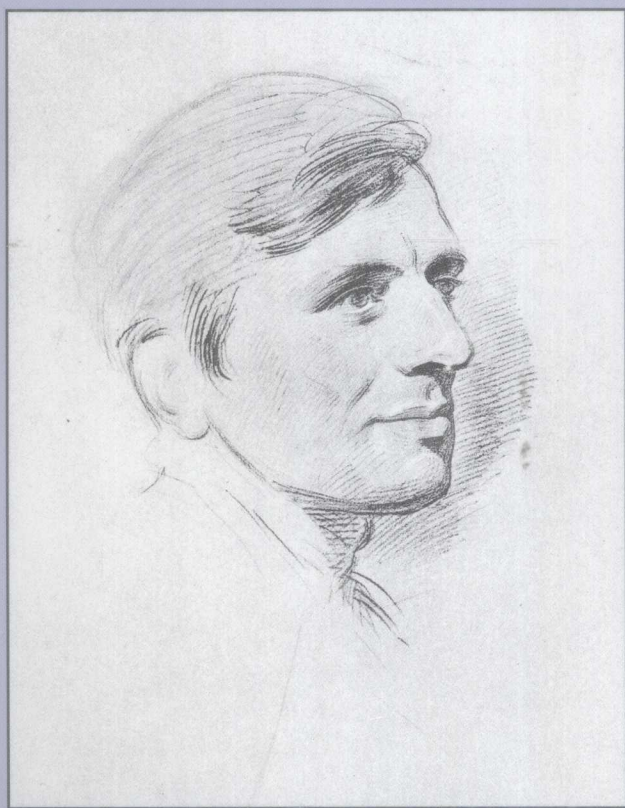


# APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA

JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN



EDITED BY DAVID J. DELAURA

A NORTON CRITICAL EDITION

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JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN  
APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA

AN AUTHORITATIVE TEXT  
BASIC TEXTS OF THE NEWMAN-KINGSLEY  
CONTROVERSY  
ORIGIN AND RECEPTION OF THE APOLOGIA  
ESSAYS IN CRITICISM



*Edited by*

DAVID J. DELAURA  
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# Foreword

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This edition has been conceived as a "reader's" or literary student's edition. I have been interested in the literary, humanistic, and religious power of the *Apologia*, those aspects of continued greatest appeal, rather than in the strictly historical or theological aspects of the book. Nevertheless, the reader should end, aided by the notes and the secondary studies, with a knowledge of the major figures of the Oxford Movement, some sense of Newman's personal development (apart from areas he himself treats), and some notion of the progress of the Movement as a whole and of the major theological issues of its twelve-year history. I have not identified certain peripheral figures, some of Newman's numerous correspondents, and the titles of most of Newman's works cited by himself. For all of these, specialists will now be able to consult Martin J. Svaglic's definitive Oxford English Text edition. While I have largely confined myself to annotation of the *Apologia* itself, I have made exceptions of those passages—for example, Newman's Note on Liberalism—likely to be of greatest interest to the modern non-specialist reader. According to this principle, I have translated foreign phrases throughout, but have left untouched extracts in foreign languages in less retrievable passages, such as the last of the Additional Notes.

The basic texts of the Newman-Kingsley controversy—including the Correspondence, Kingsley's pamphlet *What, Then, Does Dr. Newman Mean?*, the full text of Newman's first two pamphlets, and the two Appendices of 1866—are here for the first time brought together with the final form of the *Apologia*. The background essays are meant to clarify the origins and larger significance of the clash. Martin J. Svaglic presents a detailed account of the immediate background of the *Apologia*, and then draws together evidence which makes clear why Newman was so entirely ready to write the book in 1864. At this point is reprinted Newman's letter to Canon Flanagan of 1857, interesting in itself as the first summary of his motives in writing Tract 90, and as an example of the kind of material Newman was able to draw upon in 1864. Walter E. Houghton gives a penetrating analysis of Kingsley's mind and temperament and, in the process, a conspectus of the mid-nineteenth-century religious attitudes behind the controversy. Fr. Vincent Blehl's survey of the complex reaction of English public opinion to the *Apologia* throws

more light on the place of Newman and the *Apologia* in the Victorian scene.

Among the essays in criticism, Lewis E. Gates' pioneering effort at a rhetorical analysis is the single really stimulating literary treatment of the *Apologia* before Walter E. Houghton's *The Art of Newman's "Apologia,"* which should be the student's vade mecum. The chapter presented here is Houghton's most sustained analysis of the book's language and structure. Structure preoccupies the authors of the next three essays. Martin J. Svaglic discusses the dramatic structure of the book, its relation to the Christian tradition, and the varied roles Newman plays. In the first of two essays, Robert A. Colby analyzes the devices of classical tragedy and epic which unify the *Apologia*; in the second, he relates the sequence of psychological states in Newman's progress to the stages in the advance toward certitude in his *Grammar of Assent*. Leonard W. Deen explains how Newman virtually transformed the principles of classical rhetoric by an almost Romantic reliance on the persuasiveness of self-expression and self-revelation.

These are not, however, merely samples of the best criticism of the *Apologia*: they are, quite simply, virtually the entire body of such criticism. To them should be added the chapter on Newman in John Holloway's *The Victorian Sage* (see Bibliography), which broke new ground in the stylistic analysis of Newman, though very few have cultivated further. And yet the *Apologia* stands, along with Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, as one of the handful of masterpieces of Victorian non-fictional prose which have been subjected to serious and fairly extensive literary examination. The whole area in fact has come under close literary study only in recent years, and the present collection hopefully may stimulate further explorations, in Newman as well as other writers. The final essay here is a tentative attempt to define the "prophetic" quality of the *Apologia*, by virtue of which it is one of a very small class of modern works of both literary and religious significance. My suggestion of the ways in which literary analysis, though essential, ultimately fails to account for the enduring power of the book, is meant in part to be a contribution to the growing body of theory about the "poetics" of Victorian prose.

I have come to admire Newman through teaching him to students of Victorian literature, whose enthusiasm for Newman is inversely proportional to the strategic silence about him—apart from a ritualized reading of a few passages from the *Idea of a University*—observed in the training of most students of literature. My more specific thanks are due to Professor Martin J. Svaglic of Loyola University, Chicago, the dean of Newmanists in this country, and

to the Reverend C. Stephen Dessain, of the Birmingham Oratory, without whom the study of Newman would be even less advanced than it is. I tracked down editions of the *Apologia* and scores of rare Newman items in the British Museum, whose staff I join a host of earlier scholars in thanking. I am grateful, finally, to the staff of the Humanities Reference Room of the University of Texas Library and especially to Miss Kathleen Blow for tireless help in annotating this edition.

DAVID J. DELAURA

# A Note on the Text

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The *Apologia* appeared in seven pamphlets, on Thursdays, from April 21 to June 2, 1864; an eighth part, an Appendix, appeared two weeks later, on June 16. The first of the three principal book versions, that of 1864, called *Apologia Pro Vita Sua: Being a Reply to a Pamphlet Entitled "What, Then, Does Dr. Newman Mean?"* included the first seven pamphlets and an appendix, "Answer in Detail to Mr. Kingsley's Accusations." The second edition, under the title *History of My Religious Opinions* (1865), replaced Parts I and II with a Preface (dated May 2, 1865) and excerpts from the original Part II (sometime after 1873, excerpts from the original Part I were also appended to the Preface). The original Parts III-VII, revised, became the present Chapters I-V (the last of the first series, "General Answer to Mr. Kingsley," was now "Position of my Mind since 1845"). Notes A to G were a recasting of the earlier "Answer in Detail," to eliminate all direct references to Kingsley, and new notes were added (notably, "Liberalism"), along with miscellaneous letters, papers, testimonials, etc. In 1873 the original title, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, was restored, with a new subtitle borrowed from the 1865 title, *Being a History of his Religious Opinions*.

Martin J. Svaglic, in "The Revision of Newman's *Apologia*," *MP*, L (Aug. 1952), 43-49, has shown that the definitive edition, loosely called the "1865 edition," did not reach its final form until about 1886, four years before Newman's death. This final state differs only slightly from the second edition in the main body of the text, with some sixty small textual changes, the most substantial made in 1869, 1873, 1878, and 1881. The major new material was in the "Additional Notes," added from 1869 to 1881. The book was reprinted continuously (with date changed on the title page) from the plates of the 1865 edition.

The text of the *Apologia* presented here is the "definitive" edition of 1886 (in the imprint of 1890), embodying all of Newman's later changes. I also reprint the original Parts I and II. Newman drew the matter from these pamphlets for the pages which follow the Preface dated May 2, 1865, thus restoring a large proportion of the original Part II. My procedure does not, however, entail duplication in the ordinary sense, for Newman made changes. He carefully expunged Kingsley's name from the reprinted sections,

deleted a number of his detailed refutations, and in the process dropped out some of his own most quotable asperities—the effect being a decided softening of his polemical tone. The reader of the present edition is thus in a position to assess the shifts in Newman's polemical strategy once he had discovered his object in writing. The first two pamphlets deserve reprinting in any event, since although their scathingly personal tone seemed out of place as Newman came to see his ultimate aim more clearly, they remain small masterpieces of one kind of controversy, fully revealing the wit, scorn, and indignation of an aroused Newman. Matthew Arnold admired them intensely and paid Newman the high compliment of imitating his tone and method in his own public encounters.

I have brought Newman's and Kingsley's cross references into conformity with the pagination of the present edition. Otherwise the texts are unaltered. In the secondary texts I have taken the liberty of deleting all page references to the *Apologia*, largely because of the great number of existing editions.



# A Newman Chronology

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## I. Boyhood and Early Career

- 1801 Born February 21.  
1808 Sent to Ealing School.  
1816 *Autumn* Conversion to evangelical views.  
*Dec.* Enters Trinity College, Oxford.  
1820 *Nov.* Passes university examinations, and gains B.A. degree, but fails to obtain highest honors.  
1822 *April* Elected fellow of Oriel, "the turning-point of his life"; comes under the influence of Whately and other "Noetics."  
1825 *March* Appointed vice-principal of St. Alban's Hall.  
*May 29* Ordained priest.  
1827 *Breakdown* (Nov.), and the death of his sister Mary (Jan. 1828) check Newman's drift "in the direction of liberalism."  
1828 Becomes a close friend of Richard Hurrell Froude.  
*Jan.* Becomes vicar of St. Mary's, the University church.  
1829 *Feb.* Opposes Peel's re-election as M.P. for Oxford.  
1830 *June* Resigns from Church Missionary Society; definitive break with evangelical party.  
*June* Newman, Froude, and Robert Wilberforce effectively deprived of tutorships at Oriel; Newman's break with Hawkins.  
1832 *Dec.* Newman's Mediterranean journey, returning July 9, 1833.

## II. The Oxford Movement

- 1833 *July 14* Keble's Assize Sermon on "National Apostasy."  
*July 25-29* Meetings of Palmer, Froude, Perceval, and Rose at Hadleigh.  
*Sept.* *Tracts for the Times* begin.  
1835 Pusey joins the movement.  
1836 Hampden appointed Regius Professor of Divinity.  
1837 Newman's *Prophetical Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism*.  
1838-41 Newman editor of *The British Critic*.  
1839 *Summer* Newman studies the Monophysite controversy; has first doubts about the *Via Media*.  
1841 *Feb. 27* *Tract 90* published.  
*March 15* *Tract 90* censured by the Heads of Houses.  
*Autumn* Affair of the Jerusalem bishopric.  
1842 *Feb.* Newman removes permanently to Littlemore.  
1843 *Feb.* Retraction of anti-Catholic statements.  
*June 2* Pusey suspended from preaching within the University for two years.  
*Sept.* Newman resigns the living of St. Mary's.

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- 1845 Feb. 13 W. G. Ward "degraded" from his degree, and his *Ideal of a Christian Church* censured by Convocation; condemnation of *Tract 90* vetoed by the Proctors.  
Oct. 9 Newman received into the Catholic Church by Father Dominic.  
Nov. *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* published.
- III. The Later Years
- 1846 Feb. 23 Leaves Oxford, not to revisit it until 1878.  
May Ordained a priest in Rome.
- 1848 Establishes Oratory of St. Philip Neri near Birmingham (at Edgbaston from 1852), his home for the remainder of his life.
- 1850 *Difficulties of Anglicans*.
- 1851 *Present Position of Catholics*.
- 1851-58 Rector of Catholic University of Ireland; *Idea of a University* (1852, 1858).
- 1864 *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*
- 1870 *Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent*.
- 1879 Made a cardinal in Rome.
- 1890 Aug. 11 Died at Edgbaston; buried at Rednal.

# APOLOGIA PRO VITA SUA:

BEING

A History of his Religious Opinions.

BY

JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN.

"Commit thy way to the Lord and trust in Him, and He will do it.  
And He will bring forth thy justice as the light, and thy  
judgment as the noon-day."

LONDON

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

AND NEW YORK: 15 EAST 16<sup>th</sup> STREET

1890.

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## Preface

The following History of my Religious Opinions, now that it is detached from the context in which it originally stood, requires some preliminary explanation; and that, not only in order to introduce it generally to the reader, but specially to make him understand, how I came to write a whole book about myself, and about my most private thoughts and feelings. Did I consult indeed my own impulses, I should do my best simply to wipe out of my Volume, and consign to oblivion, every trace of the circumstances to which it is to be ascribed; but its original title of "Apologia" is too exactly borne out by its matter and structure, and these again are too suggestive of correlative circumstances, and those circumstances are of too grave a character, to allow of my indulging so natural a wish. And therefore, though in this new Edition I have managed to omit nearly a hundred pages of my original Volume, which I could safely consider to be of merely ephemeral importance, I am even for that very reason obliged, by way of making up for their absence, to prefix to my Narrative some account of the provocation out of which it arose.

It is now more than twenty years that a vague impression to my disadvantage has rested on the popular mind, as if my conduct towards the Anglican Church, while I was a member of it, was inconsistent with Christian simplicity and uprightness. 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 round him by virtue of such writings, gradually faltered in his opposition to it, unsaid his words, threw his own friends into perplexity and their proceedings into confusion, and ended by passing over to the side of those whom he had so vigorously denounced. Sensitive then as I have ever been of the imputations which have been so freely cast upon me, I have never felt much impatience under them, as considering them to be a portion of the penalty which I naturally and justly incurred by my change of religion, even though they were to continue as long as I lived. I left their removal to a future day, when personal feelings would have died out, and documents would see the light, which were as yet buried in closets or scattered through the country.

This was my state of mind, as it had been for many years, when, in the beginning of 1864, I unexpectedly found myself publicly put upon my defense, and furnished with an opportunity of pleading my cause before the world, and, as it so happened, with a fair prospect of an impartial hearing. Taken indeed by surprise, as I was,

I had much reason to be anxious how I should be able to acquit myself in so serious a matter; however, I had long had a tacit understanding with myself, that, in the improbable event of a challenge being formally made to me, by a person of name, it would be my duty to meet it. That opportunity had now occurred; it never might occur again; not to avail myself of it at once would be virtually to give up my cause; accordingly, I took advantage of it, and, as it has turned out, the circumstance that no time was allowed me for any studied statements has compensated, in the equitable judgment of the public, for such imperfections in composition as my want of leisure involved.

It was in the number for January 1864, of a magazine of wide circulation, and in an Article upon Queen Elizabeth, that a popular writer took occasion formally to accuse me by name of thinking so lightly of the virtue of Veracity, as in set terms to have countenanced and defended that neglect of it which he at the same time imputed to the Catholic Priesthood. His words were these:—

“Truth, for its own sake, had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be; that cunning is the weapon which heaven has given to the Saints wherewith to withstand the brute male force of the wicked world which marries and is given in marriage. Whether his notion be doctrinally correct or not, it is at least historically so.”

These assertions, going far beyond the popular prejudice entertained against me, had no foundation whatever in fact. I never had said, I never had dreamed of saying, that truth for its own sake, need not, and on the whole ought not to be, a virtue with the Roman Clergy; or that cunning is the weapon which heaven has given to the Saints wherewith to withstand the wicked world. To what work of mine then could the writer be referring? In a correspondence which ensued upon the subject between him and myself, he rested his charge against me on a Sermon of mine, preached, before I was a Catholic, in the pulpit of my Church at Oxford; and he gave me to understand, that, after having done as much as this, he was not bound, over and above such a general reference to my Sermon, to specify the passages of it, in which the doctrine, which he imputed to me, was contained. On my part I considered this not enough; and I demanded of him to bring out his proof of his accusation in form and in detail, or to confess he was unable to do so. But he persevered in his refusal to cite any distinct passages from any writing of mine; and, though he consented to withdraw his charge, he would not do so on the issue of its truth or falsehood, but simply on the ground that I assured him that I had had no



intention of incurring it. This did not satisfy my sense of justice. Formally to charge me with committing a fault is one thing; to allow that I did not intend to commit it, is another; it is no satisfaction to me, if a man accuses me of *this* offence, for him to profess that he does not accuse me of *that*; but he thought differently. Not being able then to gain redress in the quarter, where I had a right to ask it, I appealed to the public. I published the correspondence in the shape of a Pamphlet, with some remarks of my own at the end, on the course which that correspondence had taken.

This Pamphlet, which appeared in the first weeks of February, received a reply from my accuser towards the end of March, in another Pamphlet of 48 pages, entitled, "What then does Dr. Newman mean?" in which he professed to do that which I had called upon him to do; that is, he brought together a number of extracts from various works of mine, Catholic and Anglican, with the object of showing that, if I was to be acquitted of the crime of teaching and practising deceit and dishonesty, according to his first supposition, it was at the price of my being considered no longer responsible for my actions; for, as he expressed it, "I had a human reason once, no doubt, but I had gambled it away," and I had "worked my mind into that morbid state, in which nonsense was the only food for which it hungered;" and that it could not be called "a hasty or farfetched or unfounded mistake, when he concluded that I did not care for truth for its own sake, or teach my disciples to regard it as a virtue;" and, though "too many prefer the change of insincerity to that of insipience, Dr. Newman seemed not to be of that number."

He ended his Pamphlet by returning to his original imputation against me, which he had professed to abandon. Alluding by anticipation to my probable answer to what he was then publishing, he professed his heartfelt embarrassment how he was to believe any thing I might say in my exculpation, in the plain and literal sense of the words. "I am henceforth," he said, "in doubt and fear, as much as an honest man can be, concerning every word Dr. Newman may write. How can I tell, that I shall not be the dupe of some cunning equivocation, of one of the three kinds laid down as permissible by the blessed St. Alfonso da Liguori and his pupils, even when confirmed with an oath, because 'then we do not deceive our neighbour, but allow him to deceive himself?' . . .<sup>1</sup> How can

1. St. Alphonsus Liguori (1696-1787), whose *Theologia Moralís* enjoyed great authority in the Catholic Church. In the passage referred to by Kingsley, Alphonsus, after distinguishing various kinds of "double meaning" in words, continues: " \* \* \* it is certain and generally accepted that in a just cause it is

permitted to use equivocation in the manner set forth, and to bind it with an oath. \* \* \* \* The reason is that then we do not deceive our neighbor but, for just cause, allow him to deceive himself, and on the other hand we are not required to speak to the understanding of others if a just cause exists."