner, what is called seeing the world, entering into active life, going into society, travelling, gaining acquaintance with the various classes of the community, coming into contact with the principles and modes of thought of various parties, interests and races, their views, aims, habits and manners, their religious creeds and forms of worship,—gaining experience how various yet how alike men are, how low-minded, how bad, how opposed, yet how confident in their opinions; all this exerts a perceptible influence upon the mind, which it is impossible to mistake, be it good or bad, and is popularly called its enlargement.

The climax of the procession of words is found in the last noun in the sentence, enlargement. All the words preceding this noun can be heard marching ever more quickly towards this goal. That is what is meant by pomp.

The same pomp is apparent in Cicero.

Qua re quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure susceput, si, quantum ceteris ad suas res obseundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur tempore, quantum aliis tribuant tempestivis convivialibus, quantum denique alveolo, quantum pilae, tantum mihi egomet ad haec studia recolenda sumpsere?

Again here the words want to rush forward to the conclusion of the sentence, but they are held in disciplined stride by the orderly

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10 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Pro Archia," Orations of Cicero, ed. Frank Gardner Moore, New York, 1925, 106, trans. Charles Duke Yonge, "Orations of Cicero," The World's Great Classics, New York, 1900, 160: "Who, then, can reproach me, or who has any right to be angry with me, if I allow myself as much time for the cultivation of these studies as some take for the performance of their own business, or for celebrating days of festival and games, or for other pleasures, or even for the rest and refreshment of mind and body, or as others devote to early banquets or to playing at dice, or at ball?"
formation of the entire sentence.

Newman and Cicero are very similar in pomp of language. "Tuneful diction" is the next habit of the lofty intellect to be treated here. In this expression must be included what Grant Showerman calls "marvelous fluency"\(^{11}\) in the writing of Cicero, and what Thomas Wall speaks of as the "delightful musical interlude"\(^{12}\) of Newman's style. This tuneful diction must have the dignity of a grand style. The theory of such diction is not an easy thing to speak of, but the practice of it is quickly recognised. Listen to Newman's words at the very beginning of his famous Second Spring.

We have a familiar experience of the order, the constancy, the perpetual renovation of the material world which surrounds us. Frail and transitory as is every part of it, restless and migratory as are its elements, never-ceasing as are its changes, still it abides.\(^{12}\)

The first sentence in that quotation is long and fairly melodic. But without its counterpart, the following sentence, it would not be mentioned as a very musical line. Analysis of the two sentences highlights the fact that the verbs are in different places in each, and this simple procedure, along with the balancing of the


phrases, sets one sentence against another like the lines of a song. It is impossible to read those words and miss the music that is written into them.

This habit of tuneful diction as applied to Cicero must be considered in the light of the purpose of melody in oratory. It was used especially in the closing of a period or an ordinary sentence to please the hearer and facilitate the understanding. In the following passage from Cicero, give special attention to the words after *quem nostrum*.

Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte aegeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consili ceperes quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris?14

Note the rhythm in the latter section of this sentence.

In qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus vides tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas, ne amare quidem aut amari, cum, id quam vere fiat, ignores.15

Reading the passages aloud will indicate the predominance of the dactylic rhythm in the last portions of the sentences. This gives a dignified lilt to the end of the sentence and emphasises the verb construction. It is interesting to note that this

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14 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Oratio Qua L. Catilinam Emisit," Orations of Cicero, 3, trans. Yonge, The World’s Great Classics, 3: "What is there that you did last night, what the night before—where is it that you were—who was there that you summoned to meet you—what design was there adopted by you, with which you think that anyone of us is unacquainted?"

oratorical rhythm has been suggested as the foundation for
Gregorian Chant.16

Tuneful diction was a steady characteristic of the
styles of Newman and Cicero.

The final point for comparison here is "felicitousness
in the choice and exquisitiveness in the collocation of words."
This may be explained as the choice of the correct, the inevitable
word, to express an idea, and so relating it with other words in
a sentence that absolute clarity is the result. A passion for
exactitude and clarity has always been a characteristic of a
lofty intellect. The passage to be quoted from Newman to show
this quality in his writing needs a preface. Consider the situ-
ation Cardinal Newman faced in preparing his Apologia Pro Vita
Sua. The book was to answer charges which men since his day have
thought were the "notorious slanders"17 of Kingsley. It would be
difficult to answer the charges forcibly and not destroy the

as the saying is, you behold and show an open heart, you can have
no loyalty or certainty and not even the satisfaction of loving
and being loved, since you do not know what true love is."

16 Frank Gardner Moore, "The Orator's Mastery of Form,"
Orationes of Cicero, xxix, "These musical cadences, following the
less measured movement of the preceding words, may be compared
with the closing notes of a chant. In fact, the Gregorian Chant
was evidently developed out of the cadences of ancient oratory."

17 Walter F. Houghton, The Art of Newman's Apologia,
New Haven, 1945, 9.
reputation of Kingsley. To palliate the response to Kingsley would be to dissipate the power of the counter-argumentation. Clarity and dignity were desirable. In the introduction to Newman's answer is found an excellent example of his selection and use of words.

But I really feel sad for what I am now obliged to say. I am in warfare with him, but I wish him no ill;—it is very difficult to get up resentment towards persons whom one has never seen. It is easy enough to be irritated with friends or foes vis-a-vis; but, though I am writing with all my heart against what he said of me, I am not conscious of personal unkindness towards myself. I think it is necessary to write as I am writing, for my own sake and for the sake of the Catholic Priesthood; but I wish to impute nothing worse to him than that he has been furiously carried away by his feelings. ... I am at war with him; but there is such a thing as legitimate warfare: war has its laws; there are things which may be fairly done, and things which may not be done. I say it with shame and with stern sorrow;—he has attempted a great transgression; he has attempted (as I may call it) to poison the wells.18

This example of clarity and dignity was effected by the choice and collocation of words. The passage is heavy with the sharp words of anger: sad, warfare, resentment, irritated, impute, laws, shame, and stern sorrow. They are softened however by their collocation with words of kind dignity: I wish him no ill, not conscious of personal unkindness, carried away by his feelings, legitimate warfare, and transgression. The total effect is not without vigor, and it is a masterpiece of propriety. This statement is a positive mirror of a lofty intellect.

A like cast of mind may be deduced from the choice and collocation of the words of Cicero. One evening in 60, B.C., he addressed an oration to the people of Rome announcing their salvation from the conspiracy of Catiline. The words he uses are household words, but they grow in vigor and meaning as they fall, one after another, upon the ears of an anxious assembly.

Rem publicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona, fortunas, conjuges liberosque vestros atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperi, fortunatissimam pulcheriamque urbem, hodierno die deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculis meis e flamma atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. 19

Placed side by side, these words sum up the great and average values of a Roman's life. Beginning with the mention of the state, rem publicam, and continuing in an order which details their lives, their wealth, and their families, Cicero closes with the mention of their beautiful city, and emphasizes that it is to the gods and to himself that gratitude is dear. This litany of possessions and indebtedness is a prayer as much as a proclamation. Its tone is elevated and dignified. This can be attributed to the choice of the words and to their placement.

19 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "In L. Catilinam Oratio Tertia," Orations of Cicero, 35, trans. Yonge, The World's Great Classics, 37: "You see this day, O Romans, the republic, and all your lives, your goods, your fortunes, your wives and children, this home of a most illustrious empire, this most fortunate and beautiful city, by the great love of the immortal gods for you, by my labors, counsels, and dangers, snatched from fire and sword, and almost from the very jaws of fate, and preserved and restored to you."
Only a brief examination then, of the qualities of the lofty intellect in its expression, identifies Cicero and Newman as substantially similar in style. Passages were purposely selected from various works of each author to indicate their habitual expression of these qualities. It has been shown then, by intrinsic evidence that substantial similarity of style between Cicero and Newman is a fact.

But is it also true that they were accidentally similar in style? Recall that it was said in Chapter I that styles are accidentally similar if they are similar in the very details, or accidents, of expression. It is not easy to catalogue the details of expression. For the sake of clarity in this thesis, however, details of expression will be examined from two points of view. First those details will be treated which outline the development of an idea. These may be called subjective expression. Then will follow an analysis of those details which fill in the outline of development and are subordinate to it. These may be called objective expression.

First then, subjective expression will be treated. In developing the outline for the expression of an idea, a writer must establish his goal. Does he wish to teach? Then he must choose the clearest possible method of expressing his idea. He might wish to leave a vivid impression with his readers. For this purpose a mode of expression must be chosen which will
increase the overtones of meaning and impress the memory. The first goal of subjective expression will be clarity and vividness.

A second goal to be considered in subjective expression is that of persuasion. For this purpose a development would have to be chosen which would move the heart and the will. Like a wise general, the author would have to choose a method which would break down the barricades of these rich fortresses of man.

After establishing either the first or second goal outlined above, the author would choose the wisest plan to reach his goal.

What were the goals of Cicero and Newman? An examination of their various writings makes it perfectly clear that both the goals mentioned were frequently sought after by these authors. Each of the goals of subjective expression then, will be examined in its turn, and analysed in the writings of the two men to see if they were similar in their approaches to these goals.

The first goal was clarity of expression and vividness. To obtain clarity, both men made frequent use of amplification. Amplification is not a direct advance in logic. It could be called rather, a logical standing still. The author takes an idea as if it were a diamond, and he holds it out to the light, turning it ever so slowly, so that each sharp facet of the surface may reflect its own contribution to the brilliance of the
whole. Or, as one author defines it, amplification is "the magnifying of a thought, the making it greater and more ample. It is the turning over of a thought so as to display the colors it has caught from the mind that conceived it."20

One of Newman's better examples of amplification for the sake of clarity is found in his analysis of the omnipotence of God. He amplifies this abstraction by examining His powers. Notice how the original abstraction omnipotent focuses into sharp detail as a result of this amplification.

Such is the omnipotent ... God: fixed in His own center, and needing no point of motion or vantage ground out of Himself, whereupon to bring into action, or to use, or to apply, His inexhaustible power. He can make, He can unmake; He can decree and bring to pass, He can direct, control, and resolve, absolutely according to His will. He could create this vast material world, with all its suns and globes, and its illimitable spaces, in a moment. All its overwhelming multiplicity of laws, and complexity of formations, and intricacy of contrivances, both to originate and accomplish, is with Him but the work of a moment.21

No new idea was introduced into that passage, but by carefully examining the different phases of omnipotence, Newman has clarified the meaning of the word beyond mistaking.

This device was a ready tool for Cicero. An instance of his use of amplification is found in his order of expulsion to


Catiline. The order is not enough. The command is amplified through a reflection on the Manlian Camp, through the number of people Catiline should take out with him, what this departure would mean for Cicero, and how it would direct the people's gratitude to the gods. Here again it is clear that the logic does not move forward, but that the idea has been exposed to different points of view until it has grown before the eyes.

Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo coepisti: egressere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae; proficiscere. Nimium diuturne imperatorem tua ilia Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuis, si minus, quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magna me metu liberaveris, modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nebiscum versari iam diutius non potes; non speram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna dis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicae pestem totiens iam effugimus.22

These examples of amplification indicate that for the sake of clarity of expression, both Cicero and Newman made use of this device.

22 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Oratio Qua L. Catilinam Emisit," Orations of Cicero, 7, trans. Yonge, The World's Great Classics, 8-9: "As, then, this is the case, O Catiline, continue as you have begun. Leave the city at last: the gates at the city are open; depart. That Manlian camp of yours has been waiting too long for you as its general. And lead forth with you all your friends, or at least as many as you can; purge the city of your presence; you will deliver me from a great fear when there is a wall between me and you. Among us you can dwell no longer—I will not bear it, I will not permit it, I will not tolerate it. Great thanks are due to the gods and to this very Jupiter Stator in whose temple we are, the most ancient protector of this city, that we have already escaped so often so foul, so horrible, and so deadly an enemy to the republic."
A secondary factor of expression for clarity in the consideration of subjective expression is vividness. The effect of vividness is an emotional experience which influences the memory and enables it to retain knowledge. To achieve this type of expression, both Cicero and Newman employed a device which is the direct opposite of amplification and is called suppression. Suppression is "the portrayal of the artist's emotion and its communication to the reader not by pouring it forth in words but by holding it back." The written words impress not by what they say, but by what they suggest.

Newman has an excellent example of his use of suppression in his Apologia. He describes his departure from Oxford which had been his home for twenty years. His friends were there. Separation from Oxford meant a complete separation from his early life. He had grown to love the university, and the very snap dragon growing on the walls opposite his freshmen room had seemed a symbol of his own perpetual residence there. Describing his departure from Oxford he writes simply, "On the morning of the 23rd I left the Observatory. I have never seen Oxford since, excepting its spires, as they are seen from the railway." This

suppression reveals the emotion he felt at that departure. It suggests, as no flow of words could suggest, the tug at the heart and the vivid flash of youthful memories which the spires of Oxford stirred in him as he watched them from his passing train. The reader cannot escape the impact of those few words.

Cicero too, the man noted for his outpouring of eloquence, understood the value of suppression. In Book V of the Second Hearing for the impeachment of Gaius Verres, the nobility of Roman citizenship is frequently suggested to the hearer rather than expressed. This hearing is popularly referred to as "The Crucifixion of a Roman Citizen," for it tells how Verres tortured and crucified a citizen of Rome. The actual crucifixion scene is never described. It is simply suggested. Romans well knew the story of a crucifixion and it is quite probable that Cicero used this device to describe an event too horrible for words.

Is non modo hoc non perfecit ut vigarum vim deprecaretur, sed, cum imploraret saepius usurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux, inquam, infelici et aerumnoso, qui numquam istam pestem viderat comparabatur.25

25 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Actionis Secundae In C. Verrem Liber Quintus," The Loeb Classical Library, 644-646, trans. L.H.G. Greenwood, "The Second Speech Against Verres: Book V," Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., 1935, 645-647: "Yet not only did he fail to secure escape from those cruel rods, but when he persisted in his entreaties and his appeals to his citizen rights, a cross was made ready--yes, a cross, for that hapless and broken sufferer, who had never seen such an accursed thing till then."
Roman law and customs taught nothing but respect for citizens of Rome. To suggest that a Roman provincial governor had prepared a cross for a citizen was sufficient suppression for the group of listeners.

Both writers, it has been observed, made use of amplification and suppression to express ideas clearly and vividly. These devices were the outline they used to attain the first goal of subjective expression. But there is another goal, the goal of persuasion. For this purpose a different preparation had to be made. A structure had to be chosen which was best fitted for persuasion. It will be helpful, first of all, to hear both authors on their philosophy of persuasion. Newman reveals his knowledge of man in his remarks on persuasion.

The heart is commonly reached, not through reason, but through the imagination, by means of direct impressions, by the testimony of facts and events, by history, by description. Persons influence us, voices melt us, looks subdue us, deeds inflame us. Many a man will live and die upon a dogma: no man will be a martyr for a conclusion.26

There is little difference in this statement and in the words of Cicero in his treatise De Oratore. In this essay a certain Catulus is told that mankind is not prone to make judgements out of regard for truth.

For there is nothing, Catulus, of more importance in speaking than that the hearer should be favorable to the speaker, and be himself so strongly moved that he may be influenced

more by impulse and excitement of mind, than by judgement and reflection. For mankind makes more determinations through hatred, or love, or desire, or anger, or grief, or joy, or hope, or fear, or error, or some other affection of mind, than from regard to truth, or any settled maxim, or principle of right, or judicial form, or adherence to the laws.

In theory then, both writers stress the need of moving the heart and the will in persuasion by aiming at the heart or the will, and not at the intellect. This theory will be found mirrored in the structure of their argumentation. Its power will derive from the direction they give the design of their entire argument.

Newman's argument for the apprehension of God through conscience is a brilliant practical example of this theory. Note that the power of the structure consists in the overwhelming personal approach.

Conscience, considered as a moral sense, an intellectual sentiment, is a sense of admiration and disgust, of approbation or blame: but it is something more than a moral sense; it is always, what the sense of beautiful is in only certain cases; it is always emotional. No wonder then that it always implies what that sense only sometimes implies; that it always involves the recognition of a living object, towards which it is directed. Inanimate things cannot stir our affections; these are correlative with persons. If, as is the case, we feel responsibility, are ashamed, are frightened, at transgressing the voice of conscience, this implies that there is One to whom we are responsible, before whom we are ashamed, whose claims upon us we fear. If, on doing wrong, we feel the same tearful, broken-hearted sorrow which overwhelms us on hurting a Mother; if, on doing right, we enjoy the same sunny serenity of mind, the same soothing satisfactory delight, which follows on our receiving praise from a Father, we certainly have within us the image of some person, to whom

our love and veneration look, in whose smile we find our happiness, for whom we yearn, towards whom we direct our pleadings, in whose anger we are troubled and waste away. These feelings in us are such as require for their exciting cause an intelligent being; we are not affectionate towards a stone, nor do we feel shame before a horse or dog. 28

Throughout this long quotation, this writer was impressed with the almost methodical reiteration of the personal and universal experience of mankind. The entire argument is directed to the heart. The force of this persuasion can hardly be minimized.

Cicero makes use of the same power of structure in advancing arguments for the study of literature. In this instance as in Newman's example, the object of persuasion is constantly pictured as a personal advantage. The argument makes literature desirable, good, and useful.

Quaeres a nobis, Gratti, cur tanto opere hoc homine delectemur. Quia suppeditat nobis ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur et aures convicio defessae requiescant. An tu existimas aut suppeteres nobis posse quod cotidie dicamus in tanta varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus, aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? 29


29 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Pro Archia Poeta Oratio," Orations of Cicero, 104, trans. Yonge, The World's Great Classics, 160: "You ask us, O Gratius, why we are so exceedingly attached to this man. Because he supplies us with food whereby our mind is refreshed after this noise in the forum, and with rest for our ears after they have been wearied with bad language. Do you think it possible that we could find a supply for our daily speeches, when discussing such a variety of matters, unless we were able to cultivate our minds by the study of literature; or that our minds could bear being kept so constantly on the stretch if we did not
In that example literature is represented as a good and desirable object because it made the people's Cicero so great. Later on in the same speech in one of the most famous passages of Latin literature, Cicero speaks of the universal good of this study.

Nam ceterae neque temporum sunt neque aetatum omnium neque locorum; at haec studia adolescentiam acuunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversas perfugium ac solicium praebeat, delectant domi, non impediant foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.30

The argument there that literature is of all times and ages, a help at all times, a companion of all our travels, is not strictly logical. Rather it is an accumulation of desirables, a series of facts which have a tendency to move the heart and will as they move the mind.

Cicero and Newman are similar in their structural development for persuasion. But besides a general structural formation, the development of an idea for persuasion calls for more minute planning. At this point two more persuasive devices may be introduced and examined for similarity in the writings of the

30 Ibid., 106, trans. Yonge, The World's Great Classics 161: "For other occupations are not suited to every time, nor to every age or place; but these studies are the food of youth, and delight of old age; the ornament of prosperity, the refuge and comfort of adversity; a delight at home, and no hindrance abroad; they are companions by night, and in travel, and in the country." This is a fine example of what Cicero meant by exciting people to act on impulse.
two men, antithesis, and paraphrase and plain statement.

Antithesis, or contrast, is one of the most effective methods of persuasion, for it shows the absurdity of following a course opposed to that of the speaker. Newman uses antithesis in defining the Christian spirit.

Now, one of these characteristics of a Christian spirit, springing from the three theological virtues, and then in turn defending and strengthening them, is that habit of waiting and watching, to which this season of the year especially invites us, and the same habit is also a mark of the children of the Church, and a note of her divine origin.

If, indeed, we listen to the world, we shall take another course. We shall think the temper of mind I am speaking of to be superfluous or enthusiastic. We shall aim at doing only what is necessary, and shall try to find out how little will be enough.31

Notice the difference in the first and second paragraphs of that statement. The first sets up a positive idea. The second shows the results of ignoring that first idea. Few of Newman's congregation would wish to fall into the category depicted in the second paragraph. Therein lies the trick of persuasive antithesis.

The same method is used by Cicero in the beginning of his third Catilinarian oration. He argues that if the days on which we are saved are not less happy than those on which we are born, then the savior of the city should receive equal merit with its founder. It is by the negation of less happiness from salvation that he emphasizes the merit he should receive as savior

of the city of Rome.

Et si non minus nobis jucundi atque illustres sunt ei dies quibus conservavmur quam illi quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi inserta condicio, et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur, profecto, quoniam illum qui hanc urben condidit ad deos immortales benevolentia famaque sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debilit is, qui eandem hanc urben conditam amplificas-tamque servavit.32

The last point to be considered in the analysis of the details of development of an idea for persuasion is paraphrase and plain statement. This device resembles a flourish, then a thrust. The flourish is the paraphrase of some idea. The thrust is the plain statement which pierces the pretense of the paraphrased idea. Newman uses this figure when speaking of the great ambitions of Fredric the Second. "Fredrick the Second," he says, paraphrasing an idea (here the flourish), "established a University at Naples with a view to the propagation of the infidelity which was so dear to him."33 Then the plain statement (the thrust): "It gave birth to the great St. Thomas, the champion of revealed truth."

32 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "In L. Catilinam Oratio Tertia," Orations of Cicero, 35, trans. Yonge, The World's Great Classics, 37: "And if those days on which we are preserved are not less pleasant to us, or less illustrious, than those on which we are born, because the joy of being saved is certain, the fortune of being born uncertain, and because we are born without feeling, but we are preserved with great delight; ay, since we have, by our affection and our good report, raised to the immortal gods that Romulus who built this city, he too, who has preserved this city, built by him, and embellished as you see it, ought to be held in honor by you and your posterity."

The same figure is used by Newman in *The Second Spring*. After paraphrasing history and telling how things have been born and have died out, he makes a simple statement about the English Catholic Church which contradicts temporal history.

Thrones are overturned, and are never restored; States live and die, and then are matter only for history. Babylon was great, and Tyre, and Egypt, and Nineve, and shall never be great again. The English Church was, and the English Church was not, and the English Church is once again.34

Cicero makes use of paraphrase and plain statement in discussing old age. Someone had said that old age is without pleasures of the body, and so Cicero paraphrases that notion. He answers it by the plain statement that it is an outstanding service of age to remove what was so disturbing in young manhood.

Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. Praeclarum munus aetatis, siquidem id aufert a nobis quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum.35

These similarities complete the analysis of the writings of the two men for accidental similarity of style as regards the development of an idea (subjective expression). The details of style which fit within these bold structural outlines (objective expression) must now be treated. These details may be divided


35 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Cato Maior De Senectute Liber," *Cicero De Senectute and De Amicitia*, ed. Charles Bennet, Boston, 1897, 17, trans. William Armistead Falconer, "On Old Age," Loeb Classical Library, 49: "We now come to the third ground for abusing old age, and that is, that it is devoid of sensual pleasures. 0 glorious boon of age, if it does indeed free us from youth's most vicious fault."
into respective classes of rhetorical devices (the forceful use of words) and figurative devices (the imaginative use of words). The rhetorical devices to be treated are polysyndeton, symmetry, crescendo, and climax. The figurative devices are metaphor and simile. This should present a sufficient treatment of what has been interpreted as objective expression.

Polysyndeton is the legato effect produced by a multiplication of linking connectives. If properly treated it gives an impression of dignity and stateliness. Notice the result of this figure in this phrase from Newman:

... so much so that the breadth and depth and richness and variety and splendor of this created world which we behold is nothing at all, compared to the vastness of that Ocean of perfection which lay concentrated in His unity.36

The linking connectives in that case are the series of and's. They add the sound of magnitude to the words which express that quality in the beginning of the phrase.

The same figure is used by Cicero in his fourth oration against Catiline, but in the sentence which will be quoted it is necessary to observe that it is not simply a series of et's which produce the legato effect, but that Cicero has also sprinkled the passage wherever he could with balanced connectives. The passage begins with three et's, then there is a cum--tum separated by atque, and then the final et. This slows down the pace of the

wording and produces the desired effect.

Omnia et provisa et parata et constituta sunt, patres conscripti, cum mea summa cura atque diligentia tum multo etiam majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum et ad communis fortunas conservandas voluntate.37

The next rhetorical figure to consider here is symmetry. This is the pairing of words or phrases with an eye to equilibrium. This balance of words or phrases is evident in the following passage from Newman's *Apologia*. Note the phrasing after the *e.g.* in the sentence.

The proof of the Roman (modern) doctrine is as strong (or stronger) in Antiquity, as that of certain doctrines which both we and the Romans hold: *e.g.* there is more of evidence in Antiquity for the necessity of Unity, than for the Apostolical Succession; for the Supremacy of the See of Rome, than for the Presence in the Eucharist; for the practice of invocation, than for certain books in the present Canon of Scripture, &c., &c.38

Even by sight the balance of the phrases stands out. This gives a smoothness to the whole sentence.

The same figure is seen in Cicero in his orations against Catiline. It is evident in the phrasing of both words and in whole phrases. The following passage from the fourth

37 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "In L. Catilinam Oratio Quarta," Orations of Cicero, 59, trans. Yonge, *The World's Great Classica*, 61: "Everything is provided for, and prepared, and arranged, 0 conscript fathers, both by my exceeding care and diligence, and also by the still greater seal of the Roman people for the retaining of their supreme dominion, and for the preserving of the fortunes of all."

speech against Catiline illustrates symmetry in the use of both words and phrases. For the word symmetry note the balance in non forum ... non campus ... non curia ... non domus ... non lectus ... non denique haec sedes. The phrase symmetry can be seen in the modifying phrases after each of the word groups noted above.

Ego sum ille consul, patres conscripti, cui non forum in quo omnis aequitas continetur, non campus consularibus auspiciis consecratus, non curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium, non domus, commune perfugium, non lectus ad quiesem datus, non denique haec sedes honoris umquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit.39

The degree of art achieved in these fine points of word placement deserves the study of those who wonder why Cicero and Newman were such great writers.

Another rhetorical device to be treated is crescendo. Crescendo is achieved when the successive terms of a sentence are so chosen that each word is longer than the last, and to that extent, weightier. There need be no succession of simple words. An increase in phrase weight could perform the same function. In the following sentence of Newman's, the weight grows through the length of the second half of the sentence--the section after the

39 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "In L. Catilinam Quarta," Orations of Cicero, 51, trans. Yonge, The World's Great Classics, 55: "I am that consul, O conscript fathers, to whom neither the forum in which all justice is contained, nor the Campus Martius, consecrated to the consular assemblies, nor the senate house, the chief assistance of all nations, nor my bed
Yet on St. Mary and St. John, His Virgin Mother and His Virgin Disciple, who remained, His eyes still rested; and in St. Peter, who was denying him in the distance, His sudden glance wrought a deep repentance.40

The same figure is even more evident in the sentence below from Cicero. Observe here how the words and phrases both expand in the development of the sentence.

Facinus est vincere civem Romanum, scelus verberare, prope parricidium necare—quid dicam in crucem tollere?41

The expansion is brought out through the verbs of the line.

vincere ... verberare ... parricidium necare ... in crucem tollere.

If a series of words or larger units is so arranged that each term is more impressively meaningful than the last, the figure which results is called climax. This is the last of the rhetorical figures to be treated here. It is to be noted that this figure deals especially with thought content.

Speaking of the love of God for the world He made, Newman uses a series of phrases to describe that love. The under-

devoted to rest, in short, not even this seat of honor, this curule chair, has ever been free from the danger of death, or plots, or treachery."


41 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Actionis Secundae in Verrem Liber Quintus," Loeb Library, 654-656, trans. Greenwood, Loeb, 655-657: "To bind a Roman citizen is a crime, to flog him is an abomination, to slay him is almost an act of murder: to crucify him is—what?"
lined words will easily be recognised as the more meaningful notes of love. Note how the meaning advances in succession from the less high to the highest sentiments of love.

There is no one who has loved the world so well, as He Who made it. None has so understood the human heart, and human nature, and human society in its diversified forms, none has so tenderly entered into and measured the greatness and littleness of man, his doings and sufferings, his circumstances and his fortunes, none has felt such profound compassion for his ignorance and guilt, his present rebellion and his prospects hereafter, as the Omniscient.42

The gradation in the choice of words suggests a God stooping ever lower and lower in love to encompass our weakness.

Cicero uses this figure to convince Catiline that he has absolute knowledge of his activities—even of his thoughts. He tells Catiline "Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod non ego non modo audiam set etiam videam planeque sentiam."43

This completes the study of the rhetorical devices employed in the writing of what was termed objective expression. Figurative devices remain. In the use of words imaginatively Newman and Cicero continue to resemble each other closely. In both writers is found a restraint which shies from the use of

43 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Oratio Qua L. Catilinam Emisit," Orations of Cicero, 6, trans. Yonge, The World's Great Classics, 8: "You do nothing, you plan nothing, think of nothing which I not only do not hear, but which I do not see and know every particular of."
figure for the sake of figure. Chetwood tells us of Newman's use of figure.

Newman's use of figure is characteristic and cannot be exemplified by isolated passages without showing their connection with the plan of the whole. The figure is the very outgrowth of his argument. It is often a rare flower on a long march. Yet all the march is made in the warm brilliant sunlight of his exposition and the flower itself is the very child of the sun that has lighted and warmed us.44

A like restraint is found in Cicero. In his case, there was an historical reason for the restraint. Cicero lived when there were two schools of rhetoric battling for the ascendancy, the Attic and the Asiatic Schools. Attic rhetoric stressed a simplicity of expression almost to the extent of barenness. Asiatic rhetoric was florid and frothy. Mackail agrees with the commentators of Cicero when he tells us that Cicero struck a mean between the two schools.

Closer and more careful study led the orators of the next age into one or other of two opposed, or rather complementary styles, the Attic and the Asiatic; the calculated simplicity of the one being no less artificial than the florid ornament of the other. At an early age Cicero, with the intuition of genius, realized that he must not attach himself to either school.45

Cicero would naturally find it difficult to be barren, or Attic, in style. But frothiness would come natural to him. That he actually dreaded this ornamentation in style is apparent

from a remark he made when he returned home from his studies in Greece.

The two years abroad quite restored his health. He returned to Rome 'almost a changed man. The overstraining of my voice has abated,' he says, 'my style has lost its frothiness, my lungs have grown stronger, and my bodily frame has moderately filled out.'

It would be quite beyond the purpose of this thesis to enumerate all the uses of figure common to the two writers. Metaphor and simile will be treated, for they are the most common of the figures used by both writers. This should climax our arguments from intrinsic evidence for the accidental similarity of style between the two authors.

A metaphor is an implied comparison between two things of unlike nature. An obvious metaphor appears as one of Newman's most forceful sermon passages. Here the implied comparison is between men and ungodliness, men and finery, and men and a scent.

The Creator made you, it seems, O my children, for this work and office, to be a bad imitation of polished ungodliness, to be a piece of tawdry and faded finery, or a scent which has lost its freshness, and does but offend the sense.

Cicero, by use of metaphor, compares Catiline and his men to the backwash of a sewer or the bilgewater of a ship.

Nam si te interfici jussero, residebit in re publica reliqua

46 H.J. Haskell, This Was Cicero, New York, 1942, 104.

conjuratorum manus; sin tu, quod te jam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tyorum comitum magna et perniciosae sentina rei publicae.48

The comparison here is between comitum and sentina, and the implied predication of one to the other furnishes the matter requisite for the metaphor.

While metaphor is an implied comparison, simile is the expressed comparison between two things of unlike nature. This comparison is indicated by the adverbs like, as, or than. By the method of expressed comparison, Newman compares the sun in the heavens to the Sun of Justice.

As the sun in heaven shines through the clouds, and is reflected in the landscape, so the eternal Sun of Justice, when He rose upon the earth, turned night into day, and in His brightness made all things bright.49

In that instance, the words as and so make it very easy to recognize the figure.

Cicero uses a homey simile in speaking of the error it would be to arrest and kill Catiline before he had an opportunity to take his brigands out of the city. It is a detailed simile and relates that the same thing would happen to Rome if she took

48 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Oratio Qua L. Catilinam Emisit," Orations of Cicero, 8, trans. Yonge, The World's Great Classics, 9: "For If I order you to be put to death, the rest of the conspirators will still remain in the republic; if, as I have long been exhorting you, you depart, your companions, these worthless drags of the republic, will be drawn off from the city too."

the remedy of the ignorant for the conspiracy (if she killed Catiline), as happens to a feverish man who takes the ignorant man’s remedy for fever: cold water. The condition in both cases would be severely aggravated.

Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, cum aestu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque adflectantur, sic hic morbus qui est in re publica relevatus istius poena vehementius reliquis vivis ingravescet.

Here again, it is the ut (as) which makes the simile apparent. It is evident that in the use of both rhetorical and imaginative devices, the objective expression of Newman and Cicero is alike.

This chapter has proved that likeness in the styles of the two men. First an argument from authority indicated the fact of the similarity of style. Arguments from intrinsic evidence proved both substantial and accidental similarity of style. The similarity of style may now be accepted as a fact.

It is at this point that the real thesis problem appears: how may the fact of both substantial and accidental similarity be explained?

The following chapter will treat the explanation for the

50 Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Oratio Qua L. Catilinam Emisit," Orations of Cicero, 17-18, trans. Yonge, The World’s Great Classics, 16: "As it often happens that men afflicted with a severe disease, when they are tortured with heat and fever, if they drink cold water, seem at first to be relieved, but afterwards suffer more and more severely; so this disease which is in the republic, if relieved by the punishment of this man, will only get worse and worse, as the rest will still be alive."
fact of the substantial similarity of style. Chapter IV will do the same for the fact of accidental similarity.
CHAPTER III

EXPLANATION OF THE FACT OF
SUBSTANTIAL SIMILARITY
OF STYLE

A substantial similarity of styles is a similarity of styles caused by a like habit, or cast of mind in two writers. A cast of mind is a fixed way of looking at life which has been formed both by a man's natural endowments, and by his reactions to the successes and failures of life. A man will act as he is. He will write according to his cast of mind.

It has been proved from intrinsic evidence that the styles of Cicero and Newman were substantially similar. This must imply that they had a like cast of mind.

Two problems immediately appear. First, how could they have had a like cast of mind? Cicero was a pagan, a lawyer, an orator. Newman was a convert from Anglicanism to Catholicism, first and foremost a priest of God. The second problem supposes the solution of the first and it is twofold: what was that cast of mind? how was it formed?

If we prescind from time and religion in the consideration of the first problem, it should not be difficult to see that a
like cast of mind was possible. For one thing, a similar attitude toward their life's work or goal would indicate a like cast of mind. An illustration should make this more clear. It is very proper to say that a professional chemist could be most irritated in the presence of chemical half truths. If this chemist had made chemistry his life's work, and had accomplished a great deal by his sincere efforts, he would be most impatient with writers who took the field lightly, and proffered imaginative tomes of science-fiction as the solution to an atomic difficulty. The same could be said of an athlete, say, a professional baseball player who day after day had to listen to the enthusiastic mouthings of excited sportscasters who knew but the minimum of baseball theory. The player would be rightly impatient with the suggestions of a man who knew very little of the sport, while he had made the drill of baseball theory and practice his life's work. Is it not fair to say that the chemist and the baseball player had a like cast of mind? They were both impatient with half truths, both sincerely dedicated to their work. Their attitude toward life was similar for it was a relentless attitude in pursuit of perfection in the line of endeavor each had established for himself. In this sense, ages have nothing to do with a similarity in the cast of minds.

Once this first problem has been treated, the second may be sounded. But first to the question of ideals and the attitude of these men toward them.
What was the great ideal of John Henry Newman? Many traits stand out which can contribute to a single statement of that ideal. Three and one-half months after his death, a writer in the Month paid a special tribute to his loyalty to God and man.

Cardinal Newman's loyalty was perhaps of all the beautiful traits in his noble nature, the most beautiful and the most noble. In relation to God it was but the echo of the loyalty of Him who said: 'In the head of the book it is written of Me, Lo! I come to do Thy will, O My God. I am content to do it, and Thy law is within My heart.' In his relation to earthly friends it was no less a stream from the unmeasured font of loyal friendship that led the Son of God, having so loved His own that were in the world, to love them even to the end.1

Charles Harrold outlines the goal of Newman's life by saying that "he was devoted ... to rendering institutional Christianity acceptable to the critical and historical sense of nineteenth-century man."2

A quick examination of the contents of the Apologia Pro Vita Sua will convince a reader that somewhere between the insistence on loyalty to God and man, and Newman's efforts to render institutional Christianity acceptable, will be found the ideal of his life. By that is meant that these two goals say much, but that they do not clearly enunciate in a single statement the whole goal of his life. For the Apologia is a history of

1 Anonymous, The Month, LXX, November, 1890, 315.
religious opinion recording the suffering and the agony of sincerity which religious advancement cost Newman. This brings one to the conclusion that Newman's ideal can best be phrased by "a dedication to the will of God." He himself clarifies the meaning of this ideal in one of his sermons.

He came on earth, not to take His pleasure, not to follow His taste, not for the mere exercise of human affection, but simply to glorify His Father and to do His will. He came charged with a mission, deputed for a work; He looked not to the right nor to the left, He thought not of Himself, He offered Himself up to God.3

Newman's attitude toward that ideal will be considered after we determine Cicero's ideal of life.

In the Pro Archia Cicero takes a distinct stand on what he considers the only desirable end in life, and he enunciates his ideal clearly.

For if I had not persuaded myself from my youth upward, both by the precepts of many masters and by much reading, that there is in this life nothing greatly to be desired, except praise and honor, and that while pursuing those things all tortures of the body, all dangers of death and exile are to be considered of small importance, I should never have exposed myself, in defence of your safety, to such numerous and arduous contests, and to these daily attacks of profligate men.4

In another passage in this same oration Cicero makes this point even clearer.

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I will now reveal my own feelings to you, O judges, and I will make a confession to you of my own love of glory—too eager perhaps, but still honorable. ... For virtue seeks no other reward for its labors and its dangers beyond that of praise and renown; and if that be denied to it, what reason is there, O judges, why in so small and brief a course of life as is allotted to us, we should impose such labors on ourselves?5

In the third speech against Catiline he indicates the degree of praise and glory he desired for himself. "Nothing voiceless can delight me, nothing silent—nothing, in short, such as even those who are less worthy can obtain."6

Clearly then, Cicero's ideal was the greatest amount of praise and glory as a reward for his good deeds. Newman's ideal was adherence to the will of God.

What was Newman's attitude towards his goal? It was an attitude of complete dedication. It was an attitude that was humanly difficult to maintain. Nineteen years after his conversion to Catholicism, he wrote of the reaction of his people when he went over to Rome.

An impression of this kind was almost unavoidable under the circumstances of the case, when a man who had written strongly against a cause, and had collected a party around him by virtue of such writings, gradually faltered in his opposition to it, unsaid his words, threw his friends into perplexity and their proceedings into confusion, and ended by passing

5 Ibid., 166.
6 Ibid., 47.
over to the side of those whom he had so vigorously denounced.7

What had preceded this conversion to Rome which was such a disappointment to his friends? He had passed through successive stages of religious experience. There had been, for example, the Calvanistic book which Rev. Mayers had given the boy Newman in 1816. It was from this book that he derived the notion of final perseverance and assured himself that he was elected to eternal glory. There had been the intense admiration for Thomas Scott of Aston Sandford. He had a "bold unworldliness and a vigorous independence of mind," wrote Newman.8 There were successive stages in Anglicanism. Old Dr. Whately had hammered his mind around at Oriel College until he had brought a shy Newman out of himself. There was the Via Media, the last step on the precipice leading down to Romanism. The tracts of the Oxford Movement were led by a battling Newman. Then came The Development of Christian Doctrine and the discovery that the Roman Catholic Church he had been opposing was the true apostolic church of Christ. God's will was then evident. Former friends and former principles had to be sacrificed for the sake of truth. In an arena with the will of God there was no place for sentiment.

7 John Henry Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, vi.
8 Ibid., 5.
His ideal was, as has been said, the will of Him who said, "I come to do Thy will, O My God." Newman was entirely dedicated to that ideal.

Cicero's attitude toward his ideal in life was just as relentless as Newman's. He too, was accused of vacillating and of changing direction when it was least expected. Even Newman wrote of him as being "irresolute, timid, and inconsistent." This criticism was levelled however, at his lack of firmness in political affairs. It was not directed at his integrity of life. Newman had something different to say about that.

It may be doubted, indeed, whether any individual ever rose to power by more virtuous and truly honorable conduct; the integrity of his public life was only equalled by the correctness of his private morals.

This integrity was consequent upon his ideal of life. For Cicero sought praise and glory as the reward of virtue. When he had accomplished a good act, he did not hesitate to praise himself for it. The Catilinarian orations ring with his praises, and he demands praise from the people.

And for these exploits, important as they are, O Romans, I ask from you no reward of virtue, no badge of honor, no monument of glory, beyond the everlasting recollection of this day.

10 Ibid., 249.
The Pro Archia, as has already been seen, outlines his philosophy of praise and honor. Indeed, it has become the common thing to criticize the man for excessive egotism. Wilkins has an enlightening passage on this weakness.

All Cicero's biographers and students of his time are shocked at his want of modesty. Plutarch says that the excessive praise that he bestowed on himself, his constant boasting, wounded those who heard him and caused many to hate him. ...But such criticism is too harsh. Cicero had the alert, responsive, imaginative mind of the artist, rather than the indifferent, self-centered mind of the man of affairs. His letters give us the key to his success and failure as a political leader. They reveal that it was his sensitive understanding of distant consequences that made him alert in the defense of the Republic. His oversensitivity to his own fate, however, is mistaken for egotism. Generously appreciative of all good qualities in others, he was so susceptible to adverse criticism of himself that he was tempted into the error of self-praise by way of defensive apology. But self-praise, as always, defeated its object. No one can give praise to one who praises himself. It is indeed impossible to commend one who asks for or even accepts commendation. And self-praise when repeated creates disgust. This little weakness in Cicero cost him dearly while other men of his time, in spite of more serious vices, went uncondemned.12

The same fault is noted in Haskell's life of Cicero,13 and is there explained as an equestrian's reminder to the patricians that he had saved the state. Haskell says later in his book that "to steadier men he gave the impression of inconsistency and of being motivated by what Plutarch calls 'his passion for


13 H.J. Haskell, This Was Cicero, 199-200
In the light of Cicero's teaching on the only desirable goal in life, namely, praise and glory as the result of good works, such criticisms of Cicero's self-praise may be honest, but they are hardly consistent with Cicero's avowed purpose in life. Self-praise is reprehensible, but in Cicero's case it was especially reprehensible as being the wrong means chosen to attain an end. His aim was self-glorification. A greater understanding of men would have cautioned him against self-praise. One point remains clear, however, Cicero pursued his goal of glory with all the vigor he possessed. Here, as in the life of Newman, we find a complete dedication to a goal. There are no half measures.

The first problem has been answered, the problem of how Cicero and Newman could have a like cast of mind. As to the first half of the second problem, what was that cast of mind, it is now clear that it was a complete dedication to their individual ideals of life. This cast of mind was a habit of thinking which was impatient of half measures in attaining the goal. Despite error in judgement, the motivation was always directed toward the goal. Criticisms of Cicero's love of praise, and of Newman's change of religious opinion, only substantiate the earnestness which was so much a part of each.

The second part of the second problem to be studied in this chapter inquired how that cast of mind was formed. It was,
as will be seen, not simply the product of nature. Examples in the lives of people all around us prove that dedication to an ideal does not endure because of an initial will action. To remain dedicated to some goal, there must be a constant effort to keep the ideal alive and meaningful. Successes and failures must be judged in its light. Modern divorce courts remain the reminder of man's infidelity to his ideals. To say then, that Cicero and Newman remained faithful to their ideals, is to say much more than that they were ordinary folk. Newman summed up the constant weakness of man in his sermon on "Our Lord's Mental Sufferings."

Hopes blighted, vows broken, lights quenched, warnings scorned, opportunities lost; the innocent betrayed, the young hardened, the penitent relapsing, the just overcome, the aged failing; the sophistry of disbelief, the willfulness of passion, the obduracy of pride, the tyranny of habit...

The cast of mind which kept Cicero and Newman faithful to their ideals was formed not only by nature, but also by the difficulties and successes of life. It is the purpose here to show that Newman and Cicero developed this like cast of mind by parallel natures, parallel reactions to success and failure. By nature both men were intelligent, docile, independent of mind, and acutely sensitive to praise or blame. Both used obstacles or

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failures along the way as challenges to even greater fulfillments of their ideals. In success they found the necessary encouragement to keep working toward their goals.

First of all, it has been said that they possessed similar natures. They were born with a more than average amount of intelligence. Harrold's listings of Newman's early reading should be proof of that fact in Newman's case.

... At fourteen we find him reading Tom Paine's tracts against the Old Testament, and enjoying the objections which they contained. He also read Hume's essays, including probably, the essay on miracles, and some French verses denying the immortality of the soul, possibly a poem of Voltaire's. ... the boy Newman was certainly precocious: Paine and Hume are curious works for a boy to select at an age when Robinson Crusoe is more likely to capture the imagination. In the autumn of 1816, when Newman was fifteen, he had a quiet conversion; he fell under the influences of a definite creed and of 'impressions of dogma.' He began to read the great Evangelical divines.15

Delayen tells us something of Cicero which is much like Newman's youthful experiences in the sense that it finds a young boy at a man's game. Cicero was handicapped by a lack of books. The printing press was still a long ways off.

As soon as he went to school he gave evidence of such quickness of intellect and penetration that the fathers of his schoolfellows would go to see and hear this gifted and precocious child. The amusements of the boys of his own age scarcely appealed to him at all. When school was over he preferred the games of the bigger lads, who played beneath

the porticos at being legionaries or magistrates. They would set up an imaginary court, with the fasces, the lictors, a praetor in toga praetexta—in short, all the pomp and circumstance of the Forum. The accused would be brought forward and defended—the role Cicero liked particularly—and the judges would solemnly pronounce acquittal or condemnation.16

Nature had outdone herself in furnishing the future counsel of Rome and the future leader of the Oxford Movement with the intellectual equipment they would need to achieve their great works. With this gift of intellectual ability went the more charming quality of docility—a docility blessed with enough independence of thought to preserve their minds from an uncritical evaluation of what they were taught.

This docility and independence is best illustrated in Newman by considering his progressive series of religious opinions. A Doctor Mayers or a Doctor Whately would convince him on one level of religious teaching. He greedily, almost, would accept the teaching, but shortly afterwards, not entirely sated by what he had devoured, he would be eager to find something else to reason about. He informs us of this attitude in his Apologia. "Dr. Hawkins," he wrote, "was the means of a great addition to my belief."17 He said that his old friend at Oriel when he first

arrived there, Dr. Whately, "emphatically opened my mind and taught me to think and use my reason." The Apologia is rich with his evaluations of what he had been taught. It is not surprising that a man with this type of mind should have discovered the truth about the Catholic Church.

Cicero's docility and independence of thought can be best exemplified by the attitudes he assumed when he studied in Greece and Rhodes. In the East he was introduced to both the Attic and Asiatic styles of oratory. Mackail speaks of his "fortunate genius" in avoiding either system, and adds that he "returned to Rome to form, not to follow, a style."

Along with intelligence, docility and independence of thought, both men were acutely sensitive to praise or blame. An instance in Newman's life illustrates this quality almost to the point of absurdity— or so it might seem to a person not endowed with this punishing trait. A one-time friend of his at Oxford, Blanco White, who had fallen from priestly orders in the Catholic Church into Anglicanism, skepticism, and atheism, and who died a pantheist claiming there was no ultramundane God, wrote well of Newman in his autobiography. The effect such favor had on Newman

18 Ibid., 11.
19 J.W. Mackail, Latin Literature, 65.
20 Ibid., 65.
was proportionate to his delicate and sensitive nature.

Blanco White's book has tried me in another way. I am nearly the only person he speaks with affection of in it among his English friends—at least he says more about me than anyone else .... It seems as if people were just now beginning to praise me when I am going. ... The truth is I have so little praise I do not understand it, and my feelings have been a mixture of bitter and sweet such as I cannot describe.21

Cicero's letters reveal his sensitive heart. "A sick heart not only robs me of sleep, but will not allow me to keep awake without the greatest pain."22 This same quality also appears in a letter to Pompey after the successful defeat of Catiline. Pompey had seemed to ignore his first letter which detailed the conspiracy and his measures to put it down. This may or may not have been due to Pompey's displeasure because Cicero had won the hearts of the people of Rome and had forgotten the man who was busy abroad defeating Mithridates.23 Finally, however, Pompey dispatched a begrudging note to Cicero. Cicero's reply reflects the hurt he felt at Pompey's curt answer.

As for your private letter to me, although it contained only a meager expression of your personal regard, I assure you it was welcome; for nothing gives me more pleasure than the consciousness of having done well by others, and if ever I get less my share in return, I am content that the balance


22 H.J. Haskell, This Was Cicero, 95.

of the services rendered should rest with me. Still, to
make it quite clear what I missed in your letter, I will
write frankly, as my own nature and friendship demands. I
have lately achieved things which led me to expect ... some
word of congratulation in a letter from you.

This sensitive quality in both men would go far in
helping them achieve an unrelenting cast of mind toward a deter-
mined goal. It would keep them keenly aware of how far they were
digressing. It would sharpen their written expression—Cicero,
never praise seeking, could afford only the best style; Newman,
ever loyal to the will of God, would feel that His will demanded
the finest qualities he possessed. For Newman praise and blame
would assume not only the approval or criticism of men but also
of conscience in relation to his God-given work. Harrold states
what Newman expected of a conscience.

This feeling, according to Newman, is twofold: it is a
moral sense and it is a sense of duty. It has a careful
critical office, testifying that there is a right and a
wrong, though its promptings are not, in all cases, correct.
And it has a judicial office, not as a right rule of conduct,
but as a sanction of such conduct, ever forcing on us by
threats and promises its primary and most authoritative
aspect.

Such were the gifts of nature to these two great men.
They possessed great intelligence, docility, independence of
mind, and were acutely sensitive to praise and blame. It is easy

24 Ibid., 28.
25 Charles Frederick Harrold, John Henry Newman, 149.
to see that these similar natures were the apt raw material for a substantial similarity of styles. For if they reacted upon the good and evil of life in much the same way, a certain cast of mind would be formed—a cast of mind independent of the toga or cassock, but rooted rather in the intellectual habits of these great leaders. Nature had endowed them with brilliance, with discernment, and with sensitivity. She would not stop there. Into these lives was to flow the poison of grief and the heady wine of success. Grief and success were to battle for the supremacy of these men and neither was to win. The men would win. The victories, however, should not be thought easy. These enemies were routed only after much agony, for these were intensely sensitive natures. Introspection increased the pain, but it also made the experiences more valuable. From each difficulty endured a stage of progress resulted.

Three of Newman’s difficulties and his reactions to them will be treated first. Then the same will be done in an examination of Cicero.

Newman approached his Oxford undergraduate examinations with extreme trepidation. The hopes of his family and his College rested in him. His father had suffered serious financial reverses the year previous and was looking for John to help him. John was to become a lawyer. To make this future as secure as
possible, he was to gain a "first" in the examinations. His College, Trinity, was more than ordinarily interested in his success.

It was looked upon as certain that he would break the spell of failure that had hung like a blight over Trinity for so many years. Never had its fortunes been at so low an ebb. It was ten years since any member of it had gained a first class, and its record during that period had shown one long unbroken succession of failure and disappointment. 26

With all this on his mind, and for other inexplicable undergraduate reasons, Newman was barely able to pass the examinations. He had failed miserably in his attempt to come out on top. Two years later, after abandoning the idea of studying law, "he conceived the 'audacious idea of standing for a fellowship at Oriel,' at that time the object of all rising men at Oxford." 27 This time there was no disappointment. An earlier defeat, the undergraduate failure, had driven Newman to achieve what was the desire of Oxford's greatest men. Undoubtedly Newman saw the will of God in that initial failure, for it was that poor showing which discouraged him from law and led him into orders.

A second major difficulty in his life was occasioned by the sudden death of his sister Mary. She had been his favorite

27 Ibid., 37.
and he had always said that she was singularly fine and good.
The agony which followed upon her departure touched him to the core.

Joy of sad hearts and light of downcast eyes!
Dearest thou art enshrined
In all thy fragrance in our memories;
For we must ever find
 bare thought of thee
Freshen our weary life, while weary life shall be.28

Newman had announced the news of Mary's sudden death to
Maria Giberne shortly after it happened. Years later in a letter
to Newman, she described the manner in which he had acted. "You
told us a little about her, with gasping sobs in your voice, and
then you left us."29

How did Newman react to this terrible sorrow? The re-
action this time produced a stage of progress as before, but this
time it was a stage in spiritual progress, a stage in the realm of
realisation. Newman's successors are indebted to him for his
marvelous reflections on the reality of the immaterial world
around them. Although this idea started with Newman when he was
a young boy, it seemed to reach its climax in the death of Mary.
She had been visible and real. Now she was invisible, but he was
convinced with every fibre of his being that she was still real,

29 Ibid., 150.
and somehow present to him.

Natures is but the index to an immaterial reality. In childhood he had known, without the telling, the immanence of eternal things. He tried to describe in a letter written that evening to Jemima the realization that had pierced him, but no pen could capture those vague and withal subtle feelings. 'Dear Mary seems embodied in every tree and hid behind every hill. What a veil and curtain this world of sense is! beautiful, but still a veil.'30

Mary died in 1828. Nine years later Newman wrote and delivered his beautiful sermon, "The Invisible World."31 There he repeated the notion that the dead are still close to us. Was it still the memory of Mary which haunted his thoughts?

And in that other world are the souls also of the dead. They too, when they depart hence, do not cease to exist, but they retire from this visible scene of things; or, in other words, they cease to act towards us and before us through our senses. They live as they lived before.32

Newman's third great difficulty in life was the attack of Kingsley which brought Newman out of his obscurity. This attack was immediately answered with the successful Apologia Pro Vita Sua, "explaining myself, and my opinions, and my actions."33 Its immediate effect was to vanquish Kingsley and his men, but its

31 Parochial and Plain Sermons, Vol. IV, 1838.
33 A remark in the introduction to the Apologia Pro Vita Sua, xxvi.
lasting effect was to vindicate Newman's life with "a document of history, a casket of jewelled expressions, and a turning point in the career and tragedy of the leading spiritual writer--Kingsley called him the most perfect orator--of his generation."34

These then, were the three great trials of Newman. His undergraduate failure spurred him on to win a place at Oriel College, the goal of Oxford's greatest. The death of his sister Mary clarified in his own mind an earlier idea about the reality of the immaterial world and left for future generations his beautiful realisation on the subject. The attack of Kingsley led to the writing of the Apologia Pro Vita Sua, Newman's explanation to the world of his opinions and motives. It can be said in all truth that for him trials were a spur to greater success, not a barrier to future accomplishments.

Cicero faced his trials in life with less vigor and enthusiasm than Newman. For one thing, he lived in a pagan age, and his success or failure was to be measured by the highly unstable rule of praise or blame. Three trials of Cicero will be treated, difficulties as closely parallel to Newman's as could be found.

It is interesting to note the near parallel reactions of this pagan to his troubles. The like habit of mind was ever groping for what Newman always possessed: knowledge of the eternal and its rule of life.

As Newman had failed to win out in studies at the time of his Oxford undergraduate examinations—his forte—so Cicero failed in a memorable instance at his forte, pleading a case before the people of Rome. He was defending Milo in a murder case. Pompey had prompted the prosecution of the case. So favorable to the people of Rome had been Clodius, the murdered man, that a riot broke out at the trial when Cicero attempted to defend his murderer. Armed soldiers were called upon to restore order.

Quiet was at last restored. But when he was about to speak, Cicero, who in the most alarming moments of the Catilinarian affair had never known fear, was seized with a sudden panic which paralysed all his faculties. ... His delivery became cold, uncertain and throughout his entire speech he was unworthy of himself. ... Some yawned and frequently sent their servants to see the time by the sundial; others talked with their neighbors or went over to converse with colleagues seated at a distance, while a few, less patient than their companions, audibly requested that the hearing be brought to a close. ... Rain began to fall and the vote was quickly taken. ... Sentence of banishment was pronounced against Milo and the sale of his property was ordered.35

Shortly after, to make up for his failure, Cicero published a well-written Pro Milone. It was not the speech he delivered in the Forum, and it is studied today as a rhetorical masterpiece. It can at least be said that his initial failure was a challenge to his ingenuity and that he responded to the challenge with his written work. Shortly after this failure, a determined Cicero regained his former glory with the brilliant period of his

35 Gaston Delayen, Cicero, 185-187.
proconsulship in Cilicia. 36

*Similar to the death of Mary Newman and its effect on Newman was the second great difficulty in the life of Cicero: the death of his daughter Tullia. She was the great human love of his life.*

His daughter Tullia, whom he often calls by the affectionate name of Tulliolia, was the grand passion of Cicero's life. 'My pet Tulliolia' sends love to Atticus. Her father must plan to be at one of his country places at a certain time for the games, because Tullia wants to see them. When he returns from exile it is 'my dear Tulliolia' who meets him at Brindisi. 37

Tullia died suddenly at the age of thirty, one month after having given birth to a son. Cicero was able to be at her side when she died. He was completely broken up.

Cicero's grief was boundless, and he was completely overcome. At the announcement of his beloved Tullia's illness he had hastened from Tusculum. He arrived in time to be with her when she breathed her last. ... then, his heart full of woe, he closed her eyes and called her at intervals three times to know if she were really dead. 38

This death occurred shortly after he had finished his "Tusculan Disputations," one point of which was to reassure man against the fear of death. "Nature lends us life," he had written, "as one

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36 Ibid., 187.
37 H. J. Haskell, *This Was Cicero*, 115.
lends money, without fixing the day of repayment. Why then, should we complain if she asks it back when she wishes?" 39 Here was a noble exercise of ethics, but at the time of Tullia's death, such an exercise was a worthless as a phantom. The ghost of speculation was no consolation as he stood beside the body of his dear young daughter. For some time Cicero could find no consolation in his studies or friends. Because his wife Publilia showed no special grief at Tullia's funeral, he divorced her. 40 Time intervened to close the wound, and when Cicero was calm enough to think on the subject again, his powers of reason began to grope for some understanding of a life after death. It was not right that someone like Tullia should vanish like an animal. He sought for the invisible world that Newman knew so well.

The death of Tullia brought to Cicero his second great religious experience .... He sought out the books of the Greek mystics and found there the consolation for which he yearned. The basis of the argument in the Consolation, taken from Plato, is that the soul reveals capacities that imply eternal existence. He concluded therefore that Tullia would live eternally as a divine being and that he should recognize her divinity by erecting for her not a tomb, but a shrine. In this mood of mysticism he ended the Consolation with the pledge: 'I shall consecrate you before all the world ... as one of the immortals.' 41

39 Gaston Delayen, Cicero, 222.
40 H.J. Haskell, This Was Cicero, 293.
41 Ibid., 297-298.
At a time of unbearable trial most pagans thought of suicide. There was nothing of that in Cicero's mind. There was only reflection, concentration, and writing. The writing was of the book referred to above, the *Consolation*, of which only fragments remain. But how much similar were the minds of Newman and Cicero! Mary's death brought Newman to the realisation of the invisible world around us which is so very real. Cicero's grief at the death of Tullia brought that pagan to the clutching conclusion, born of hope, that there was an eternal life.

Cicero's last great trial was his combat against approaching imperialism in the person of Antony. Cicero sided with Octavius in the struggle for supremacy of Rome, thinking he had found a way of preserving the old Republic of which he had been so proud.

A brilliant opportunity seemed to offer itself to Cicero's excited imagination. He would play off Octavius against Antony until Antony should be destroyed. Then he would put Caesar's young relative in his place and establish senatorial authority, perhaps with himself as first citizen and director of the policy of the state. "Octavius," he said later, "is to be complimented, distinguished, and extinguished."42

Throwing himself into the battle against Antony with all the fervor he had used against Catiline, he denounced him in a series of frantic orations called the "Phillipics." In a sense this was his *Apologia*, his explanation for his motives "after twenty years of

42 Ibid., 334.
frustration and humiliation." But this battle he lost. He actually had no real reason to hope he could win it. Rome was too wild a nation to heed the pleadings of an orator who wanted her to revert to her old Republican standards. Antony had the head which plotted against him and the hands that wrote and gestured nailed to the rostra in the Forum at Rome. Cicero's last oration was one of silence and example. His members pinioned before the eyes of Rome spoke with an example which demanded his glory. There were no further exploits but the search for Tullia in the after life he had hoped for so eagerly. Cicero's trials were temporal in their scope. Newman had an eternity on his mind. But even with this difference, it is clear now that there was a similarity of mind between the two men in their reactions to trials.

These then, were the trials of Cicero. He failed in the case on behalf of Milo, but his failure was an incentive for success in the case for Milo which he wrote and published. The connection between this failure and his Cilician success is apparent. He lost his daughter Tullia, but this agony brought him to a hopeful conviction that the soul did not die, and that there was a life after death. He failed in his efforts to preserve the Republic at Rome, but in death he symbolized integrity.
of conviction. Trials were to him an added incentive for re-
gaining the ground he had lost. In him, as in Newman, is dis-
played the attitude of a lofty and sensitive mind dedicated to
its ideals, come what may.

Success was another influence in their lives. How did
they react to the blandishments of this deceiver? It is easy to
detail their reactions to success, and to confirm that in this,
as in their trials, they were perfectly consistent with their
plans of life.

Newman's first great success was his reception to Oriel
College at Oxford. In the Oriel Common Room he was to be on fa-
miliar terms with the great men of Oxford. Keble would call him
by his last name and he was to address this man in the same way.
But the atmosphere of the Common Room was too much for the shy
and retiring Newman. Where conversation was famous for its
slashing wit, where repartee was the coin of intelligence, there
Newman balked. He was young. He was awkward. He was awed by
what he saw and heard. The men who had elected him wondered if
they had made the proper choice. Had it not been for the burly
geniality of Dr. Whately, this election to Oriel might have been
the final success of a promising life.44 In this first stage of
success, somebody had to take him by the hand and guide him on his

44 Eleanor Ruggles, Journey Into Faith, 61.
way. His success at the time of the attack of Kingsley when he wrote his Apologia brought him great peace. It is interesting to note that "the words with which he puts the seal upon his triumph are not a paen but a prayer." This is only consistent with his dedication in life, as his previous Oriel confusion had been consistent with his youth.

No less consistency can be observed in Cicero at the moments of his triumphs. The instance of his triumph after the Catilinarian conspiracy had been put down should illustrate the happiness he felt at success, not merely because it was success, but because it was already a partial attainment of the goal which he had set as the purpose of his life.

Cicero was met at the prison by the senators and knights and escorted to his home. It was nearly night, but lamps were set at every door and lights placed upon the roofs of the roofs of the houses. A great procession of people followed, bearing torches, shouting and clapping, and acclaiming him 'The Savior and New Founder of Rome.' When the procession reached his home, Cicero was proclaimed 'Father of his Country' by the venerable Catulus—the first time that Rome had given that title to one of her citizens. And the next day that title was confirmed by the Senate. What he himself thought of that day is shown by a statement he makes in his essay on Friendship: 'This we may assert with truth, that of the many glorious and joyous days which P. Scipio witnessed in the course of his life, that day was the most glorious when, on the breaking up of the Senate, he was escorted home in the evening by the conscript fathers, by the allies of the Roman people, and the Latins, the day before he died; so that from so high a position of dignity he may

45 J. Lewis May, Cardinal Newman, 213.
seem to have passed to the gods above rather than to those below. 46

Here, as in all the times of his triumphs, Cicero's reaction was one of satisfaction, for he was accomplishing at those times the goal he had outlined for himself in this life. There need be no criticism of the man for his satisfaction then, because it was not smugness, and it was not the feeling of the mediocre victor. He had set his goal high, so high that no amount of earthly success was sufficient. With this in mind, it is easy to understand that no single success was the sign for Cicero to relax and enjoy himself. There was always another success to win.

Certainly there was a difference here between Cicero and Newman. Newman did not fight for his own success. He was severely criticized because he did not fight harder to vindicate his own ideas at the time of the establishment of the Irish University. But for Newman the goal was different. It was not Newman that counted, it was almighty God. He would act in all things according to the will of God as he could determine it. The similarity in Newman's reaction to success and in Cicero's, is that both bore success in a manner consistent with their goals in life. Herein lies the likeness in their attitude of mind toward success.

In the previous chapter it was shown that, in fact, the

styles of Cicero and Newman were substantially similar. In this chapter an explanation for that fact has been given. Newman and Cicero were men of a similar cast of mind, a mind dedicated in an all-pervading way to their different ideals. It has been shown that that cast of mind was formed by similar natures, similar reactions to trials, and reactions to success consistent with their goals in life.
CHAPTER IV

EXPLANATION OF THE FACT OF
ACCIDENTAL SIMILARITY
OF STYLE

Accidental similarity of style is a similarity in the very details of the styles of two writers. The fact of accidental similarity was proved in Chapter II. This proof was based on intrinsic evidence. It remains, in this chapter, to explain how that accidental similarity of style was possible.

A cause for this similarity must be discovered. It is impossible to allege the same reason for accidental similarity that has been given for substantial similarity, namely, a like cast, or habit of mind in the two men. For while a like cast of mind produces a similar outlook on life which will mirror itself in like general qualities of expression, there is no argument to support the theory that the cause of a general similarity of style is also the cause of a particular similarity of style. It would be foolish to state that the habit of mind which expresses itself in climax, crescendo, or polysyndeton, was due to a general habit of mind which expressed itself in pomp of language. A similar general cast of mind in two men is not an adequate cause
for similarity in the very details of expression. Besides, the
details of expression do not result from an outlook. The prac-
ticed author will state that he acquired his details of style at
the cost of much labor and training. Details of perfection do not
just happen. These details become useful tools for expression
only after years of hard work. A glance at the index of a high
school or college textbook on writing will convince a person of
the truth of that statement. In that index he will see an out-
line of all the fine points of grammar and style and even
punctuation. He will see that exercises for practice are in-
cluded, and that the exercises are based on the principle of
constant repetition.

How then, is it possible to account for the accidental
similarity of styles in the writings of Newman and Cicero? New-
man gives us the answer himself in a letter he wrote to the Rev.
John Hayes on the subject of style.

The only master of style I have ever had ... is Cicero. I
think I owe a great deal to him, but as far as I know, to
no one else. His great mastery of Latin is shown especially
in his clearness.1

Newman was sixty-eight years of age when he wrote that letter. His
remark was hardly the enthusiastic gratitude of a young man to a
writer he admired. It was the product of age and experience and
study. It was a determined statement, and it revealed the cause

of the accidental similarity of style between Cicero and Newman; Newman imitated Cicero. This is not a new discovery. Newman's critics of style almost always make mention of his debt to the great orator. Sencourt indicates Newman's relation to Cicero in the following words.

Newman was at home with classic genius. He had in fact found his first master in Cicero. It was in writing on Cicero that he first showed how excellently he himself could write. And Cicero remained at once the model of his eloquence, and its precise teacher.2

This imitation was practiced by a translation from his writings. Harrold says that "his deep fondness for Cicero continued to the end of his life; in fact, he seldom let a day pass without translating at least a sentence from his great Latin master."3

Reilly indicates that this imitation was deliberate, not haphazard or flighty.

Here was a model, and one of the greatest in prose in any tongue, of those qualities which Newman praised so highly in his lecture on 'Literature' and so deliberately made it his own aim to acquire that they are the sign-manuals of his work in the latter half of his career: richness and copiousness of style; ease and lucidity of expression; and pervadingly, grace, naturalness with distinction, and urbanity.4


3 Charles Frederick Harrold, John Henry Newman, 251.
4 Joseph Reilly, Newman as a Man of Letters, 299.

Perhaps no better instances of the melody of Newman's prose and no greater proof of his indebtedness to Cicero can be found than we have in the variety and smoothness of his sentences. His paragraphs never sputter like much of the English of his day, and yet for their equable flow he has not at his command the abundant supply of connectives found in his master's style. That he should have been able to attain such variety in an uninflected language like the English is still more remarkable and surely due to his knowledge of Latin prose. The reader who will pick out and place side by side or rather read in close connection the longer periods of the *Second Spring* will find a variety that no other English writer offers and to which he can find a parallel only in Cicero. No purple patches either, but everything woven into the web of his discourse without any startling discrepancy of color or design.  

How did Newman go about his imitation of Cicero? All that is known is the content of Harrold's remark, that he translated a sentence almost every day. More than that cannot be said, although much more could be imagined. The fact that he imitated Cicero is clear. That the two writers were similar in detail is true. That the final achievement of Newman's writing was able to be paralleled only by the writings of Cicero, as Father Donnelly claimed, is also recognised as true. The only thing which can be said now is that the accidental similarity between the styles

of Cicero and Newman is accounted for by the simple fact that Newman imitated Cicero daily.

The purpose of this thesis was to account for the fact of the similarity of styles between Cicero and Newman. In the first chapter, an introductory chapter, style was discussed and defined. There the all-important distinction between substantial and accidental similarity of style was explained. In Chapter II the fact was examined. By arguments from authority it was shown that—in fact—the styles of Cicero and Newman were similar. The styles were then submitted to the test of intrinsic evidence. It was shown that they were substantially similar and accidentally similar in style. At this point the fact of the similarity was accepted, and the problem of the thesis was introduced. How could this similarity be explained? Substantial similarity of style was explained by the fact that these two men had a like cast of mind. In each was found a complete dedication to his life's ideal. This cast of mind had been formed by their natures and by their reactions to trials and success. By nature each man was intelligent, docile, independent of mind, and acutely sensitive to praise and blame. Each man saw in trials and difficulties a challenge to greater effort and greater success. This was shown by examples from their lives. Each man accepted success in a manner consistent with his goal in life. This too, was shown by example from the lives of the men. It was then concluded that
the men did have a like cast of mind and that this was responsible for their substantial similarity of style. The final point of the thesis was to explain accidental similarity of style. That has been done—simply—in this chapter. Authority, Newman's own words, and a quick glance at the writings of the two men all reveal that Newman imitated Cicero in the details of expression. With these points proved, the explanation of the fact of the similarity between the styles of John Henry Newman and Marcus Tullius Cicero is concluded.
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II. SECONDARY SOURCES

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B. ARTICLES

The thesis submitted by John Richard Murray, S.J. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of English.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

July 28, 1954

Date

[Signature of Adviser]