LORD ACTON'S RELATIONS

WITH

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

by

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Introducing the "Cause"

Even a superficial reading of the many articles written about Lord John Acton reveals the definite division of thought about the man. There are those who claim that "There seems to be little doubt that Lord Acton, if he is not already so regarded, is on the point of being canonized as the Magistrate of Modern History;"[1] while there are others who describe him as a "self-satisfied pontiff," not a historian but a rhetorician.[2] In very truth, "Lord Acton's name is a flag . . . over disputed territory . . . it belongs to the Debatable Land."[3]

It should be obvious then that a thorough investigation of Acton's various claims to greatness would prove a rewarding study. As a matter of fact, considerable attention has been given to Acton as the Apostle of Liberty, as the inspirational teacher at Cambridge, and as the "inseparable" of Gladstone. Few, if any, have made concentrated efforts to evaluate Acton's relationships with the Catholic Church.[4] It is this aspect of Acton's career that will be stressed in this study, even

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1 Frank E. Lally, As Lord Acton Says, i. John Morley, Recollections, I, 233.

2 "Lord Acton's Letters," Blackwood's Edinburgh Review, 1913, 193: 582.

3 William Barry, D.D., "Lord Acton: a Study," Dublin Review, 1918, 162: 1.

4 This is especially true of English writings on the subject. A German work by Dr. U. Noack entitled Acton und der Katholizismus does take up this phase of Acton's career. Two other works of Dr. Noack provide worthwhile matter: his Geschichtswissenschaft und Warheit (1935) and his Katholizität und Geistesfreiheit (1936).

though the other phases of his career will of necessity enter into the picture.

Undoubtedly, if this were the actual process undertaking the official canonization of Lord Acton as "historian par excellence," one would include all the favorable testimonies possible. For our purpose, however, we will select a few representative advocates, and let them speak for the many.

First we present G. P. Gooch enthusiastically claiming that "It is above all as an apostle of liberty that Acton's claim to fame will rest."[5] The testimonial regarding Acton's fitness for his role of Regius Professor is provided by Paul Roberts, who insists that Acton was "a living instance of that frame of mind depicted in Bacon's fine aphorism, 'Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in Providence and turn upon the poles of truth.'"[6]

Acton has also been described as resembling the Benedictines in his unselfish pursuit of a scholarly career.[7] As recently as 1943 C. Wright, in an article for the Commonweal, sang the praises of Lord Acton in the following remark: "If Catholic scholarship is an important force in England today, and, to some degree, in the United States, no one is more responsible for the change than Acton himself."[8]

Canon Barry in his testimony depicts not only the chief assets of

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5 G. P. Gooch, "Lord Acton: Apostle of Liberty," Foreign Affairs, 1947, 25: 629. Herbert Paul, Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone, 15.

6 "Liberalism and Divergent Types of Genius," Westminster Review, 1904, 162: 513.

7 "The Late Lord Acton," Edinburgh Review, 1903, 197: 531.

8 "Lord Acton - Appraisal of a great nineteenth century figure," Commonweal, 1943, 39: 162.

Lord Acton but also hints at the contemporary reception given the man himself.

> Wanting in the wisdom of the serpent, always a youth in ideals and aspirations, without guile or any real turn for diplomacy, he reminds me of an absurd modern story where an angel is shot and winged on Brighton Downs, and proves a complete failure, a scandal and an intrusion, in the society where he is introduced.[9]

John Pollock also suggests that same melancholic trait of Acton's genius when he claims that there is something in Acton's career that recalls the fragmentary genius of Leonardo da Vinci.[10]

From such enthusiastic and glowing testimonies on behalf of the candidate, we turn now to those of the "advocati diaboli." Canon Barry himself, though favorably inclined toward Acton, frankly states that there is another side when he remarks that though "Lord Acton is the glory of the Catholics, he is also our burden and our embarrassment."[11]

It was Father Herbert Thurston, S.J., who stated the opposition view more definitely when he challenged the claims of Acton's admirers that the historian was a representative Catholic and a great asset to Catholicism in England.[12] In the December 1906 issue of the Catholic World, Father Thurston further denounced such excessive eulogizing and warns that it is a great mistake, at least in his judgment, to attempt to canonize Lord Acton as a representative Catholic, or to overlook the scandal to weaker brethren which his attitude undoubtedly gave.[13]

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9 Op. cit., 23.

10 "Lord Acton at Cambridge," Independent Review, 1904, 2: 362.

11 Op. cit., 1, 2.

12 The Times, Oct. 31, 1906, 12. This is cited from an article Father Thurston contributed to the Tablet (London).

13 "The Late Lord Acton," 84: 371.

Lord Acton's son entered the lists of the controversy in 1906 and wisely remarked that until his father's letters with Dollinger were published, "it would perhaps be wise, in estimating his theological standpoint, to steer a middle course between the anathemas of the one party and the efforts at canonization attempted by the other.[14] The unfortunate drawback to this suggestion is that those letters as yet have not been published. As a result, the ascertaining of the true relations existing between Lord Acton and the Catholic Church will have to wait for a more definitive explanation until such time as these letters are made available. In the meantime, despite this handicap, we shall try to come to some conclusion.

From such rather general testimonies, we will now proceed to the more specific details of Acton's personal life as a Catholic. Figgis and Laurence, the editors of most of Acton's collected works, insist that despite appearances to the contrary, "all the evidence both of his writings and his most intimate associates confirms the view that communion with Rome was dearer to Acton than life itself."[15] Such a testimony is also given by Grant-Duff, who maintained that Acton was the most Catholic of Catholics.[16]

Mary Drew, in her article on "Acton and Gladstone," notes that "To them both, religion was the most supreme of interests. It was the habit of their minds. It was the guiding star of their lives."[17] While such

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14 Times, Oct. 30, 1906, 11.

15 J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence, The History of Freedom and Other Essays, xxvi.

16 M. E. Grant-Duff, "Lord Acton's Letters," Nineteenth Century, 1904, 55: 772.

17 Constructive Quarterly, 1918, 6: 228.

an interpretation might be colored somewhat because of the writer's naturally sympathetic attitude toward the two concerned, still other persons stress the same idea. W. Watkin Davies adds a further significant fact to this reaction when he points out that Acton's orthodoxy was the stronger of the two, since his was not due to ignorance as that of Gladstone's largely was.[18]

This last mentioned fact gives additional weight to Shillito's observation that Acton served as a force for the good since he led many scholars to investigate more carefully a religion that could hold such a master mind as Acton's.[19] We also learn from Maisie Ward's account that at least one such convert can be credited to Lord Acton.[20]

In his introduction to Acton's Letters to Mary Gladstone, Herbert Paul testifies that "the central truths of the Christian religion and of the Catholic Church were not merely articles of his creed, but guiding principles of his conduct."[21] A similar thought was expressed by W. L. Blennerhassett, who referred to Lord Acton as "a great Christian gentleman from the cradle to the tomb."[22]

An incident related by Maua Lyttelton provides a rather humorous illustration of Acton's practical observance of Catholicism. Lyttelton tells how "Lord Acton rigidly kept the fast days of his Church, a habit which was not seldom the cause of much distress to a hostess, who knowing his taste but forgetting the day had invited him to a sumptuous repast

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18 "Politics of Lord Acton," Hibbert Journal, 1946, 45: 22.

19 E. Shillito, "Centenary of Lord Acton," Christian Century, 1934, 51: 161.

20 Maisie Ward, The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition, II, 545.

21 Op. cit., 14-15.

22 "Acton, 1834-1902," Dublin Review, 1934, 194: 188.

on a Friday."[23] Another associate of Acton's, D. E. Elms, bears witness to the fact that Lord Acton went regularly to Mass and confession while he was Regius Professor at Cambridge and that he died fortified by the last Sacraments.[24]

Even his Inaugural Address as Regius Professor, wherein Acton spoke in eloquent terms of the place of Christ in history, reveals the importance religion played in Acton's thoughts and words.[25] Concerning this address, Figgis and Laurence remark: "These words represent not the mere enthusiastic religionism of growth and temperament . . . but the trained and tested conviction of a mature man."[26] Such is also the judgment of John G. Vance, who in contrasting Professor Bury and Lord Acton, expressed the decided opinion that "Lord Acton's whole temper of mind was profoundly Christian."[27]

Generally speaking, then, the burden of evidence points to the sincerity of Acton's protestation that his communion with Rome was dearer than life to him. Likewise it seems true that Acton's cosmopolitan heredity and education gave something of a natural attraction to a cosmopolitan religious group such as the Catholic Church, as Figgis points out.[28] Acton would very probably have been out of sympathy with any form of

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23 "Mr. Gladstone's Friendship with Lord Acton," Lippincott's Magazine, 1904, 74: 611.

24 "Liberty and Lord Acton," Commonweal, 1934, 20: 247.

25 Barry, op. cit., 10. Figgis and Laurence, Lectures on Modern History, xvii.

26 Selections from the Correspondence of the first Lord Acton, xx.

27 "Professor Bury and Lord Acton," Month, 1914, 123: 226.

28 Selected Corr., xx.

Protestantism.[29] There is a still stronger argument for proving that Acton's adherence to his Catholic faith was a matter of firm conviction, and that is the fact that he consistently submitted to the ecclesiastical decisions even at the cost of much personal prestige.

David Mathew, whose work on the formative years of Acton's life is accepted as a complete and fair picture of that phase of Acton's career, describes Acton's attitude toward his religion as follows: "There seems little doubt that to Acton his ancestral Faith was illuminating, disappointing, at times utterly exasperating, noble and inevitable. One thing is surely true, that to him, Catholicism was always inescapable."[30] Perhaps it was some such idea Creighton had in mind when he explained Acton's adherence to Catholicism as the natural result of its being the nearest thing he could get to his peculiar ideal of religion.[31]

Just how to account for Acton's feelings of "disappointment and exasperation" as regards his religion is suggested in the remark that Acton "was always looking for better bread than could be made of wheat."[32] In other words, Acton possessed that categoric cast of mind which a narrow view of truth may cause.

> Even a love of truth may be narrow and may mislead, and however admirable the conscience which impels a scholar to discover, to publish, and to castigate the sins of history, there is an unhappy defect in the mind which cannot occasionally

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29 Henry E. Tedder, "Lord Acton as a Book Collector," Proceedings of the British Academy, 1903-1904, 1: 282. Also H. Paul, op. cit., 30; Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., xx.

30 Acton, the Formative Years, 5.

31 Louise Creighton, ed., Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, cited in Figgis and Laurence, Selected Corr., xix.

32 "Review of Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton," Catholic World, 1918, 107: 535.

> look behind the sins to catch a glimpse of the virtues which assuredly are there.[33]

Seemingly, even Acton himself recognized this defect, for we note him cautioning his son not to imitate the harshness of his own judgments.[34]

It would surely prove enlightening if it were possible to unearth the reasons for the so-called "moral fanaticism" so often ascribed to Lord Acton. Whether this characteristic was the cause or the result of Acton's intense sense of loneliness and isolation is somewhat difficult to determine. But whatever be the case, it is certain that Acton felt this sense of separation keenly.[35] In a letter to Mary Gladstone he writes: "I never had any contemporaries . . . I was always associated with men a generation older than myself, most of whom died early -- for me."[36] W. F. Moulton in his review of Lectures on the French Revolution quotes Acton as saying, "We might wait long if we waited for the man who . . . deals evenly with friend and foe, assuming that it would be possible for an honest historian to have a friend!"[37]

It does indeed seem very clear that as time went on and Acton found himself continually an object of suspicion to church authorities, even though his own conscience held himself innocent, that a bitterness and loneliness did settle down upon him. But whether such depression developed into a species of monomania, as Thurston claims, might well be

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33 "Review of Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," Catholic World, 1904, 79: 836-7.

34 Figgis and Laurence, Hist. of Freedom, xxxij.

35 R. A. L. Smith, "Strange Life of Lord Acton," New Statesman and Nation, May 1944, 27: 355. Friedrick Engel-Janosi, "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas of History," Catholic Historical Review, 1941, 27: 177.

36 R. A. L. Smith, op. cit., 355.

37 London Quarterly Review, 1911, 115: 279.

questioned. Thurston gives as his proof the fact that Lord Acton, when visiting Rome at certain periods of his career, used to disguise himself under the impression that he would thus be better protected against the supposed danger of assassination by Vatican agents.[38]

In his account, Thurston mentions that he had received the report from two different sources. Still another instance of this peculiar behavior can be gleaned from W. L. Blennerhassett's comments. This friend of Acton relates how embarrassing Acton's friends found it to explain Acton's "eccentric behavior in moving about Rome in disguise to escape the Jesuits" [!][39] Even though such conduct is undoubtedly eccentric, one wonders if it constitutes a definite proof of monomania.

Besides such points of personal behavior, one must also consider some points referring to Acton's literary style to ward off the danger of misinterpreting his writings. The advantages that Lord Acton possessed as a historical writer are manifold. Thurston lists them as follows: "His memory for details was extraordinary; his industry almost without parallel; . . . his work was not hampered by any lack of readiness in using his pen; he was habitually clear and vigourous in expression."[40]

Another asset is noted by A. Gwynn, S.J., when he speaks of Acton's astonishing power for condensing some generalized truth in the form of heavily charged epigram.[41] It was this last facility that led Morley to wager that he would be able to find "at the very least, one pregnant, pithy, luminous, suggestive saying in any three of the pages" of the

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38 Thurston, op. cit., 369-370. Contains the ideas of this paragraph.

39 Blennerhassett, op. cit., 178.

40 Thurston, op. cit., 358.

41 Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., "Lord Acton and the Popish Plot," Studies, 1944, 33: 451.

four volumes of lectures and essays to Lord Acton's credit.[42] Possibly it was this characteristic that suggested the title of Lally's work on Acton -- As Lord Acton Says.

Acton also possessed that very necessary gift of critical analysis --so essential for historical work. Herbert Paul insists that Acton's critical acumen was not surpassed by any of his less learned contemporaries, and implies that it probably surpassed that of more learned persons.[43] The vast bulk of Acton's literary output consists of reviews and notices on books, and Acton's performance of this task certainly shows a really critical evaluation of the works discussed.

Despite these many assets, Acton possessed several disturbing literary liabilities. In an entry in his journal for March 12, 1908, Arnold Bennett points out one of these drawbacks.

> Been reading Lord Acton. I am driven to the conclusion that his essays are too learned in their allusiveness for a plain man. I should say that for a man who specialized in the history of the world during the last 2500 years they would make quite first class reading;[44]

Even Morley, whose glowing panegyric on the value of Acton's works was previously cited, admits that "Acton often seemed as if he enjoyed playing hide-and-seek with the well-meaning reader."[45] G. S. Ford compares Lord Acton's method of presenting a thought to that of a great mathematician whose mind leaps from major equation to major equation and leaves you to toil through the intermediate operations that to him were self-evident.[46]

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[42] Morley, op. cit., 1: 235.

[43] Paul, op. cit., 41.

[44] Arnold Bennett, Journal, 288.

[45] Morley, op. cit., 1: 231; also 230, 290-1.

[46] G. S. Ford, "Review of Lectures on Modern History," American Historical Review, 1907, 12: 622. Barry, op. cit., 14.

An even more serious charge is brought against Acton by Brinton, who claims that Acton did not always maintain an attitude of impartiality. Rather, Brinton continues, Acton tended to categorize the matter of history, and even fall into that very "a priorism" he sought to avoid.[47]

This charge of partiality is especially true of Acton's writings on such subjects as the Councils, Infallibility, the Inquisition, and the Jesuits. Because of Acton's definite prejudice on such topics, one must interpret his views on these matters with much more than the proverbial grain of salt.

Another charge lodged against the historical prowess of Acton is his tendency to carry generalizations too far. While the facility of epigram-making is an aid, at least in Acton's case, it proved something of a boomerang. This double-edged quality is hinted at in the following remark: "Some of his statements have the delusive precision which at once attracts and repels us . . ."[48] As James MacCaffrey remarked: "In his anxiety to say striking things, Lord Acton was not always careful of his facts."[49] A case very much to this point is Professor G. M. Trevelyn's observation that his personal investigation of Acton's charge that the Jesuits had murdered Rossi, the liberal minister of Pius IX, revealed that there wasn't the slightest justification for that statement.[50] Even Herbert Paul, fervent admirer of Acton that he is, admits as much when he recalls

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47 Crane Brinton, "Lord Acton's Philosophy of History," Harvard Theological Review, 1919, 12: 108.

48 "Editorial on Acton's Inaugural Lecture," Times, June 12, 1895, 9.

49 "Lord Acton's Lectures on Modern History," Irish Ecclesiastical Record, 1907, 39: 507.

50 Frederic Engel Janosi, "Some Notes on Lord Acton Suggested by a Recent Book," Catholic Historical Review, 1943, 29: 357ff.

Acton's telling him that "Rousseau had produced more effect with his pen than Aristotle or Cicero, or Saint Augustine, or Saint Thomas Aquinas, or any other man who ever lived."[51]

It is true that such sweeping statements are relatively few, still this tendency must be kept in mind when evaluating remarks made by Lord Acton, especially in his conversations and personal letters.

Still another handicap under which Acton labored must be mentioned. Acton was very capable of pointing out the danger of certain practices in historical writing, but he was not so successful in avoiding these same pitfalls himself. For example, Acton wrote to Lady Blennerhassett commending her because, as he said, "You observe the golden rule, to state no fact without stating the evidence. But," he continues," there is a silver rule, to give no unnecessary evidence."[52] It was just this silver rule that Acton himself so often violated.

Acton so exulted in the new archives made available to scholars that he set copyists to work all over the world to supply him with materials.[53] In his attempt to include all this overwhelming mass of evidence, Acton often obscured his real message. As one writer put it, "We are not quite so sure as Lord Acton appears to be that the immense multiplication of new material for history will encourage independence of judgment either in writers or in readers."[54]

It is obvious to historical students today that, despite the wide use Acton made of primary sources, he ignored or overlooked many dis-

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51 Paul, op. cit., 9.

52 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 270.

53 Engel-Janosi, "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas of History," 181. G. P. Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century, 384.

54 "Editorial on Acton's Inaugural Lecture," Times, June 12, 1895, 9.

coveries now recognized as of first importance, especially in the field of medieval research.[55] Not only did Acton fail to consider certain valuable materials but, according to Professor Trevelyn, Acton believed too easily in the anecdotes as historical sources.[56]

Morley notes the same phenomenon when he speaks of Acton's "untiring hunt for incidents on the political backstairs."[57] The same opinion is expressed by Bryce, who thinks that Acton placed too much value on the back-stairs anecdotes as a valid source of historical information.[58]

Because of this tendency, Maitland warns readers of the anecdotes to remember that Acton was by no means incapable of "casting a pearl of irony in the way of those who would mistake it for pebbly fact."[59] Granting such a possibility, it still seems that Acton succumbed far too easily to the lure of new testimony for his own historical soundness.[60]

So much then for the over-all picture of Acton, his life and his works. With the view of arriving at a just appraisal of Acton's relations with the Catholic Church, we will now proceed to the main body of the thesis wherein we shall consider in detail three key episodes in Acton's career: (1) his journalistic crusade, (2) his Vatican Council efforts, and (3) his letters to the Times in 1874.

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55 E. L. Woodward, "The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century," Politica, 1939, 4: 261.

56 Engel-Janosi, "Some Notes . . .," 359.

57 Morley, op. cit., 1: 230-1.

58 James B. Bryce, Studies in Contemporary Biography, 392.

59 Frederick Maitland, The Collected Papers of Frederick W. Maitland, 3: 514-515.

60 Herbert A. L. Fisher, "Acton's Historical Work," Quarterly Review, 1911, 115: 176. "Review of Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," Catholic World, 836. Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr. 233.

The Clash - Acton's Journalistic Crusade

Admittedly the early schooling at Oscott under Cardinal Wiseman was important in its influence on the young John Acton. Even more was this true of the scholastic training Acton received from Doctor Dollinger at Munich. But David Mathew in his *Lord Acton: the Formative Years*, provides such a worthwhile treatment that any discussion of that period resolves itself into a recital of citations from that source. For such a reason, then, and because of the limitations of space, much of the early background of Acton will be omitted in this paper. Acton's journalistic career -- his connections with the *Rambler* and the *Home and Foreign Review* -- will serve as our starting point.

Much of the significance of this period can be gleaned from the description of the Acton of that time as "the enthusiastic knight-errant of the Church, who thought . . . to win the whole world to a synthesis of learning, Liberalism, and Catholicism."[1] Certainly that youthful enthusiasm is evident in Acton's dedication of his life-service to the cause of "translating German science into the English Idiom."[2]

Acton had studied the English scene, found that there was no lack of periodicals presenting science apart from religion, and vice versa, religion apart from science. But he found missing the very type he

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[1] J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence, *Selections from the Correspondence of the first Lord Acton*, xi. Crane Brinton, "Lord Acton's Philosophy of History," *Harvard Theological Review*, 1919, 12: 86.

[2] William Barry, D.D., "Lord Acton: a Study," *Dublin Review*, 1918, 162: 382.

hoped to encourage, viz., one combining the true scientific spirit with the orthodox Catholic viewpoint.[3]

Determined to preach his crusade through the pages of the press, Acton joined forces with Simpson in editing the Rambler. It was Simpson, who stated the case for the crusade when he wrote as follows to Bishop Grant of Southwark on April 23, 1862:

> The great prejudice against the Church among educated Englishmen is not a religious one against her dogmas, but an ethical and political one; they think that no Catholic can be truthful, honest, or free, and that if he tries to be so publicly, he is at once subject to persecution. The existence of the Rambler is more or less a reply to this prejudice.[4]

From such a statement of aim it is not hard to understand why it has been said of the Rambler that it "has an importance in the history of English Catholicism during the nineteenth century which is not to be measured by its mere duration as a journal."[5] Add to its announced purpose the fact that it represented "a phase of convert thought in direct opposition to W. G. Ward and Manning," and it is likewise easy to see why the young "knight-errant" found himself facing frequent challenges from anxious and fearful English Catholics.[6]

The "crusaders" were soon made to realize that such a spirit of scientific non-conformism as they preached was certainly not acceptable to "those who had grown up in another school of ideas."[7] Particularly was this the case with the Ultramontane school, which Acton described as

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3 Acton, "Conflicts with Rome," Home and Foreign Review, cited by G. P. Gooch in History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century, 380,382.

4 Abbot Gasquet, Lord Acton and His Circle, lvij, lviij.

5 Herbert Thurston, "Rambler," Catholic Encyclopedia.

6 Ibid.

7 Acton, "Cardinal Wiseman and The Home and Foreign Review," Home and Foreign Review, 1862 cited in Figgis and Laurence, History of Freedom, 459.

a system whereby the principles of absolutism were introduced into the Church herself.[8] This group soon began a militant campaign in defense of their views.

Acton's attempts to defend his position actually worked to the advantage of the opposing forces. Why this resulted is obvious from the following quotation wherein Acton explains his views.

> Literature, like government assists religion, but it does so indirectly, and from without. The ends for which it works are distinct from those of the Church, and yet subsidiary to them; and the more independently each force achieves its own end, the more complete will the ultimate agreement be found, and the more will religion profit.[9]

While the Rambler set down as an avowed principle to keep strictly within the limits of defined doctrine and the Catholic Faith,[10] it exercised entirely too much freedom in the discussion of philosophical, scientific, political, and historical questions to please the opposition. Indeed the oppositition's stand is understandable when one considers how the religious beliefs and scientific findings were to be fused.

Acton insists, of course, that the principles of religion, government, and science are in harmony, always and absolutely. But then he adds,

> their interests are not. And though all interests must yield to those of religion, no principle can succumb to any interest. A political law or a scientific truth may be perilous to the morals or faith of individuals but it cannot on this ground be resisted by the Church . . . A discovery may be made in science which will shake the faith of thousands, yet religion cannot refute it or object to it. The difference in this

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8 Acton, "Ultramontanism," Home and Foreign Review, July 1863, 167.

9 Acton, "Cardinal Wiseman and the H. & F. Review," Home and Foreign Review, October 1862, 511.

10 Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B., The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne, 1: 309.

> respect between a true and false religion is, that one judges all things by the standard of their truth, the other by the touchstone of its own interests.[11]

In such reasoning as the above it seems apparent that basically Acton held correct ideas on some ticklish matters, but he had an unhappy manner of saying the right things in such a way as to allow others to read into them many different and incorrect meanings. Take for example the following explanation Acton gave of the role of religion:

> When a religion is applied to the social and political sphere, its general spirit must be considered rather than its particular precepts . . . .[12] For the ethical and intellectual offices of the Church, as distinct from her spiritual office, are not hers exclusively or peculiarly. They were discharged, however imperfectly, before she was founded; and they are discharged still, independently of her, by two other authorities--science and society.[13]

Starting with the assumption that the scientific spirit which arose out of the decomposition of Protestantism had become in the hands of Catholics the safeguard of religious truth, and the most efficient weapon of controversy,[14] Acton proceeded to the conclusion that since

> the rise of heresies furnished the test which defined Catholicism to be the most perfect expression of Christianity, so the growth of internal controversy requires some further test to ascertain the purest form of thought on open questions within the Church.[15]

A similar line of thought can be noted in MSS note 5542 in which Lord Acton remarked that "Ecclesiastical decisions [are] not to precede

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[11] Acton, "Card. Wiseman . . . ," Home and Foreign Review, 449.

[12] Acton, "The Protestant Theory of Persecution," Rambler, March 1862, cited in Figgis and Laurence, Hist. of Freedom, 150. Gasquet ascribes this to Simpson.

[13] Acton, "Card. W.," H. & F. R., 448-449.

[14] Acton, "Ultramontanism," 192.

[15] Ibid., 164.

but to follow scientific discussions."[16]

Once again we notice that actually what Acton suggests is, within certain limits, the accepted procedure of Catholic practice. But his manner of expression elicits dangerously misleading conclusions.

Acton sometimes unhappily confuses accidentals with essentials when he looks for actual proof of some principle theoretically sound in itself. To illustrate,-- Acton insists that "A fact may be true or a law may be just, and yet it may under certain conditions involve some spiritual loss."[17] Then in proof he cites the discovery that the donation of Constantine was spurious.[18] Actually this example, implying as it does that it was accompanied by a serious spiritual set-back, is decidely weak and unconvincing. The truth of the matter is that adjustment necessitated by this discovery was made with relative ease.

This over-zealous defence of scientific freedom sometimes led Acton into a rather revolutionary campaign on behalf of the reformation of Catholic theology in the light of certain fashionable historical hypotheses.[19] And here Acton stepped on exceedingly thin ice, for he insisted that "To be sincere a man must battle with the causes of error that beset every mind."[20]

Such a statement bears a close resemblance to the startling remark

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16 Frederick Engel Janosi, "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas of History," Catholic Historical Review, 1941, 27: 177.

17 Acton, "Conflicts with Rome," 454.

18 Ibid., 469.

19 Wilfrid Ward, The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman, 1: 459-460.

20 Acton, "Letter of March 31, 1883," cited in Herbert Paul's Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone, 279.

made by Dollinger at an earlier date. Dollinger maintained the thesis, that "in theology it is only through error that truth is attained," is a law which will be valid in the future as it has been universal in the past. The remark caused a great stir but "as it stood, everybody knew it to be true," so it was not condemned as such.[21]

Such opinions give weight to the generally held view that Acton was addressing his remarks more to a non-Catholic public than a Catholic one. It was Wilfrid Ward's firm conviction that it was Acton's desire "to conduct an English Review that would influence non-Catholics as well as Catholics, after the manner of the German periodicals with which he was familiar."[22]

There were, however, some bright spots in Acton's journalistic career; and these appeared in the various testimonies offered in tribute to the scholarliness of the publications. In 1863 Acton glowed under the flattering declaration of Bishop Brown that "there had never been anything so good as that last number" of the Home and Foreign Review.[23] About this same time Acton reports that the Bishop of Shrewsbury paid him a visit. Although the prelate evidently came with the objective of "demolishing" the work, Acton remarks, "I converted the Bishop."[24]

Matthew Arnold was lavish in his praises of the Home and Foreign Review. He stated that "Perhaps in no organ of criticism in this country

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21 Acton, "The Munich Congress," Home and Foreign Review, January 1864, 235.

22 W. Ward, op. cit., 1: 467.

23 Gasquet, op. cit., 305.

24 Ibid., 306.

was there so much knowledge, so much play of mind."[25] A like testimony is given in the Dictionary of National Biography which states that "this review represents the high water mark of the liberal Catholic movement. Probably no review of the reign of Queen Victoria maintained so high a standard of general excellence."[26]

Many other Catholic and non-Catholic critics recognized the high caliber of these reviews.[27] The cause for such exalted opinions was no doubt in great measure the result of the scholarly contributions of Acton himself. But he also enlisted the services of other recognized scholars, among them, Father de Buck, a Bollandist.[28] For a limited period even the intellectual and cultured genius of Newman was at Acton's disposal. Newman even served as editor of the Rambler for the brief space of two issues.

But despite such laudatory opinions and the genuinely scholarly support given the endeavor, Acton's journalistic venture was early besieged by both clerical and lay opposition. Acton reveals as much in a letter to Dollinger in 1858 when he said, "I see so little confidence placed in me and I am surrounded by malacious intrigues, ignorance and back-biting."[29]

Nor was this just the imaginary grievance of a too sensitive

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25 "Lord Acton and the Rambler," Dublin Review, 1907, 140: 10.

26 "Supplement II (1901-1911)," 9.

27 Still further testimonies to the excellence of these journals are given in the following sources: R. H. Johnson, Famous Reviews, 302; Figgis and Laurence's introduction to Hist. of Freedom, xiii; H. L. Blennerhassett, "Acton, 1834-1902," Dublin Review, 1934, 194: 176.

28 W. Ward, op. cit., 1: 474.

29 E. L. Woodward, "The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century," Politica, 1939, 4: 253.

when he wrote on February 1, 1859:

> The task of raising the level of thought and learning amongst us is arduous enough to employ us all our lives. It is one in which success is necessarily slow; it is one too in which it is worthwhile to lose nothing by one's own fault.[35]

In view of such expressed views, one wonders why he persisted in writing such provoking articles as the one on the Catholic Press, in which he said:

> The literary inferiority of Catholics is due to the absence of the will, not of the power to excel ... . The contempt and indifference with which knowledge is often regarded soon engenders aversion and dread ... . But religion is not served by denying the facts, or by denouncing those who proclaim them ... . Truth is not the exclusive possession of the ignorant ... . Authority can only condemn error, its vitality is not destroyed until it is refuted.[36]

Such language was surely not very consonant with Acton's own advice on the necessity of avoiding all compromising situations.

In December of 1863 an ecclesiastical brief, "Multiplices inter," was issued, asserting that scholars, theologians, and men of science were subject to doctrinal decisions.[37] Very probably the Munich Congress provided the occasion for that document.

Dollinger had invited Catholic scholars to meet early in the year of 1863, to take up the discussion of the great controversies of modern theology.[38] But this meeting was called without episcopal or any other sort of jurisdiction.[39] Thus it was that, even though there may be some truth to Acton's point that "an address of fidelity was unanimously voted . . . and the Pope, by a telegraphic message bestowed his blessing

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35 Gasquet, op. cit., 60.

36 Ibid., lxlj, lxiij.

37 Barry, op. cit., 17.

38 Acton, "The Munich Congress," 210.

39 Barry, op. cit., 16.

on the Congress and its work,"[40] still the general sentiment was that the Munich group had figuratively thrown down the gauntlet to Rome.

Naturally, therefore, when Acton commented favorably on the proceedings of this Congress, he aroused much hostility.[41] What is more, in his reviewing of the incidents of the Congress, Acton allowed his omnipresent prejudices to insinuate themselves even into the news account itself.

For example, when he described Professor Alzog's attempt to form an association of learned men for the refutation of current accusations against the Catholic Church, Acton points out:

> Here again we find ourselves at once amid spongy conventionalities. This notion of refuting calumnies is an insidious fallacy, and has done the greatest harm to literature and religion. The worst things are not the calumnies, but the true charges, — the scandals concealed, denied, and at last discovered, the abuses, the hypocrisy, the timidity, the uncharitableness and mendacity which under the pretence of a good cause, make men often unscrupulous, and at last almost unable to distinguish between right and wrong.[42]

In the course of this same article Acton found occasion to express his grievance that "Our principle of tradition, the motto 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus' which is written on our banner, has been misunderstood by friends as well as adversaries."[43] The fact is that both the slogan and the Home and Foreign Review's motto,—"Seu vetus est verum, diligio sive novum," — invite misinterpretation because of their ambiguity.[44]

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[40] Acton, "The Munich Congress," 209-210. "The Late Lord Acton," Edinburgh Review, 1903, 197: 513.

[41] D.M.B., 9.

[42] Acton, "The Munich Congress," 242.

[43] Ibid., 233-234.

[44] Paul, op. cit., 33.

Such instances reveal how natural was the opposition that Acton's journalistic crusade aroused, and how understandable was the position that ecclesiastical authorities began to assume. In 1863 Cardinal Barnabo sent a circular letter to the bishops warning against the demoralization among the youthful laity and clergy due to the influence of the Rambler.[45]

Even though Wiseman was aware that Acton with his militant Rambler spoke for most of those Catholics not belonging to the extreme Ultramontane school,[46] still he too attacked the policies of both the Rambler and the Home and Foreign Review.

What were the charges lodged against these journals? Wiseman listed them as follows:

> Its absence for years of all reserve or reverence in its treatment of persons or things deemed sacred, its grazing ever on the very edges of the most perilous abysses of error, and its habitual preference of uncatholic to catholic instincts, tendencies, and motives.[47]

A reply was made to Wiseman's charges in the second issue of the Home and Foreign Review, October 1862. In truth, the article includes so much of the "ruthless talk of undergraduates"[48] that it is more often associated with Simpson than with Acton that one suspects that Simpson may have written it.

The writer of the article, whoever it may be, acknowledges that a Catholic Review which is deprived of the countenance of ecclesiastical

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45 Butler, op. cit., 1: 322.

46 Paul, op. cit., 36.

47 Acton, "Card. Wiseman and the H & F Review," 504.

48 Barry, op. cit., 14. Frederick W. Maitland, The Collected Papers of Frederick W. Maitland, 514. G. P. Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century, 382.

authorities is placed in an abnormal position, since even its best works are infected with the suspicion with which it is regarded, and its merits become almost more perilous than its faults. The difficulty of the Review's position is well noted when the writer continues,

> For a Catholic who defends himself at the expense of an ecclesiastical superior, sacrifices that which is generally of more public value than his own fair fame; and an English Catholic who casts back on Cardinal Wiseman the blame unjustly thrown upon himself hurts a reputation which belongs to the whole body, and disgraces the entire community of Catholics.[49]

But, the author continues, he does not find himself in such a dilemma, for he is able to show the injustice of the Cardinal's accusations and yet explain how natural was the misinterpretation of His Eminence.

All in all, the effect of this answer was to avert out-right condemnation of the journals. But the pacifying effect such explanations may have had were offset considerably by the indiscreet remarks made further on in that same article. The writer asks ecclesiastics to remember

> that, while the office of ecclesiastical authority is to tolerate, to warn, and to guide, that of religious intelligence and zeal is not to leave the great work of intellectual and social civilization to be the monoply and privilege of others, but to save it from debasement by giving to it for leaders the children, not the enemies of the Church.[50]

The ecclesiastical reply to this defence was Ullathorne's episcopal letter of October 1862, wherein he insisted that the spirit and tone of all journalistic writing be definitely improved.[51]

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49 Acton, "Card. W. and the H & F Review," 441-442.

50 Ibid., 460.

51 Butler, op. cit., 1: 322.

There was still another exchange of letters in this controversy. Simpson answered Ullathorne's letter; and in January 1863, Bishop Ullathorne replied in his hundred page work, "On Certain Methods of the Rambler and the Home and Foreign Review." In this last mentioned work, Ullathorne attacked the note of recklessness and even unsoundness obvious in a number of views expressed in these periodicals. Butler, however, notes a weak point in this answer in its overlooking Simpson's reply and concentrating on the ephemeral measures of the day.[52]

"Most of us can now turn over many pages of both the Rambler and the Home and Foreign Review and wonder what can have been seriously amiss with them."[53] Indeed, as Abbot Gasquet remarked, "On a calm review of all circumstances it seems as if . . . the whole controversy might have been avoided with just a little better understanding on both sides."[54] While it is true both that the ultra-liberal tone of the journal did give real offense to ecclesiastical authorities,[55] and that the journals did contain some things to which the bishops and theologians of that day could justly take exception, still there can be little doubt that most of the advanced positions of the magazines would not necessarily be regarded now as deserving the stigma of liberal Catholicism that they then received.[56]

That these publications were regarded as "enfants terribles" by English ecclesiastical authorities was due perhaps more to the

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52 Ibid., 1: 329.

53 "Lord Acton and the Rambler," op. cit., 14.

54 Gasquet, op. cit., xlj.

55 Thurston, op. cit., 114.

56 Thurston, "The Late Lord Acton," Catholic World, 1906, 84: 359. Gasquet, op. cit., xl.

"irritating tone in which delicate matters were spoken of than by much that was actually said."[57] Such journals that took an "irrepressible delight in shocking everyday Catholic sentiment and in pin-pricking bishops were bound to get in trouble with ecclesiastical authorities."[58]

Because the Rambler said things "ungenerously and offensively" it also alienated the lay members of the old English Catholic groups, and thus left Acton even more solitary in the campaign that he had undertaken.[59]

The inconsistency of Acton's position has been well depicted by Conde B. Pallen in his general observations on the role of a liberal Catholic editor.

> The editor of a journal purporting to be Catholic, [Pallen observes,] must be Catholic not only in the profession he makes, but in spirit and in truth. To assume to be liberal and then to endeavor to appear Catholic is to belie his faith; and although in his own heart he may imagine that he is as Catholic as the Pope . . . there is not the least doubt that his influence on current ideas and the march of events is thrown in the favor of the enemy; and in spite of himself, he becomes a satellite forced to move in the general orbit described by Liberalism.[60]

Possibly the best grounds for objection to these journalistic ventures of Acton has been given in the May 21, 1859 issue of the Tablet. It says, in part,

> What we suspect to have been the actual ground of misgiving about the Rambler is not so much any isolated views which were identified with it . . . , as its general tone and temper . . . . The grand mistake made in its administration seems to us to have been that of forgetting that Catholicism

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57 Ibid.

58 Butler, op. cit., 1: 309.

59 Ibid.

60 What is Liberalism, 72.

> is an atmosphere, and not a mere creed; that it is a medium which colours almost everything which comes before us, except pure mathematics. The intellectual state of a man who considers all ground open to free discussion which is not closed up by the rigid terms of the Faith, is somewhat analagous to the moral state of those invulnerable but most unsatisfactory Christians who go to confession once a year.[61]

Even Abbot Gasquet, Acton's ardent defender, admits that "one feature which may be traced throughout its [Rambler's] career, is a disposition to exult over the diversity of Catholic thought on all things beyond matters of faith and to deny any necessary subordination of the laity to the clergy in their opinions on matters of general interest."[62]

Both as editor of the Rambler and its scholarly successor, the Home and Foreign Review, Acton admittedly had as one of his pet projects the exemplification of the distinction between dogma and opinion.[63]

Such a tendency seems doubly dangerous if one accepts the following advice given by Ambruzzi:

> To refuse assent to what ecclesiastical authority teaches, or to question its truth because it is not a dogma would be, unless grave and weighty reasons for doubt present themselves, to reject a message that purports to be divine. . . . It would be to make our opinion the rule of what to believe and what not to believe, and thus destroy the very foundation of Catholic Faith. . . . The practical decisions of the Church in the moral and disciplinary matters will often make heavy demands on his [a Catholic's] obedience and his loyalty. . . . We are not, properly speaking, in the realm of Faith where man's reason sees nothing, but in that of discipline, of temporal, social, and educational matters where reason plays often a very important part, and where different opinions may, possibly not appear as the very best. We are simply asked to lay aside all private judgments of our own and accept the ruling of the Church in the spirit of obedience and of loyalty. . . .[64]

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61 Butler, op. cit., 1: 313.

62 Gasquet, op. cit., xxxviij.

63 Acton, "Conflicts with Rome," op. cit., 484-485.

64 Aloysius Ambruzzi, S.J., The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius, 177.

It may be that Acton was not as all inclusive in his idea of the separation of dogma and opinion as the previous remarks seem to imply. At least the two following quotations from his writings would argue for his acceptance of a very close and significant connection between religion and politics.

In the July 1863 issue of the Home and Foreign Review in an article on Ultramontanism, Acton insists that the role of the Church extends into other fields. "For," he notes, "the control of religion extends further than its dogmas; and a view which contradicts no prescribed doctrine may be a more serious sympton of estrangement from the spirit of the Church than some unconscious doctrinal error."[65]

Earlier Acton had expressed the view that the Catholic religion, acting only in matters strictly religious, would not be sufficient to save the modern world. "The Catholic idea must equally manifest itself in the political order," Acton maintained.[66]

It may be that some of the charges levelled against Acton's journalistic endeavors are mitigated by sounder views expressed elsewhere, but generally speaking, Acton does tend toward secularization of knowledge. Therein lies his real weakness and also the cause for his drift away from Newman's influence.

In the Catholic World of July 1918, a reviewer of the Selected Correspondence of Acton makes a very intriguing comment on Acton's relations with Newman when he says:

> His [Acton's] best work was done before thirty-five, and the career of the most gifted English historian was wrecked.

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65 Acton, "Ultramontanism," op. cit., 164.

66 Acton, "Political Thoughts on the Church," Rambler, 1858 cited in Figgis and Laurence, Hist. of Freedom, 210.

> Catholicism and historical science in England would have been vastly richer if Acton had been loyal, if he had chosen Newman instead of Dollinger for his mentor.[67]

How true was such an evaluation will, of course, remain one of the conjectures of history. A study of the relations between Acton and Newman, however, is certainly in order; not only to test the weight of the above comment, but even more to trace the real state of affairs that existed between the two.

Because he felt that the Rambler and the Home and Foreign Review were making an attempt to "grapple frankly and honestly and with considerable skill with the science and thought of a new era,"[68] Newman at first was openly sympathetic toward Acton and his ventures.

Thus we find Newman writing to Acton as follows, acknowledging the need for such publications:

> Nothing could be better than an historical Review but who could bear it? Unless one doctored the facts, one would be thought a bad Catholic. The truth is, there is a keen conflict going on just now between two parties, one in the Church, one out of it-- and at such seasons extreme views alone are in favour, and a man who is not extravagant is thought treacherous. I sometimes think of King Lear's daughters-- and consider that they after all may be found the truest who are in speech more measured.[69]

In point of fact, Newman was repelled alike by the audacities of the Rambler school of Acton and the extreme Ultramontane views of Ward and company,[70] but he thought he could achieve the happy mean by piloting the Rambler group and steering them aright when they veered to the

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67 107: 536.

68 Wilfrid Ward, Ten Personal Studies, 29.

69 "Lord Acton and the Rambler," op. cit., 10.

70 G. P. Gooch, op. cit., 380.

radical. This middle-of-the-road position, voluntarily assumed by Newman, is the key to all his dealings with Acton, and can be detected in Newman's letter to Ward of March 10, 1859.

"Please tell me," Newman writes on this occasion, "what you mean by the detestable principles of the Rambler. I have disliked its tone as much as anyone could,— but what of its principles?"[71]

The entire picture of Newman's conduct at this time is revealed in the following conversation that took place between Newman and Wilfrid Ward on January 31, 1885.

> Newman: But surely your father never thought I agreed with Acton and Simpson?
>
> Wilfrid Ward: Not entirely, but he thought they were a great danger to the Church, and that they gained support from your countenance.
>
> Newman: But I never really countenanced them. Still I could fancy your father may have thought some of their views the outcome and result of my views; and that I ought explicitly to have disclaimed all solidarity with them. I own I was angry with him for not seeming to see the importance of avoiding the danger of alienating such able men from the Church. And perhaps I erred on the opposite side. . . . I had a great tenderness for those learned men and excellent scholars and wished to do all I could to prevent our losing the great advantage which might accrue to the Catholic cause from their services.[72]

Since Newman was not satisfying either party, he could not long continue his futile attempt to bridge the differences between the two factions.[73] The issue was settled by Newman's severing connections with the Rambler at the express request of Bishop Ullathorne.

Butler significantly remarks that Ullathorne's action in the matter

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71 Ward, Newman, 1: 71.

72 Ibid., 2: 496.

73 Wilfrid Ward, The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman, 2: 249.

is not easy to understand. Certainly the very last thing to be desired was that Newman should give up the Rambler without having had a fair opportunity and full time for the experiment of making it into a high class periodical on sound Catholic lines. It is possible, Butler adds, that when the first enthusiasm had cooled down, the bishop realized that an independent organ backed by Newman's name and prestige might prove even more embarrassing than the old Rambler.[74]

Not only was Newman's withdrawal a great blow to Acton, but the way in which he learned of it was also productive of much misunderstanding between the two. Out of a sense of obligation to his bishop, Newman did not take the initiative in telling Acton. Unfortunately, however, Newman referred to the matter in a letter to a friend; and that letter, still more unfortunately, was published in the paper. And it was through that published letter that Acton learned of the true state of affairs.[75]

Such circumstances make it easy to understand, even though they may not excuse, Acton's bitter words in the letter he wrote Newman at the time. Writing on June 29, 1860, Acton says:

> I beg of you, remembering the difficulties you encountered, to consider my position, in the midst of a hostile and illiterate episcopate, an ignorant clergy, a prejudiced and divided laity, with the cliques at Brompton, York Place, Ushaw, always on the watch, obliged to sit in judgment on the theology of men you selected to be our patrons, deserted by the assistant you obtained for me, with no auxiliary or adviser but Simpson: And this, after you had left us, with the opposition of the D.R., of the Tablet in politics . . . and at a time too, when the greatest and most difficult questions agitate the country and the Church.[76]

Something of Newman's reaction can be gathered from the few notes

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74 Butler, op. cit., 1: 315.

75 Ward, Newman, 1: 507-508.

76 Ibid., 1: 510.

inserted in his copy of Acton's letter. Newman queries: "his position--Who gave it him? Who gave him the mission?"[77]

It was probably this intervention on the part of Ullathorne, depriving Acton of Newman's support as it did, that led David Mathew to remark: "That these two men [Acton and Ullathorne] could not pierce through to mutual understanding was a primary misfortune for John Acton."[78]

Even though Newman's formal connections with the Rambler were thus abruptly severed, Acton, after the sting of embittered reaction had subsided, picked up the thread of his correspondence with Newman. A letter he wrote to Newman in the following year shows that peace had been restored.

> I have often been very sorry to think I was taking a line in politics in which I was not sure of your approbation. On some points, I suppose, I must acknowledge that you would really disagree with me; but I sometimes flatter myself that it is my way of putting things that repels you rather than the views themselves.[79]

It is just that "way of putting things" which Acton refers to that inspired the following rebuke from Newman on July 16, 1861:

> Again, "Has the Church a right to censure me because I say a canonized Saint committed an error or a mortal sin? Their biographies are full of such things." This is quite beside my point. I said that the Propaganda . . . would find the Catholic public on their side. . . . [Further] If the necessity of criticism lies in our way and cannot be turned, then we do it, but not with glee.[80]

When, on another occasion Acton wrote expressing his personal scruples about the Inquisition, Newman sharply answered: "I hold, till

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77 Ibid.

78 Acton: the Formative Years, 121.

79 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 33.

80 Ward, Newman, 1: 533-534.

better instructed that the Church has a right to make laws and enforce them with temporal punishments."[81]

Evidence that this particular topic figured much in Acton's correspondence with Newman is apparent in the following excerpt from a letter of Acton to Gladstone about this same time.

> It required great pressure to bring Newman to admit that he disagreed with Ligouri. He made it appear that he thought Ligouri a saint, and his doctrine not so very wrong. . . . I might go on with examples for ever. These men all accept the Pope with their own conditions and interpretations.[82]

When Acton sent Newman the first copy of the Home and Foreign Review he warned, "There is only one thing you may not like, -- Paul III had a son, not a nephew as he is usually called. I feel very strongly that this ought to be gibbeted, and I cannot avoid point out the wilful lie it involves."[83]

Surely such letters prepare us for the following reaction of Newman. Writing on January 13, 1863 to Lord Emley, Newman says:

> It was a smack of something or other, which I should call a tone -- which ruined the Rambler, not its doctrines, but a tone in stating or alluding to them; and a Protestant smack will be fatal to the Home and Foreign Review. The article may be the writing of a free-thinking Catholic, but it is more like a Protestant's.[84]

As long as the issues of the Home and Foreign Review continued to appear, some semblance of correspondence on them was kept up between Newman and Acton; but this contact ended with the last issue.[85] However,

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81 Ibid., 1: 640.

82 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 42.

83 G. P. Gooch, op. cit., 380.

84 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 39.

85 Ward, Newman, 1: 566.

even after 1864, we find noteworthy reference made to Acton in Newman's voluminous correspondence. One such item was written by Ambrose St. John to Newman on May 4, 1867. Writing from Rome, St. John reports:

> He [the Pope] spoke of those who were not Catholics "di cuore," and I am sorry to say, he mentioned Acton (che sta adesso in Londra,— he meant Roma) as a type of those people. He called him no names like Barnabo, but he coupled him with those Signori di Torino, who were bringing in a semi-Catholicism. . . . He never mentioned the Rambler or Manning, or anyone except Acton, and he evidently to my mind brought him in as hoping you would not connect yourself with him.[86]

Newman, writing later to Lord Blackford about the then current topic of the Vatican Council, says,

> The Catholic Church has its constitution and its theological laws in spite of the excesses of individuals . . . and it is this, which Acton means (I consider) though he is unlucky in his language, as not being a theologian, when he says it is no matter what Councils or Popes decree or do, for the Catholic body goes on pretty much as it did, in spite of all.[87]

When writing to this same correspondent again on July 6, 1872, Newman once more refers to Acton:

> I have had the greatest liking for Acton ever since I knew him near twenty years ago, but alas, we have never quite hit it off in action. And now I don't know where he stands as regards this sad Vatican question.[88]

This same opinion is repeated in Newman's answer to a feminine critic of Lord Acton:

> I do not think that you should say what you say about Lord Acton. He has ever been a religious, well-conducted, conscientious Catholic from a boy. In saying this I do not at all imply that I can approve those letters (to the Times) to which you refer. I heartily wish they had never been written.[89]

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86 Ibid., 2: 167. G. P. Gooch, "Lord Acton: Apostle of Liberty," Foreign Affairs, 1947, 25: 640.

87 Ward, Newman, 2: 374.

88 Ibid., 2: 384.

89 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 155.

In closing this discussion of the relations between Newman and Acton, it might be worth anticipating our presentation of the Times letters controversy to the extent of remarking that Newman rendered Acton a final good turn on that occasion. Acton's dilemma concerning the Vatican Decrees was resolved for him by the answer Newman provided in his Address to the Duke of Norfolk.[90]

This survey of Acton's journalistic career verifies Fitzgerald's remark that for Acton, "as for Dr. Ward, theological strife had a sort of fascination, and the hot ardor of the controversy, with the natural complacency of learning, may have carried him further than he intended."[91]

Ethelred Tauton in his appraisal of Lord Acton in the Catholic World of December 1906 forwards another reason for the clash that took place between Acton and ecclesiastical authorities. Tauton notes that, humanly speaking, friction was bound to result between this precociously learned journalist and ecclesiastics who due to circumstances beyond their control lacked an equally scholarly background. "Leaders," Tauton points out, "should be able to lead; and if they profess to lead intellects they should understand them."[92]

Even Ward, always a close ally of the bishops, implies their shortcomings in this regard. In reply to a Protestant who asked him: "What sort of men are your bishops?" Ward summed them up as "Morally, highly respectable; intellectually, beneath contempt."[93]

Given the over-enthusiastic zeal of Acton and the intellectual

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90 Ibid., 155.

91 Percy Fitzgerald, Fifty Years of Catholic Life and Social Progress under Cardinals Wiseman, Manning, Vaughn, and Newman, 2: 281.

92 "A Great Leader," Catholic World, 1906, 84: 355.

93 Ibid.

temper of the times, it should not have been too difficult to foretell the likely fate of Acton's journalistic career when he wrote his "Conflicts with Rome" in 1864. In this thirty-page article Acton explains the differences existing between the policy and program of his journal and the pending papal action regarding the opinions among Catholics. As usual Acton succeeds in expressing many acceptable ideas in an unacceptable way, and thereby furnishing apparent grounds for the charge of heterdox views so often lodged against him.

A word about the Syllabus of 1864, that precipitated the downfall of Acton's journalistic crusade, is in order. While the Edinburgh Review of April 1903 is quite naive in considering the publication of the Syllabus a direct retaliation to Acton's "Conflicts with Rome,"[94] still the Syllabus is definitely linked with Acton's official withdrawal from public controversy and therefore deserves additional comment.

Whether Acton, like H. C. Lea, saw in this encyclical "an attempt on the part of the kindhearted Pius IX to order every Catholic to condemn the error that a man is free to follow the religion which his reason dictates,"[95] would be extremely difficult to ascertain.

While Acton may not have seen "eye to eye" with the ecclesiastical authorities on all the points included in the Syllabus, still his position was far from that of Gladstone's almost wholesale condemnation of the document. It is just this difference that provides the necessary distinction to be kept in mind when considering the repeated charges of Liberalism brought against Acton.

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94 "The Late Lord Acton," Edinburgh Review, op. cit., 515.

95 "Ethical Values in History," American Historical Review, 1904, 9: 240.

Acton has been described as "the most liberal of Catholics and the most catholic of Liberals."[96] His letters with Montalembert seem to indicate an identity of outlook with that famous Liberal.[97] Maitland insists that, with some theoretical concessions, and some, but not very much leniency, Acton's precept and practice show him to be a "rigid Liberal."[98]

Actually such charges are misleading, even though there is a surface similarity between Acton's work and actions and those of the ordinary Liberal.

Thus when, at times, Acton seems to accept the skeptical attitude as the legitimate condition wherein intellectual freedom is preserved,[99] he can be easily suspected of Liberal tendencies. But such an impression is modified when one considers the following quotation from Acton:

> Tolerance of error is requisite for freedom; but [!!!] freedom will be most complete where there is no actual diversity to be resisted, and no theoretical unity to be maintained, but where unity exists as the triumph of truth, not of force, through the victory of the Church not through the enactment of the State.[100]

Still another basic difference between Acton and the typical Liberal should be noted. Authentic Liberals labeled the eightieth proposition in the Syllabus as truly disasterous because it attacked their pet

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96 "Divided Allegiances," Saturday Review, 1874, 38: 695.

97 Mathew, op. cit., 104.

98 Maitland, op. cit., 515-516. Louise Creighton, ed. Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, 1: 376. Engel-Janosi, "The Correspondence between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton," Cambridge Historical Journal, 1946, 6: 314.

99 Fallen, op. cit., 42.

100 Acton, "Political Thoughts on the Church," op. cit., 152.

belief in human progress.[101] But Acton never held this doctrine of "inevitable progress and continuous amelioration" very strongly. "In this he was unlike many of the historical school of that day."[102]

But let Acton speak for himself. In his introduction to a translation of Machiavelli, Acton maintained that the certainty of earthly retribution and the gradual betterment of conditions of necessity is one belief that no historical-minded person can accept, especially in view of the fact that Machiavelli was not a vanishing type but a constant and contemporary influence.[103]

Besides such discrepancies between Acton and Liberals on basic notions, it is probably true that the very term - Liberal - had a very different connotation for Acton than it did for others. Acton, for example, claimed that St. Thomas had a very large element of political Liberalism. As proof, Acton pointed out, that St. Thomas "believed in the Higher Law, in conditional allegiance, in the illegitimacy of all governments that do not act in the interest of the commonwealth."[104]

Perhaps it was his unique interpretation of the term Liberal that led him to consider himself as untouched in the contemporary criticism of Liberalism. Writing to Lady Blennerhassett in February 1879, Acton said:

> I have not felt that it [his concept of Liberalism] required defence, because I have never really perceived that it was

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101 Engel-Janosi, "Reflections on L.A's Ideas of History," 176. William E. Gladstone, The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: A Political Expostulation, 16-18.

102 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., xii-xiii.

103 Cecil Algernon, "Two Distinguished Gladstonians," Quarterly Review, 1918, 227: 213-214.

104 Acton, "The Counter-Reformation," in Figgis and Laurence, Lectures on Modern History, 117.

> attacked. My impression has rather been that people thought it inconvenient and likely to lead into trouble and of course, solitary and new.[105]

Acton's nonchalant approach to questions of religious creed,[106] so often credited to a Liberal tendency, would appear to be due more to his Whig leanings.

Repeatedly Acton remarks that he was possessed by a Whig devil,[107] but no where is the "diabolical" influence more prominent than in his worship of the goddess History.[108]

It has also been pointed out that Acton's moral judgments are not the result of his Catholicism but rather due to his bias as a Whig historian.[109] Herbert Butterfield goes further and insists that Acton carried the Whig concept of the role of History to the extremest conclusion when he proclaimed that "To develop and perfect and arm conscience is the great achievement of history."[110]

Another significant point to be remembered about this Whig influence that played so important a part in Acton's development was its almost complete freedom from clerical influence of any sort.[111]

Thus it can be seen that, although on the surface, there seems some justification for including Acton as a Catholic of the Liberal school

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105 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 57.

106 Mathew, op. cit., 52.

107 Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., "Lord Acton and the Popish Plot," Studies, 1944, 33: 455.

108 Herbert Butterfield, The Whig Interpretation of History, 132.

109 Ibid., 110.

110 Ibid., 114.

111 Mathew, op. cit., 50.

which included such persons as Lacordaire and Montalembert,[112] there is more weight to the view that Acton's deviations from the usual Catholic line of conduct are more the result of his Whig prejudices. Acton himself admitted as much when he wrote to Lady Blennerhassett in February 1879 as follows:

> That is my entire capital. It is no reminiscence of Gallicanism. I do not prefer the Sorbonne to the Congregations or the Councils to the Popes. It is no reminiscence of Liberal Catholicism. Rosmini and Lacordaire, Hefele, and Falloux seem to me no better than De Maistre, Veuillot, or Perrone. It is nothing but the mere adjustment of religious history to the ethics of Whiggism.[113]

Such Whig inclinations led Acton to adopt different views on the Syllabus and other related topics than those held by the old English Catholic groups. But even such differences of opinion do not entirely explain his actual resignation from the field of journalism.

Neither can it be shown that Acton discontinued the Home and Foreign Review because of a belief that the Syllabus constituted an "ex cathedra" pronouncement. On the contrary, Acton insists:

> While the Jesuit preachers proclaimed that the Syllabus bore the full sanction of infallibility, higher functionaries of the Court pointed out that it was an informal document, without definite official value.[114]

Later too when answering Gladstone's pamphlet, Acton called attention to the fact that "The Syllabus which you cite has assuredly not acquired greater authority than the Canon Law and the Lateran Decrees, than Innocent the Third and St. Thomas."[115]

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112 G. Smith, "Review of Acton's Letters," Nation, 1904, 78: 253.

113 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 56.

114 Acton, "The Vatican Council," North British Review, 1870, in Figgis and Laurence, Hist. of Freedom, 496; Sel. Corr., 150.

115 Gladstone, op. cit., 81-82.

Butler indicates that Acton's attitude is the one generally accepted today. "As for the Syllabus of 1864," Butler says, "very commonly defended as "ex cathedra" by the theologians of the '60's and '70's, though questioned by Hessler, its infallibility is dismissed as being now almost given up."[116]

What really concerns us, however, is not only Acton's attitude toward the Syllabus but also the fact that, despite its lack of infallible binding power, -- at least in his own eyes -- Acton saw fit to disappear from the scene of public controversy.[117]

Perhaps Acton surmised the danger of his position. Even though Acton insisted in "Conflicts with Rome" that

> A conjecture like the present does not perplex the conscience of a Catholic; for his obligation to refrain from wounding the peace of the Church is neither more nor less real than that of professing nothing beside or against his convictions,[118]

still the fact remains, Acton did cease publication.

In the same article referred to above, Acton indirectly hints at the reason for his resignation when he says:

> This Review has been begun on a foundation which its conductors can never abandon without treason to their convictions, and infidelity to the objects they have publicly avowed. That foundation is a humble faith in the infallible teaching of the Catholic Church, a devotion to her cause which controls every other interest, and an attachment to her authority which no other influence can supplant.[119]

In closing this phase of Acton's life, we might call attention to the words Acton addressed to his close friend, Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff

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116 Cuthbert Butler, The Vatican Council, 2: 228.

117 "Lord Acton's Letters," Spectator (London) 1904, 93: 428.

118 Figgis and Laurence, Hist. of Freedom, 489.

119 Ibid., 447.

at this very time. "I am not conscious," Acton said, "that I ever in my life had the slightest doubt about any dogma of the Catholic Church."[120] Like Grant-Duff we consider that statement remarkable, coming as it did at such a period of storm and stress in Acton's personal relations with the Church. It also seems that Grant-Duff's testimony to its absolute sincerity is trustworthy.

Whatever our opinion may be regarding certain words and actions of Acton, we must admire the self-restraint that caused him not only to bring to an end his pet project, the Home and Foreign Review, rather than run the risk of creating division in the ranks of English Catholics, but also to seal his lips on the subject afterwards.[121]

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120 "The Late Lord Acton," Spectator (London), 1902, 89: 13.

121 John Pollock, "Lord Acton at Cambridge," Independent Review, 1904, 2: 364.

The Conflict - Acton's Role at the Vatican Council

Although Acton disappeared from the arena of journalistic endeavor, he by no means abandoned his interest and concern in things historic and religious. An entry for the year 1867 notes that "An agitation for the proclamation of Infallibility is being organized by the Jesuits."[1] This seemingly casual note points to the very rock on which Acton's zeal for the Church, if not his faith, was to be split.[2]

Before beginning a study of Acton's views on Infallibility, it is worth recalling that "It would indeed be a shame if Lord Acton's strong language about the Papacy were to be made use of for merely controversial purposes."[3] Furthermore, while it may be true that foes of the Papacy will certainly find in his writings material of war, it is likewise worth remembering that his candour is double-edged, and it is possible to discover a nicely balanced vindication of his creed even in these outbursts.[4]

Such advice is doubly necessary since it has been claimed with some truth that "hardly an writer, not professedly the foe of Catholic dogma, has left such violent pages to be quoted by a censorious world. . . .

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[1] G. P. Gooch, Annals of Politics and Culture (1492-1899), 415. Idea and form of work suggested by Acton. Entries approved by him.

[2] "Review of Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton," Catholic World, 1918, 107: 536.

[3] Augustine Birrell, "Lord Acton's Letters," Contemporary Review, 1904, 85, 478.

[4] Cecil Algernon, "Two Distinguished Gladstonians," Quarterly Review, 1918, 229: 211.

He is of us, yet in effect against us."[5]

This enigmatic position is explainable, however. As W. L. Blenner-hassett points out, "we cannot endorse the verdict even of so great a scholar as the late Dr. Figgis, who says that 'Acton was an open assailant of the doctrine' of Papal Infallibility itself."[6] Rather Acton's peculiar position can be best judged if one realizes at the outset the rather general misconception of the notion of Infallibility that was prevalent at that time.

Butler remarks:

> This opposition . . . was no doubt due in great measure to the Infallibility being taken as involving the full "Hildebrandine" conception of the supremacy of the papacy over secular rulers, the deposing power included. . . . Unsubstantial though such alarms were, it is not altogether surprising that statesmen should have entertained them.[7]

Even ecclesiastics themselves labored under this misconception of the extent of Papal jurisdiction. "As one bishop put it, there was a fear lest, having come to the Council as princes of the Church, they would go back to their dioceses satraps of a central autocrat."[8] Many bishops, Ullathorne among them, felt "alarm at the prospect of a vague, indeterminate Infallibility, capable of being extended almost indefinitely, as Ward was doing."[9]

With misunderstanding so general, it should not be asking too much

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[5] William Barry, "Lord Acton: a Study," Dublin Review, 1918, 162: 1. W. R. Thayer, "Review of Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," American Historical Review, 1904, 9:847.

[6] "Acton, 1834-1902," Dublin Review, 1934, 194: 179.

[7] Cuthbert Butler, The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne, 2: 88.

[8] Butler, The Vatican Council, 1: 267-268.

[9] Ibid.

to recognize in many of Acton's extreme expressions evidence of a misconception of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility rather than deliberate opposition to the dogma.[10] Even non-Catholic sources admit that there is really not "any reason to charge him with failure to submit to the authority of the Church to which he belonged; it was the methods of Ultra-montanism and the promotion of religion by political power and intrigue that he condemned."[11]

Figgis and Laurence claim that "his opposition to the doctrine was ethical and political rather than theological."[12] W. Watkin Davies insists that "it was against the political teachings and activities of the Popes that Acton made his protest."[13] And Cecil Algernon points out that it was "precisely as a scientific historian and not as a theologian" that Acton had entered the lists of the controversy.[14]

Such testimonies provide sufficient evidence to clear Acton of the charge of theological insubordination, but there still remains much to be explained about his role in connection with the Vatican Council.

Basic to all understanding of Acton's position is the realization that Acton's fears of Papal Infallibility were grounded on skimpy evidence, and actually were more the result of historical misconception than a true understanding of the facts of the case.

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10 "Review of Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," Catholic World, 1904, 79: 838.

11 "Lord Acton," Athenaeum, June 28, 1902, 817.

12 J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence, The History of Freedom, xxv, xxvi. Frederick Engel-Janosi, "The Correspondence between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton, Cambridge Historical Journal, 1940, 6: 307. D.N.B. Supplement II (1901-1911), 10. Malcolm MacColl, "Lord Acton's Letters to Mary Gladstone," Fortnightly Review, 1904, 81: 1001.

13 "Politics of Lord Acton," Hibbert Journal, 1946, 45: 22.

14 Algernon, op. cit., 212.

Because of his Whiggish concept of history, Acton took it as his task to "test men and movements, institution and ideologies, by the pointed challenge of Christian ethics, convinced as he was that since the coming of Christ there was no excuse for anyone to pretend that he did not know the difference between right and wrong."[15]

As a Whig historian Acton presumed that the natural law: "Do good and avoid evil," could be easily translated into specific applications by a consideration of history's verdicts on person and events. Such a concept of history attractively exalts it, even giving it the power to bind and loose, and raising it to something like the mind of God.[16] Among the many objections to such a suggestion that historians pass absolute moral judgments is the practical point that wholly conclusive evidence is seldom to be attained.[17]

Another facet of Acton's philosophic concept of history that prejudices him on the matter of Papal Infallibility is his oft-quoted dictum: "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely."[18] As Acton stated on another occasion his dogma was not the special wickedness of his own spiritual superiors, but the general wickedness of men in authority.[19] In other words, "Great men are almost always bad men," Acton insisted.[20]

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15 G. P. Gooch, "Lord Acton: Apostle of Liberty," Foreign Affairs, 1947, 25: 629.

16 Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., "Lord Acton and the Popish Plot," Studies, 1944, 33: 455.

17 Ibid., 460.

18 Louise Creighton, ed., Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, 1: 372.

19 Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas of History," Catholic Historical Review, 1941, 27: 174.

20 Creighton, loc. cit.

Acton finds the substantiation for this rule in religious affairs in the fact that "Great doctrinal errors have been sometimes accepted, and sometimes originated by Popes; and when a Pope was condemned for heresy by a General Council, the sentence was admitted without protest."[21] Acton evidently refers to the case of Pope Honorius; but the Catholic Encyclopedia points out that a letter like that of Honorius cannot be supposed to fulfill the conditions laid down by the Vatican Council for an "ex cathedra" judgment.[22]

While such an interpretation of that historic case may have nullified Acton's fears, it did not, however, eradicate the impression Acton's remarks on the subject had made on the minds of his contemporaries. Rather it would seem that Acton's words convinced many, including his disciple, G. P. Gooch, that Acton regarded the failure of the Conciliar movement as a tragedy since it thus left unchecked the dominating forces of the Vatican.[23]

So convinced was Acton of the debilitating effects of power that he criticized Creighton's lenient treatment of the Popes chiefly on the grounds that "There is no worse heresy than that the office sanctifies the holder of it."[24]

In a letter to Mary Gladstone, Acton wrote that there were opinions "not only sanctioned, but enforced, by the authorities of the Church of

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21 Acton, "The Pope and the Council," North British Review, 1869, 101: 129-130.

22 "Honorius," Catholic Encyclopedia.

23 Gooch, op. cit., 640. Figgis, Churches in the Modern State, 147. Creighton, op. cit., 1: 370.

24 Watkins, op. cit., 24.

Rome to which none could adhere without peril to the soul."[25] And what were these opinions?

In one instance Acton cites, he translates Bellarmine as saying that if a Pope should prescribe vice and prohibit virtue, the Church must believe him.[26] Here again it seems that Acton's preconceived notions overshadowed his reasoning powers when he drew such a conclusion from the evidence on hand. The case in question involved a matter of Church discipline, and even common sense recognizes both the possibility and the feasibility of changing such regulations as the times warrant.

Very probably Acton's earlier failure to reach a common understanding with ecclesiastical authorities, his Whig leanings, his gullibility in crediting "back-stairs" accounts -- all enter into the reasons to be given for his line of thought. Whatever be the explanation for it, there is no denying the rashness of the judgments Acton passed on the Papacy. In his article on "The Pope and the Council," Acton remarks:

> The passage from the Catholicism of the Fathers to that of the modern Popes was accomplished by wilful falsehood; and the whole structure of traditions, laws and doctrines that support the theory of infallibility, and the practical despotism of the Popes, stands on a basis of fraud.[27]

A like prejudice and stubborn adherence to personal opinion was manifested by Acton in a private conversation when he stated that he believed the Papacy to be guilty of systematic sin; and, that by reason of their opinions, all Jesuits and Dominicans lived in mortal sin.[28]

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25 Mary Drew, "Acton and Gladstone," Constructive Quarterly, 1918, 6: 235.

26 Acton, "The Pope and the Council," 131.

27 Ibid., 130.

28 R. Mortimer, "Acton's Life from his Birth to the Year 1862; Review of Acton, the Formative Years by David Mathew," New Statesman and Nation, 1946, 31: 213.

While the "hear-say" quality of that last citation reduces its reliability, still the general tenor of Acton's remarks on such subjects reenforces the same ideas.

But Acton's prejudices against the Papacy, Councils, Jesuits, and the like topics can probably be best gauged by applying a standard he himself suggests in his Inaugural Address at Cambridge University. In concluding his statement of policy as Regius Professor, Acton says:

> Whatever a man's notions of these later centuries are, such, in the main, the man himself will be. Under the name of History, they cover the article of his philosophic, his religious, and his political creed. . . . And as praise is the shipwreck of historians, his preferences betray him more than his aversions.[29]

With these words in mind, consider the valuable clue provided by Gooch when he tells us that Acton as his teacher and guide had stressed the idea that the emancipation of conscience from authority was the main content of modern history.[30] Putting the two ideas together, we find Acton indirectly warning us that his predilection for freedom of conscience is likely to betray him into unhistorical conduct whenever that freedom seems challenged or endangered.

This notion of Acton's gives some credence to Brinton's contention that Acton's belief in the necessity of freedom of conscience alienated him in spirit, if not in form, from the church of his birth.[31]

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29 Acton, "Inaugural Lecture on the Study of History," cited in Figgis and Laurence, Lectures on Modern History, 28.

30 Gooch, op. cit., 631. "Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone - Review," Athenaeum, 1904, 487, 488. James Bryce, "The Letters of Lord Acton," North American Review, 1904, 128: 700.

31 Crane Brinton, "Lord Acton's Philosophy of History," Harvard Theological Review, 1919, 12: 84.

Even more to our point is the fact that Acton's definition of freedom of conscience implies more of an emancipation from authority than is consonant with the well-being of the ordinary person. Witness for example the youthful Acton's remark in his essay on Mill when he says:

> Conformity to custom merely as custom, even though it may happen to be good, involves no practice of the faculties, no moral choice. . . . To choose his plan of life and follow it, demands the full employment of all a man's faculties, judgment, observation, activity, discrimination, decision, and firmness. . . . Not that each man is to aim at independence of self-development so as to undervalue the teachings of experience; on the contrary, education is unceasingly to communicate them to us. But afterwards the individual should be free to use and interpret experience in his own way, instead of having some customary rendering imposed upon him.[32]

A wholesale application of such ideas would be revolutionary, to say the least!

Acton's prejudice in favor of the emancipated conscience built up a decided dislike for any factors that seemed to prevent its realization. Consequently Acton with his exaggerated concept of freedom logically assumed a belligerent attitude toward the Counter-Reformation which he considered as opposed to that liberty of conscience. In particular he censured the four forces that produced and directed it, viz., the Society of Jesus, the Inquisition, the Index, and the Council of Trent.[33]

The explanation for Acton's prejudice against the Jesuits is to be traced to their teaching of probabilism.[34] Acton's lecture on the Counter-Reformation provides such a clue, for there he remarks that

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32 Rambler, 1859, 2(New Series): 66.

33 Figgis and Laurence, Lectures on Modern History, passim. Herbert A. L. Fisher, "Acton's Historical Work," Quarterly Review, 1911, 215: 175.

34 Brinton, op. cit., 104. "Lord Acton's Letters," Independent Review, 57: 39. Figgis and Laurence, Hist. of Freedom, xxiv.

> Under the name of probabilism, the majority [of the Jesuits] adopted a theory of morals that made salvation easy, partly as confessors of the great, that they might retain their penitents; partly as subjects to their superiors, that they might not scruple to obey in dubious cases; and partly as defenders of the irrevocable past, that they might be lenient judges.[35]

Possibly something of Acton's aversion to the Jesuits and their ideas is traceable to the influence of Dollinger. The Jesuits as the "controlling spirit of the Church" were regarded by Dollinger as "incarnate superstition combined with despotism."[36] As Janus, Dollinger expressed the opinion that "the more the educated classes are forced out of the Church, the easier will it be for Loyola's steermen to guide the ship, and reduce the true flock that still remains in it to more complete subjection."[37]

In the essay on Mill, Acton also reveals his opinion of the Index when he maintains that

> experience shows that, at the present stage of European civilization, these restraints do more harm than good . . . [and] the difficulty and secrecy which surround their perusal lend additional zest to the doctrines which they contain.[38]

That the Index of Prohibited Books had long been one of the great instruments for preventing historical scrutiny was another charge made by Acton. "Through it [the Index]," Acton insists in "Conflicts with Rome," "an effort has been made to keep the knowledge of ecclesiastical

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35 Acton, "On the Counter-Reformation," in Figgis and Laurence, Lectures on Modern History, 117.

36 "Dollinger and the Papacy," Quarterly Review, 1891, 172: 63. Quirinus, Letters from Rome on the Council, 165.

37 Janus, The Pope and the Council, 7. Herbert Paul, Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone, 252.

38 Rambler, 74.

history from the faithful, and to give currency to a fabulous and fictitious picture of the progress and action of the Church."[39]

No doubt it was just such censorship that Acton had in mind when he said in his article, "Medieval Fables of the Popes," that, while the Church "casts out error of doctrine, she sometimes cherishes errors of fact."[40] The same sentiment is revealed in Acton's discussion of the Index in his lecture on the Counter-Reformation where he points out that "because of the Index freedom of speech and sincerity of history were abolished for many years."[41]

In substantiation of these charges of handicapping liberty, Acton says in a book review for the Home and Foreign Review (July 1862) that the Index typically followed a very inconsistent and wavering policy regarding Copernicus's work.[42]

Actually what Acton seemed most to object to in regard to the Index was the practical results that followed when persons attributed to it "a share in the Infallibility of the Church."[43] Such an attitude was the natural result of Acton's preoccupation with the individual conscience and any presumable danger to its complete liberty of action.

A like explanation can be given for Acton's anathematization of the of the Council of Trent. His censure was based on his mistaken conviction that "it impressed on the Church the stamp of an intolerant age,

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39 Home and Foreign Review, April 1864, 471.

40 Ibid., October 1863, 611.

41 Op. cit., 121.

42 Ibid., 240.

43 Acton, "Conflicts with Rome," 478.

and perpetuated by its decrees, the spirit of an austere immorality."[44]

So far, then, we have tried to show that Acton's bias in favor of freedom definitely contributed to his prejudices, especially those against the agents of the Counter-Reformation. These prejudices in turn resulted in Acton's grave misconception of Papal Infallibility.

With such preconceived ideas on the Papacy it was almost natural for Acton to misread the ecclesiastical situation of his day. Figgis is reflecting Acton's views when he writes of the nineteenth century, saying that the history of the Church had reached a point when, so far as the Catholic Church went, the Pope could say, "L'Eglise c'est moi" with far more truth than Louis could have said it of the State.[45]

But just as the original remark credited to Louis XIV is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to substantiate, so too both Figgis and Acton would find it impossible to justify such an extreme description of Pius IX's reign. Rather their viewpoint represents a typical misunderstanding of the monarchical Church in a republican-mad era.

In "Lord Acton: Apostle of Liberty," Gooch relates that Pius IX's exclamation, "I am tradition," filled Acton with dismay.[46] Gooch's acceptance of this apocryphal tale reveals that same credulity which caused his teacher Acton, in relying too much on "back-stairs" testimony, to form such a false picture of the Papacy.

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[44] Fisher, op. cit., 171. Figgis explains "austere immorality" as follows: "Austere in the sense that it condemned sexual vice, and enjoined self-denial; the system of Trent was immoral in that it enjoined persecution and the suppression of inconvenient truth." Selected Correspondence, xvii.

[45] J. N. Figgis, Churches in the Modern State, 150.

[46] Odo. Butler in his Vatican Council, (2: 98) cites Pius IX as saying: "Witnesses of tradition? There's only one; that's me." Butler is quoting Dupanloup's private journal by Mourret, and he remarks, if he did say it, Pius spoke as a "private theologian."

R. H. Murray is wiser in his evaluation of a remark of 1866 also accredited to Pius IX. The Pope is supposed to have said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." To this, Murray foot-notes, "Lord Acton and Bury both believed Pius IX to have made this amazing outburst, but I am not certain that he did make it."[47]

With such views then it was logical for Acton to condemn the suggestion that the Pope's support be sought to counteract the dangerous influence of Parnell and the Land League in Ireland. Acton maintained that:

> We may get embarrassed if we prompt and promote the political influence of the Pope, whose principles are generally opposed to our own. It is as dangerous for us that his political authority be obeyed in Irish confessionals as that, in this instance, it should be defied.[48]

With his exaggerated sense of justice, Acton probably considered Pius IX's Amnesty to his subjects as a breach of righteous conduct in its overlooking the evil that had been committed.[49]

Thus we see that not only apocryphal remarks of Pius IX antagonized Acton, but also certain of that pontiff's actions. The one aspect of such twisted views that conceivably can work for a defence of Acton against the charge of heterdoxy is their very extravagance.

It was not only the Popes that he found guilty of violating their sacred offices by "immoral" conduct, but likewise the Councils. The burning of John Hus by the Council of Constance was as hotly condemned

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47 "Memoir," in J. B. Bury, History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century (1864-1878), 53-54.

48 Mac Coll, op. cit., 1001.

49 Lillian Browne-Olf, Their Name is Pius, 365.

by Acton as the Roman Inquisition authorized by the Popes.[50] This last remark of Acton led Figgis to believe that Acton had no more faith in the Infallibility of Councils than in that of the Popes.[51]

This "piece of carelessness" on the part of Dr. Figgis, while called "hardly excusable" by Cecil Algernon,[52] actually was a happy error; since it "points up" the basic difficulty in Acton's own mind.

Algernon maintains that to say that Acton had no more faith in the infallibility of Councils than in that of the Popes is either to accuse Acton of gross hypocrisy or else to convict oneself of dangerous carelessness.[53] However, there may be a third alternative. I would say, on the basis of Acton's own writings, that it is necessary to convict Acton of the really dangerous carelessness.

It is common knowledge that "infallible" is not a synonym for "impeccable." And yet one must admit that Acton often seems to confuse the two terms, if not in theory, at least in actual application. Or if it be allowed that he did understand the distinction, it still is true that his manner of expression when treating of such topics is likely to confuse, rather than to clarify, the difference.

Before considering Acton's specific part in the Vatican Council, there is need for a few preliminary remarks about the Council itself. Because of the false charges made regarding the ability of the Council members, the following testimonies are in order.

"I think I am not exaggerating," Bishop Gibbons writes in his

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50 Figgis and Laurence, Selected Correspondence, xix.

51 Ibid.

52 Algernon, op. cit., 221.

53 Ibid. Times, December 7, 1874, 9.

account of the Council,

> when I say that the Council of the Vatican has been excelled by few, if any deliberative assemblies, civil or ecclesiastic, that have ever met, whether we consider the "maturity" of years of its members, their learning, their experience and piety, or the widespread influence of the Decrees that they framed for the spiritual and moral welfare of the Christian Republic.[54]

Even Acton, opponent though he was to the views of the majority, in a left-handed way implies that the desirable qualities were by no means the exclusive property of the minority group. "Take them all in all, the opposition are not better men than the other," Acton notes.

> They are better in one important item — but in that they are not entirely guided by the supreme motive of truth, but often of utility. It may be a calculation of what will serve religion, and in that case the majority are just as responsible as the minority. Their motive is equally good.[55]

Still another charge that is often brought up is the claim that the meetings lacked true freedom of discussion. Again Gibbons provides contrary evidence when he insists that he could safely say that "neither in the British House of Commons, nor in the French Chambers, nor in the German Reichstag, nor in our American Congress would a wider liberty of debate be tolerated than was granted in the Vatican Council."[56]

Since this charge undoubtedly constituted one of the more serious of Acton's grievances, perhaps more should be said about this matter; even though Gibbons' opinion gives a faithful account of the over-all picture. Acton would probably accept this general description as true

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[54] James Cardinal Gibbons, A Retrospect of Fifty Years, 1: 8. Butler in his Vatican Council, 2: 31 quotes Whitty's testimony as to the deeply conscientious love of truth displayed by the members of the Council.

[55] Engel-Janosi, "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas," 185.

[56] Gibbons, op. cit., 1: 13.

enough; but what he objected to was the set-up comparable to our Congressional practice of Closure that was introduced only at the beginning of the Infallibility sessions.

Butler, however, in his scholarly discussion of this phase of the Vatican Council, often insists that discussion was both democratic and free. He makes no exception to the procedure in vogue during the Infallibility discussion; rather he commends the practicality of such a system under the many aggravating difficulties besetting the group at the close of the session.[57]

Acton's opposition seems to represent an over-idealistic demand for free discussion out of proportion to the practical needs of the occasion. But even so, the whole tenor of his mind being what it was, such an objection on Acton's part testifies to a certain fundamental consistency; even though his demands be impossible of practical application.

Another grievance that Acton and others held against the Council was the manner in which the main issue, Papal Infallibility, was proposed. Instead of announcing it in the earlier circular of agenda distributed before the convocation of the Council, the matter was left to be introduced later at the Council proper.

Butler finds a certain weight to this objection, as can be noted in the following remark:

> The motives that impelled the authorities of Rome not to put it [Papal Infallibility] forward, but leave it to be called for by the Bishops, may easily be understood; but looking back it is difficult for us to doubt that the misrepresentation, the excitement, and the heat engendered, would have been less, had the thing been openly announced from the beginning as part of the official programme, so that the

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57 Butler, op. cit., 2: 56,57,106, 196, 250. Gibbons, op. cit., 14.

> suspicion of its introduction being the intrigue of the Curia and of a party might have been avoided.[58]

That such suspicions existed is evident from the report which Janus was circulating to the effect that "it is clear from the articles of the Civilta Cattolica already quoted . . . that the Council is summoned chiefly for the purpose of satisfying the darling wishes of the Jesuits and that part of the Curia which is led by them."[59]

In his article on the Vatican Council, Acton expresses the same suspicion. "The Jesuits had continued to gain ground in Rome," he says,

> ever since the Pope's return. They were connected with every measure for which the Pope most cared; and their divines became the oracles of the Roman congregations. The Papal Infallibility had always been their favorite doctrine. Its adoption by the Council promised to give to their theology official warrant, and to their Order the supremacy in the Church. They were now in power; and they snatched their opportunities when the Council was convoked.[60]

There is still one more item of the Council's procedure that was censured by many at that time and, even now, is considered as a serious defect. That was the manner of appointing the "de Fide" committee, whereby the opposition interest was completely ignored, since only persons known to be favorable to the definition of Infallibility were nominated.[61]

It appears from the accounts that though they were the most outspoken, the Minority bishops were by no means the only critics of the first draft of the schema on Infallibility.[62] As a matter of fact, many

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58 Op. cit., 2: 239.

59 Janus, op. cit., 6.

60 Figgis and Laurence, Hist. of Freedom, 498.

61 Butler, Vatican Council, 1: 172; 2, 31.

62 Ibid., 1: 198.

opposed the decision of Infallibility, not so much from any doubt of its truth as a dogma but from a feeling that it was inopportune from a political point of view.[63]

For such reasons the following comment of Butler is particularly apt:

> After going through the proceedings of the entire Council, I have to say that this appears to me as the one serious blot on its doings: It was surely an error of judgment not to accord to a considerable and influential minority, counting among its members a number of the foremost and most justly respected bishops of the Church some representation.[64]

As things turned out the Minority did have one representative on the Committee in the end. By mistake, Archbishop Simor, the primate of Hungary, was included. Before he left home he had written a pastoral letter with a strong Ultramontane tone, and on this account he secured his election to the Commission. But when he arrived in Rome, the Archbishop went over to the Minority.[65]

Even so, almost alone of all the criticisms levelled against the Council, this one against the "de Fide" commission still seems valid.

The other grievances that Acton expressed against the Council are more evidence of his private ax-grinding than really serious charges against the Council itself. For example, his vehement reports on Manning's domination of the Council witness more to Acton's personal problem with that prelate than to a significant denunciation of the Council.

It is true of course that in many ways the Vatican Council represented a high point in Manning's career.[66] And it is also true that

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63 Gibbons, op. cit., 1: 31.

64 Butler, Vatican Council, 1: 172.

65 Ibid., 1: 175.

66 Ibid., 2: 50.

Manning did, in his 110 minute speech on May 26, state that the Pope's Infallibility was already an article of Catholic Faith.[67] But to see in this slip more than the over-zealous remark of a rhetorically-aroused prelate, as Acton does, is stretching a minor point much beyond its significance.

Likewise to credit Manning with almost the entire responsibility for the successful definition of Papal Infallibility, as Acton does, is oversimplifying the case. The general concensus of opinion evident in the July 13 count was favorable to the definition with its 451 placets, 62 placets juxta modum, and 88 non placets.[68] This sampling would lead one to believe that the dogma would ultimately be victorious without any necessity of last-minute engineering on Manning's part.[69]

All in all, the various accounts of the Vatican Council bear out Gibbon's comparison between this Council and that of Nice in 325. Just as the Council of 325 was requested by an Emperor, so too the Vatican Council was carefully observed by an Emperor (Napoleon III). Then too both Councils were held after a period of violent persecution: that of Diocletian for the early times, that of the French Revolution and the Penal Laws for the later times. But the third suggested similarity is the most relevant of all— viz., that the crux of the whole meetings was in both instances centered more about a question of phrasing rather than

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67 Ibid., 2: 51.

68 Gibbons, op. cit., 1: 183. Acton even testified that this outcome could be foreseen in January. See Butler, op. cit. 1: 174.

69 As a matter of fact, the decision was passed with 534 placets and 2 non placets. About 106 were absent because they wished neither to vote favorably nor to disturb the general harmony of the Council. Gibbons, op. cit., 1. Also Henry Edward Manning, The True Story of the Vatican Council, 146.

the dogmatic truth itself. And, concludes Gibbons, both had been convened to counteract the spreading influence of an heresiarch: the one, Arius; the other, Dollinger.[70]

But to get back to Acton's role in the Vatican Council proper, let us see how much justice there is to Barry's claim that "Acton did all that lay in his power to have the Vatican Council broken up, and therefore a great deal of the opposition to the Popes and those Roman authorities who directed the Council may be traced to Acton."[71]

There's no denying Acton's passionate battle against his misconceived notion of Infallibility. His notes previous to 1870 reveal how much this topic absorbed his attention. We find him trying to find a possible way of holding Infallibility honestly, and arriving at the quixotic solution that the Pope declaring that he speaks as the head of the Church is expressing the universal belief after due examination of the teaching of tradition, and is therefore infallible.[72]

Nevertheless it is worth noting that Acton seems to have adhered without reserve to the institution of the Papacy. He remarked to his son during the summer of 1870 that "A Church without a Pope is not the Church of Christ."[73] In view of this remark made at so strategic a time, it is easy to see the justice of Figgis' comparison of Acton to a disgruntled citizen who had faced a losing battle with a political opponent.[74]

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70 Gibbons, op. cit., 1: 16 ff.

71 Op. cit., 18, 19.

72 Engel-Janosi, "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas," 177.

73 Engel-Janosi, "The Correspondence between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton," 315.

74 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., xvi. Hist. of Freedom, xxvii.

Neither Acton nor the citizen would forfeit a cherished heritage because of disappointing results.

Even though this be true, three months after the Vatican Council, Acton still gives evidence of a biased attitude in the following words:

> And so the Council stands self-condemned by the mouths of its ablest members, [Men like Schwarzenberg, Rauscher, Raynald, Clifford, Purcell, Connolly, Dupanloup, Darboy, Hefele, Strossmayer and Kenrick.] They represent it as a conspiracy against Divine truth and right.[75]

Granting then Acton's opposition, our real concern is to see if the role Acton assumed left the indelible impression that Hendrick implies it did.[76]

Shane Leslie, in his life of Manning, reenforces Hendrick's contention with his statement that "No layman ever played such a part in Church matters."[77] Still another biographer of Manning, Purcell, assigns a like prominence to Acton. "Lord Acton, as Manning knew well," says Purcell, "did more than any other man, except the Bishop of Orleans, in exciting public feeling, especially in Germany and England, against the Vatican Council."[78]

Some very interesting testimony concerning Acton's influence is furnished by Manning himself. Writing to Gladstone in 1870, Manning says: "The shadow of Lord Acton between you and the Catholics of Great Britain would do what I could never undo."[79]

Although personal animosity is evident in the following note of

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75 Mac Coll, op. cit., 1005.

76 Burton J. Hendrick, Life of Andrew Carnegie, 1: 352.

77 Henry Edward Manning: His Life and Labours, 220.

78 Edmund Sheridan Purcell, Life of Cardinal Manning, 2: 434.

79 Leslie, op. cit., 231-232.

Manning, still it contributes some noteworthy items on our topic.

> Gladstone's geese are always swans. His friendship always blinds him. Time was when I had the benefit of his illusions. When this turned, Acton was the man made to his hand. He was a Catholic, learned in literature, of a German industry, cold, self-confident, supercilious towards opponents, a disciple of Dollinger, and predisposed against me. . . . He knew what I had written on the Temporal Power, on the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. . . . Then his whole conduct in Rome during the Council was an active and canvassing opposition to the majority of the Council. He was the 'mediastinus' between the French and German bishops, always busy with tongue and pen.[80]

Again on November 15, 1870 Manning wrote to Gladstone, saying:

> I will say no more of Lord Acton, whose career has been a disappointment to his truest friends, not Catholics only. He might have done much in public life, and among us. Of the former you are the judge; of the latter -- I am sorry to say he has lost all hold in England and abroad except upon individuals.[81]

This letter implies that Acton did wield an influence, but the results were not lasting. Presumably Manning based his judgment on the fact that Papal Infallibility, which Acton had so opposed, was eventually accepted.

Butler, writing in 1930, seems to contradicts Manning's estimate when he states as one of his reasons for writing his Vatican Council the fact that "In England, educated public opinion has hitherto been formed wholly on Janus, Quirinus, Pomponio Leto, all promptly translated into English, and on the letters of Acton and of Mozley, the correspondent of the Times."[82]

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[80] Cited by Purcell, op. cit., 2: 480-481.

[81] Cited by Edmond Fitzmaurice, The Life of Granville (1815-1891), 2: 135.

[82] Butler, op. cit., 1: xix; 2: 208. James Bryce, Studies in Contemporary Biography, 385.

Seemingly then, Acton's written words on the subject have proved more lasting than Manning's remark would lead one to believe. But the whole question of Acton's writings is so involved because of the anonymous character of many of his articles and the many pieces attributed to him that it might prove a treatise in itself.

Just one example will be cited. Many persons would recognize "Janus" and "Quirinus" as pen-names for Acton. Manning himself was of that opinion when he wrote the following:

> I have found out that Acton was the correspondent of Augsburger Gazette, which was weekly attacking and defaming the Council in an amusing way. Odo Russell asked me whether I thought the Definition would be made. I said, "Certain." He asked me, "Is there no way in which it can be prevented?" I said, "Certainly. Cut our throats." In less than a week this came back in the Augsburger Gazette. Odo Russell assured me that he had told this to no one but Acton.[83]

While this explanation sounds convincing enough, the verdict of accumulated evidence indicates that Dollinger was both "Janus" and "Quirinus." However, the material written under the pen-name of "Quirinus" was based on information Dollinger secured both from Acton and Friedrich, who were in Rome during the Council. [See Glossary for more complete explanation of "Janus" and "Quirinus."]

In summing up Acton's literary responsibility for incorrect views on Papal Infallibility, it appears that, with the exception of his pamphlet Sendschriben and his article on the Council in the North British Review -- both of which were written in the after-glow of the Council,-- Acton's works written for public consumption are not likely to mislead the readers of succeeding generations. Most of his damaging remarks are to

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[83] Purcell, op. cit., 2: 435.

be found in letters never meant for the general reading public, but unfortunately published later through the indiscretion of well-meaning friends.

But if Acton's literary influence is negligible, his actual role as negotiator for Gladstone during the time of the Council led to many far-reaching results, both political and religious. First, Acton's myopic views on Papal Infallibility tricked him into seeing political implications in the developments of the Council that actually were not there. Secondly, in his reports Acton communicated his misconceptions to Gladstone, who later expressed these very views in his devastating pamphlet, On the Vatican Decrees and Their Bearing on Civil Allegiance.

In his capacity as "go-between" for Gladstone, Acton naturally kept up a regular correspondence with the Prime Minister. On January 1, 1870 Acton relayed his impression of the scene in Rome as follows:

> The Papal absolutism reveals itself completely in its hostility to the rights of the Church, of the State, and of the intellect. We have to meet an organized conspiracy to establish a power which would be the most formidible enemy of liberty as well as of science throughout the world. . . .[84] If you don't altogether reject the idea of even indirect action the time has unmistakably arrived when it is most likely to take effect.[85]

From such an estimate, we note once more Acton's bias against Papal Infallibility as he sees it, and we also catch a reference to the political overtones of his message. Acton was acting in a rather "high-handed" manner, and it behooves us to remember that he had assumed this role at the request of Gladstone. Leslie states that Gladstone persuaded Clarendon to telegraph Russell, who was in Rome, and relay the message

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84 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 91.

85 Ibid., 96.

that Acton was to use the strongest language he thought useful in carrying out Gladstone's opinions.[86]

February 16 Gladstone received the following urgent note from a much disturbed Acton.

> The opinion which I expressed to you many weeks ago, that the opposition would prevail with aid from the European powers, and would fail without it, has been adopted by the leading bishops of the party. I am writing not only with their knowledge, but at their express and most urgent request, renewed several times during the last week.[87]

A still further proof of the widespread character of Acton's influence can be noted in Odo Russell's reports to the Home Office. On March 1, 1870, Russell told the Foreign Office that Lord Acton was anxious to let the French government know that future loss of time would be fatal to the Bishops of the Opposition.[88]

But the help Acton desired from England was not forthcoming. Gladstone in his letter to Acton on March 1 indicates why:

> In truth I am myself sorrowfully conscious that it is in our power to do little or nothing with advantage beyond taking care that the principal governments are aware of our general views, and our repugnance to the meditated proceedings, so that they may call on us for any aid we can give. . . .[89]

Such a reaction caused Acton to increase his stress on the emergency character of the Council affairs. Thus he wrote on March 10:

> We know also, from the Schema de Ecclesia, in favour of what principles and of what interests that supreme and arbitrary power will be exerted. The Catholics will be bound, not only by the will of future Popes, but that of former Popes, so far

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86 Leslie, op. cit., 220.

87 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 102.

88 Leslie, op. cit., 224, 222.

89 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr. 105.

> as it has been solemnly declared. They will not be at liberty to reject the deposing power, or the system of the Inquisition, or any other criminal practice or idea which has been established under penalty of excommunication. They at once become irreconcilable enemies of civil and religious liberty. They have to profess a false system of morality, and to repudiate literary or scientific sincerity. They will be dangerous to civilized society in the school as in the State. . . . Rome taught for four centuries and more that no Catholic could be saved who denied that heretics be put to death.[90]

As if that dark picture were not enough to force Gladstone into more definite action, Lord Acton continues, The Schema de Ecclesia are entirely in contradiction with the conditions of allegiance which the Catholics formerly accepted in England. "I won't give this as a discovery of the Bishops," Acton prudently parenthesizes, "and it would not do, of course, to quote them, but the fact that they openly acknowledge it is very remarkable."[91]

As a result of such pressure from Acton, Gladstone did bring up the matter of more definite political intervention for consideration in a Cabinet meeting held probably at the end of March or the beginning of April. Gladstone supported the Bavarian proposal for political intervention in the Council on the grounds and arguments supplied him by Acton. Lord Clarendon, however, who received his information directly from Russell, and indirectly from Manning, refuted these statements and opposed such action. And Clarendon won out.[92]

Realizing Gladstone's inability to secure direct relief, Acton decided to publicize those events of the Council which would be likely to arouse public opinion on behalf of the Opposition. Acton himself

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90 Ibid., 108.

91 Ibid., 109.

92 Butler, Vatican Council, 2: 10-11 for the content of the paragraph.

testifies to this when he relates the following incident in a letter to Gladstone on January 28, 1896:

> Daru, just then Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote two very strong letters, which I left in Odo's hands. Through him they came to be published in the Times. For he showed them to Tom Mozley, who told me the story a few weeks before he died.[93]

It was just such indiscreet maneuvering on Acton's part that gave justification to Parsons' dubbing Acton a "self-proclaimed theologian and moral leader of the Opposition movement."[94]

Russell's opinion of Acton's responsibility is contained in a secret memorandum to his government, dated June 18, 1870. There Russell insists:

> Without [his] Acton's personal intervention the Bishops of the Opposition could scarcely have known each other. Without his knowledge of language and theology, the theologians of the various nations could not have understood each other, and without his virtues they could not have accepted and followed the lead of a layman so much younger than any of the Fathers of the Church.[95]

While the above comment exaggerates the role of Acton, still it also testifies to the very real and damaging influence Acton exerted in his capacity of attaché to Gladstone. It is undoubtedly this phase of Acton's work in connection with the Council that is responsible for those judgments that assign Acton such an overwhelming influence in the Council itself.

Thus, for example, Bryce speaks of Acton as "taking an active part in stimulating, by his private influence and by his immense learning, the opposition which the more liberal part of the Roman Catholic Episcopate made to Infallibility."[96] This same idea is repeated in another quotation from Bryce:

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93 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 156.

94 Reuben Parsons, Studies in Church History, 422.

95 Leslie, op. cit., 220.

96 James Bryce, "The Letters of Lord Acton," 699.

> Acton's full and accurate knowledge of ecclesiastical history was placed at the disposal of the prelates, such as Archbishop Dupanloup, Bishop Strossmayer, and Archbishop Connoly, who combated the Ultramontane party in the animated and protracted debates which illumined the Oecumenical Council.[97]

This same concept of Acton's role is seconded by Hendrick, who says: "Though a layman, Acton led the little band of Bishops who opposed the Vatican Decrees of 1870."[98]

Even after the Council had adjourned, there is still evidence of the exalted view contemporaries held of Acton's power. A curious letter dated January 1871 and delivered through the Twenty-fifth Hessian Division then stationed in French occupied territory, came to Acton from Bishop Dupanloup. In it the Bishop besought Acton to use his influence with Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone to secure the mediation of the Powers in the Franco-Prussian war.[99]

If contemporaries held such an exalted opinion of Acton's "sphere of influence," it is not too surprising that Acton himself should be aware of it and employ it to advance his cause. But Acton's conduct in "turning from one Government after another to solicit their intervention by diplomacy on behalf of the losing opposition group" not only seems strange conduct for an "apostle of liberty,"[100] but it also represents a marked departure from his earlier views.

On May 6, 1854 Acton had written to Granville that "the most serious matter that occurs to me on which I would differ from the Government

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97 Bryce, Studies in Contemporary Biography, 385.

98 Op. cit., 1: 352.

99 E. L. Woodward, "The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century," Politica, 1939, 4: 250.

100 Barry, op. cit., 19.

would be any interference in the affairs of the Pope."[101]

Not only does Acton's conduct in these matters represent a departure from earlier ideas, it likewise constitutes a difficult matter for his fellow-Catholics to defend or even, for that matter, to explain.[102]

It is clear that Acton did his best to throw the weight of the British Government's disapproval against the definition of Infallibility.[103] But the conclusion drawn that "No well-conducted Catholic would have taken the part Acton took in the political intrigue to defeat the definition of Infallibility"[104] seems too sweeping a condemnation.

Consideration of the facts on hand seems rather to verify the following judgment:

> At the time of the Vatican Council, there was little to distinguish his [Acton's] attitude from that of Dollinger and Dupanloup, although he inclined rather to the views of the former than those of the latter. . . . Happily, however, he imitated the latter, after the decrees were published.[105]

Thus, despite his violent opposition before, during, and shortly after the Council, Acton did submit to the decision of the Council. Acton's submission presented something of an enigma to his friends and critics, especially among non-Catholics.[106]

One instance of this is G. Smith's assumption that Acton was never,

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101 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 29.

102 Algernon, op. cit., 211.

103 J. H. F. "Review of Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton," America, 1918, 18: 425.

104 Ibid., 425.

105 Ibid.

106 "Review of A Lecture on the Study of History," Nation, 1896, 62: 39. John Morley, Recollections, 1: 230. Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., xiv.

so far as is known, threatened with excommunication.[107] In view of Acton's earlier views and his active role on the opposition side in the Council, such a view is interesting but extremely naive. Further, any acquaintance with the Times letters controversy will certainly reveal the great extent to which Acton had fallen under the displeasure of Church authorities.[108] The exact position taken by ecclesiastical superiors on the whole question is shrouded in the controversial nature of the exchanges that attended the Times controversy and evades an exact description.

Under such circumstances, one would think that non-Catholic writers would follow Figgis's advice that "It ill becomes those who are not subject to the Roman obedience, to judge of a delicate problem on this head, in regard to another communion."[109] This good advice was not followed even by Figgis himself. As a result we find numerous misstatements and unfortunate conjectures relative to Acton's "excommunication."

Several misconceptions centered around the reason for the failure of the threatened excommunication to become a reality. Some felt that this was to be explained by the fact that Acton was a layman; and therefore, not having a teaching office, he was not excommunicated as was Dollinger.[110] Others would see in the matter proof that the Pope was "presumably afraid of the immense learning, the great power, and the unquenchable honesty that Lord Acton possessed."[111] Such reasonings

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107 "Review of Acton's Letters," Nation, 1904, 78: 253.

108 "Review of Letters to Mary Gladstone," Catholic World, 836.

109 Sel. Corr., xv. Herbert Paul, op. cit., 89.

110 Ibid., 17, 56. Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., xv-xvi.

111 "Lord Acton's Letters," Spectator (London), 1904, 93: 429.

reveal the superficiality of most non-Catholics' grasp of the practice of excommunication. As if laymen or learned persons had achieved a certain immunity to excommunication!

G. P. Gooch is probably closer to the truth when he remarks that though Acton expected to be excommunicated like his master Dollinger, the blow never fell due to the fact that he discontinued the fight.[112]

Even this discontinuance of active opposition on Acton's part has been misinterpreted. Thus we find H. Mortimer explaining that while Acton was "not technically a heretic, still his respect for liberty was so unqualified as to place him far from the mind of the Church."[113]

Bryce too errs in his death notice on Acton when he describes Acton's position. He states that, while Acton remained all his life a member of the Roman communion, he still adhered to the same views on Papal Infallibility he had advocated in 1870.[114]

Such a position was a contradiction in terms. Writers who make such a mistake deserve Meynell's criticism that they do not realize "the liberty of Roman Catholics to oppose a dogma before its definition, or their consistency in accepting, after its promulgation, what they had before opposed."[115]

Besides these rather general misconceptions of Acton's position, there have also been some down-right errors of fact. Hendrick, for example, claims that "Papal proclamations on the Immaculate Conception,

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112 "Lord Acton: Apostle of Liberty," 641.

113 Op. cit., 213.

114 Bryce, "The Late Lord Acton," Nation, 1902, 75: 29.

115 Wilfrid Meynell, "A Man of Letters," Living Age, 1904, 241: 379.

the Syllabus of 1866, the Temporal Power and the Infallibility of the Pope had drawn from this scholastic recluse denunciations almost as resounding as the thunders of the Vatican itself."[116] The particular error in this statement concerns the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Figgis cites in his introduction to the History of Freedom that Acton had no hostility to the Immaculate Conception, and what's more, he couldn't see why Dollinger condemned this doctrine.[117] When Hendrick arrived at such an erroneous conclusion, he probably confused the teaching of Dollinger with the belief of the disciple Acton.

A still more common and more serious error is frequently made in associating Acton with the Old Catholic movement. Not only Canon Meyrick,[118] and a writer for the July 5, 1902 issue of the Athenaeum,[119] but even Father Parsons[120] made the mistake of stating definitely that Acton had joined the Old Catholic heresy. It is quite clear at the present time that neither Acton nor Dollinger were actual members of the Old Catholic Church. On the contrary, Acton did all in his power to dissuade his friends from joining it.[121]

In concluding this study of Acton's career during the stormy period of the Vatican Council, the following would serve as a good summary:

> Acton, it must be admitted, had been one of the leaders -- so far as a layman could be -- of the opposition to the

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116 Op. cit., 353.

117 xxvii.

118 Ibid.,

119 "Lord Acton, in General," 32.

120 Parsons, Some Lies and Errors of History, note on 242.

121 Figgis and Laurence, History of Freedom, xxvii.

party of the Curia. . . .[122]

> But when he [Acton] had fully grasped the careful formulation of the Vatican Council's dogmatic decree, and recovered somewhat from the acrimonies of the preliminary discussion, we have every reason to believe -- in fact, knowing Lord Acton's character, we must believe, that his submission was as complete and reverential as the submission of Hefele, Dupanloup, or Gratry.[123]

The following quotation from a letter Acton wrote to Lady Blennerhassett, dated Saturday 1872, gives Acton's own version of his case:

> Oxenham writes this Saturday a warm panegyric on our friend Michaud's new book (Comment l'Eglise romaine n'est plus l'Eglise catholique.) I need not tell you that I cannot agree with him, and I perceive that the difference . . . is one of fundamental principle . . . in fact, he is renouncing communion with us who wish to remain in communion with Rome. . . . He must mean that there was nothing heretical in the Church before 1870, if the Decrees of July make such a difference-- and that is the most direct contradiction of my theory that the decisive objection to these decrees lies in the previous doctrines which are sanctioned and received thereby. . . . I think very much worse of the Church before July than he does, and better of the Church after July.[124]

Acton's submission then was both possible and sincere. Not, however, for the reason Brinton suggests, -- that Acton perpetrated the lesser wrong of submitting to achieve the greater good, continued communion with Rome.[125] Rather Acton's acceptance of Papal Infallibility was possible without any dishonesty on his part because of his original misconception of the dogma.

In his thesis on Papal Infallibility, McNabb points out that

> as there are two kinds of minds, the reflexive and the unreflexive, so there are two kinds of difficulties, difficulties in idea and difficulties in reality, or difficulties in

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122 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., xv-xvi.

123 "Review of Letters to Mary Gladstone," Catholic World, 838.

124 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 116-117.

125 Op. cit., 106. "Dollinger and the Papacy," 40.

> essence and difficulties in existence. Now to the reflexive mind the main difficulty will usually be with the idea, whereas the unreflexive will scruple most about reality. . . . Where the chief difficulties arise from the idea, no little relief is often afforded by the reality, and on the other hand, minds fretted by the obvious limitations of the reality find solace in the idea.[126]

It would seem that the dilemma Acton faced regarding Infallibility was resolved by some saving set of circumstances helpful to the "reflexive mind." Since Acton's great difficulty regarding Infallibility was in the "idea" itself, he received "no little relief" when the "reality" of Papal Infallibility contradicted his preposterous fears about its possible extension in time and degree.

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126 Vincent McNabb, Infallibility, 74-75. Much the same idea is developed in Rev. Edward McGlynn's article, "The Bugbear of Vaticanism" in the American Catholic Quarterly, 1876, 1: 73-100. Also Butler, Vatican Council, 2: 227-228.

The Battle Royal -- Acton's Letters to the Times

Since Acton's journalistic crusade ended abruptly with his withdrawal from the combat, and since his Vatican Council conflict finished with his surrender to the much-opposed dogma of Infallibility, one would expect Acton to withdraw from all further public controversy. But such was not the case. While Acton probably intended to retire from all active combat, he was forced into the arena once more by the publication of Gladstone's pamphlet, On the Vatican Decrees and Their Bearing on Civil Allegiance.

In September of 1874 Gladstone paid a visit to Munich, and while there he visited Dr. Dollinger, who had by that time been excommunicated from the Catholic Church. Gladstone's remark at the time that he knew no one whose mode of viewing and handling religious matters with whom he more cordially agreed than Dollinger[1] certainly gives much weight to Morley's opinion that "we can hardly be wrong in ascribing to that visit the famous tract which was to make so lively a stir before the end of the year."[2]

Besides this visit, a letter from Gladstone to Acton dated October 1874 also reveals that some such work was budding in Gladstone's mind. After indicating his hearty agreement with Acton's views, Gladstone says:

> I feel myself drawn onwards. Indeed some of your words help to draw me. The question with me now is whether I shall or shall not publish a tract which I have written and of which the title would probably be, The Vatican Decrees in their

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1 John Morley, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone, 2: 513.

2 Ibid., 515.

> Bearing on Civil Allegiance: a Political Expostulation. I incline to think I should publish it. If it were in your power and will to run over here for a night or two I should seek to profit by your counsel, and should ask you to read as much of the MS. as your patience would endure.[3]

In response to the invitation Acton did visit Gladstone. But though there may be something to Paul's opinion that Acton was "far nearer to Mr. Gladstone in opinion than he was to the Court of Rome,"[4] still the point is that he did all in his power to prevent Gladstone from publishing the proposed work on the grounds that it was neither fair nor wise.[5]

Possibly Acton's charge of unfairness was suggested by Gladstone's conception of Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope that is evident throughout his treatise. Gladstone assumed that Manning's interpretation of the Temporal Power as developed in such works as "Caesarism and Ultramontanism" represented the official teaching on the matter.[6] As a preacher, Manning claimed that the Temporal Power was "a law of conscience, an axiom of the reason, even raising it to a theological certainty."[7] So extreme was Manning's manner of defending the Temporal Power that the Edinburgh Review declared that Manning's way of presenting the case "very nearly caused his book, The Temporal Power of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, to be placed on the Index."[8]

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3 Ibid., 2: 515.

4 Herbert Paul, Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone, 59.

5 Figgis and Laurence, The History of Freedom, xxviii. Malcolm Mac Coll, "Lord Acton's Letters to Mary Gladstone," Fortnightly Review, 1904, 81: 1009.

6 William E. Gladstone, The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance, 54-55. Wilfrid Ward, The Life of John Henry Newman, 2: 402.

7 Shane Leslie, Henry Edward Manning: His Life and Labours, 188.

8 "The Late Lord Acton," Edinburgh Review, 1903, 197: 508.

Admitting that such a claim is probably exaggerated, still the fact remains that Manning's interpretation was recognized even by Catholic authorities to be ultra- Ultramontane. On the other hand, Engel-Janosi finds Acton's views as expressed in an 1859 issue of the Rambler historically true and generally acceptable.[9] Acton wrote at that time:

> The Temporal Sovereignty is not absolutely essential to the nature and ends of the Church; it has its source in causes which are external to her, in the temporal condition of the world, not in the spiritual aims of the Church; and if the world becomes impregnated with her ideas the necessity of the Temporal Power would probably disappear. It is her protection against the State and monument of her imperfect victory over the ideas of the outer world. It is not so much desirable as inevitable. . . . The Temporal Power is not more inconsistent with the ideas to which it is to be sacrificed than the spiritual power.[10]

In 1882 Acton still maintained the same outlook, but with an added note of bitterness. Witness his words in the December issue of the Academy:

> Counting no longer on the fidelity of popular opinion, or on the refined morality and superior culture in its agents, after the Council of Constance the Papacy sought the prop of Temporal Sovereignty, and negotiated by exchange and compact, for the favour of the States.[11]

While Acton thus definitely stood opposed to Manning's extreme views "pro" Temporal Power, he likewise rejected Dollinger's definitely "anti" Temporal Power tendencies. Reviewing Dollinger's work on the Temporal Power, Acton insisted:

> For ourselves, so far as regards the author's [Dollinger's] views of the Papal Question, . . . we must still reiterate our strong dissent on motives of justice, and still more of

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9 Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas of History," Catholic Historical Review, 1941, 27: 184.

10 Ibid.

11 "Review of Creighton's History of the Papacy, Vols. I,II, Academy, 22: 407.

> prudence and generosity, from the tone of many observations as to the present condition of the Roman question.[12]

And, Acton continued:

> We believe, indeed, that the true explanation, as well of his views of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Papal See, as of the earnestness and occasionally even the heat with which he supports that view, and of the strong and sometimes harsh and acrimonious language which he uses in regard to the Temporal Sovereignty as at present constituted is to be found in the very earnestness with which he seeks to recommend to the Churches which he considers in contrast with it, that spiritual sovereignty of the Holy See, in which alone he finds the cure for the moral and religious evils which he depicts in all these churches.[13]

While such an explanation of Dollinger's views may indeed appear somewhat naive, it does furnish evidence of Acton's disagreement with his former master— a fact of even more significance than his difference with Manning. Further Acton's expressed opinions furnish us with a possible explanation for his action in labeling Gladstone's pamphlet as unfair as also for his determined effort to prevent its publication.

The other objection that Acton had raised against the proposed work was the lack of prudence that would be shown in printing such a treatise since it would only reopen controversial issues and dangerously excite public opinion against his fellow-Catholics.[14] Such a fear was quite justified, as the subsequent publication of the work proved.

Even today, seventy-five years after the controversy itself, a reading of the issues of the Times between November 9 and December 12, 1874 reveals the heightened emotions and tense feelings released by the

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12 "Reviews of The Church and the Churches; or the Papacy and the Temporal Power," Dublin Review, 1863, 52: 470-471.

13 Ibid., 485. Acton, "On Mill," Rambler, November 1859, 2: 68-69, 70, 75.

14 Paul, op. cit., 59.

pamphlet and the many answers that appeared in response to it. So Acton was correct in labeling it unwise.

But a further fact that Acton either did not realize or chose to ignore was his own responsibility for many of those "unwise" ideas expressed by Gladstone. Canon Barry describes the Expostulation as a "faithful echo to Acton's utterances before and during the Council."[15] Paul also thinks the same when he says, "It is impossible not to trace in Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, . . . the effect of Lord Acton's letters from Rome in 1870."[16] In view of the excerpts from these letters cited earlier in this paper, such a judgment seems true. It is easy, for example, to recognize Acton's words, "They [Catholics] will not be at liberty to reject the deposing power . . . or any other criminal practice or idea . . . established under pain of excommunication. They at once become irreconcilable enemies of civil and religious liberty. . . ."[17] in the Gladstonian version that follows: "No one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another."[18]

So much for the pamphlet itself. It is now our task to describe the reception given the work and to detail Acton's role in the resulting controversy. One of the more interesting and immediate reactions was the Times editorial in which the writer attempted to analyze the basic reasons for Gladstone's writing the pamphlet.

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15 William Barry, "Lord Acton: A Study," Dublin Review, 1918, 162: 21.

16 Paul, op. cit., 59.

17 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 105.

18 Gladstone, "Ritualism and Ritual," Contemporary Review, 1874, 24: 674.

> Does the late Minister find it necessary, [the Times' writer queries,] to repel the suspicion of a leaning to the Communion of Rome? Or on the other hand, is he venting the indignation it is only too natural he should feel at the astounding ingratitude of the Irish people and hierarchy. . . . A third alternative, however, suggests itself. Does the elaborate but unsuccessful attempt to distinguish between the new and the old Papacy point to the Church of Dr. Dollinger, whom Mr. Gladstone takes occasion to eulogize so highly? When he describes the immense effort necessary for a man to break with his Church, to brave excommunication, and bear it calmly when it comes, is he counting the cost of a like step should he himself be called on to take it?[19]

While such a reaction to Gladstone's work is interesting and reveals the highly personalized character of newspaper writing at the time, it does not stand alone in its attack on the pamphlet. There are many other, more objective, analyses made of Gladstone's Expostulation. For example, Bishop Clifford in a Pastoral Letter made answer to several of Gladstone's charges. One basic misconception in particular that Gladstone seems to have inherited from Acton was explained by the Bishop as follows:

> It does not follow because the Pope has supreme power, no Pope ever abused it. . . . If the Pope were so to abuse his power as to seek to interfere in that which undoubtedly belongs to the civil authority, Catholics would resist it.[20]

This explanation is especially worthy of note because it illustrates so very well that it was Acton's unfortunate way of putting things that caused his trouble rather than his ideas themselves. In Acton's reply one can note the basic similarity of his argument to that of Bishop Clifford's, but what a difference in the way the point is made!

Dr. Vaughan's Advent sermons of that year also centered about a

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19 Times, November 9, 1874, 9.

20 Ibid., November 30, 1874, 2.

reply to Gladstone's pamphlet.[21] Countless other letters were written to the Times in refutation and explanation of points developed in the Expostulation. Noteworthy among the correspondents were Dr. Manning, who "earnestly defended the dogma of Infallibility," and Lord Acton, who, according to Paul, "repudiated it altogether."[22]

Later on, Newman also entered the lists on behalf of the Church, and his work has been well described as "the answer to Gladstone's attack."[23] Even Acton implied as much about Newman's Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, when he acknowledged his personal indebtedness to that work for the solution of his own difficulties and doubts.[24]

But our immediate concern is the answer made by Acton himself. When Gladstone attacked the Vatican Decrees, Lord Acton took down his sword of the pen and prepared for battle. But on whose side? So confused were the readers who studied Acton's letter to the Times of November 9, 1874, that Acton was actually described as "boldly placing himself by Gladstone's side."[25]

In retrospect we can see now how erroneous such a judgment was. Evidence shows that Acton had tried to stop the publication of the pamphlet; and when he was unsuccessful in this, he did not disguise his intention of answering.[26]

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21 Ibid.

22 Herbert W. Paul, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone, 133.

23 Cuthbert Butler, The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne, 2: 101.

24 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 155.

25 "Review of A Lecture on the Study of History," Nation, 1896, 62: 39.

26 "The Late Lord Acton," Edinburgh Review, 524.

Mr. Paul conveys this impression in the following glowing terms:

> Acton's invincible integrity of mind would not allow him, for the sake of his own peace; to acquiesce in the practical conclusions which Mr. Gladstone drew from irrefragable premises. . . .[27]

> It is characteristic of Lord Acton's courage and candour that he should have answered at all. He was regarded at Rome with something more than suspicion, and nobody quite understood why he had escaped the fate of Dollinger.[28]

But, while it may be conceded that Acton's intentions in entering the public controversy were good, the results of his efforts were actually more harmful than helpful. His was indeed "an apology which was more injurious than the attack," serving as fuel to the fire rather than extinguishing it.[29]

Father Thurston explains why Acton's letter was sad reading to many of his fellow-Catholics as follows: "In defending the position that the extreme opinions of those in authority were no sure guide to the feeling or action of those who accepted that authority, Acton did not shrink from many most unacceptable illustrations."[30]

From such a remark it is easy to recognize the aptness of Canon Barry's description of these letters to the Times as instances of "two-edged reasoning" wherein Acton "shivered Gladstone's whole contention" and also succeeded admirably by his unhappy language in "arousing the authorities of Westminster."[31]

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27 Paul, op. cit., 60.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., 61.

30 Herbert Thurston, "The Late Lord Acton," Catholic World, 1906, 84: 363.

31 Barry, op. cit., 22.

Newman also was aware of the dual nature of Acton's reply. Mindful of the damage Acton had done to Gladstone's attack, Newman congratulated him and commended his use of historical truth.[32] However, Newman also recognized the dangerous interpretations that many of Acton's statements would be given and he therefore expressed the wish that the letters had never been written.[33]

Thus Acton's return to the arena of religious controversy signaled another stormy period in his life wherein both his unhappy facility for clumsy and confusing explanations and also his sensitive pride combined to make relations grow more and more strained.

Shortly after the appearance of Acton's answer in the Times, that paper mentioned the fact that a Protestant clergyman, the Dean of Exeter, spoke at a public gathering on how satisfactory it was to see men like Lord Acton standing on their own grounds and maintaining that they were not prepared to submit to any sort of spiritual dictation implied in Infallibility.[34]

With such interpretations being made of his actions, it is not difficult to realize that Acton's opinions were not of a kind that would commend themselves to the authorities of his Church or even to the great majority of its lay members.[35] Anxious to make the public aware of such a bridge between Acton and the typical English Catholic, T. J. Capel wrote to the Times as follows:

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32 "The Late Lord Acton," Edin. R., 527. John Pollock, "The Late Lord Acton," Independent Review, 1904, 2: 182.

33 J. H. F., "Review of Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton," America, 1918, 18: 425.

34 November 26, 1874, 9.

35 Ibid., February 19, 1895, 9.

> If the letters of Lord Acton and Lord Camoys go unchallenged, much misapprehension will obtain. . . . Excellent as are these noble peers, they are in no way representative of either Catholic thought or of the Catholic laity. They take little or no part in the life of the Catholic body in this country, and would not have the shadow of a chance to be chosen as spokesmen of our laity.[36]

The next day's issue carried a like testimonial from Henry Stourton, who said, "I firmly believe that the two Peers . . . represent few besides themselves in this country."[37] Then in the November 19 issue, Lord Petre, chairman of the General Committee of the Catholic Union, published a series of resolutions passed by that group to the effect that (1) the Union accepted the Vatican Decrees and all they implied, and (2) the Catholic Union availed itself of the opportunity to protest against the assumption that the Lords Acton and Camoys and Mr. Henry Petre were in any sense the spokesmen of the Catholic laity.[38]

Perhaps the most rhetorical of all the testimonials denying Acton's claim to being a "representative Catholic" is contained in Bishop Vaughan's words which follow:

> One of the twelve Apostles became a thief and a deicide and one of the seven deacons a heresiarch. But none of these human things can shake your faith in an institution which is Divine. Upon this general principle you will be able to interpret the value of two scandalous letters by Lord Acton, which have been published in the Times newspaper in connection with Mr. Gladstone's attack upon the Church. Scandals such as these must come. The noble author assured the world that he was induced to make his historical revelations against St. Pius, Fenelon, and others in the cause of truth. We say nothing of the loyalty or tenderness of a son toward his mother who should upon occasion of her being grossly and unfairly attacked, join with her assailants in exposing her frailities. . . . He strikes, but he professes that he cannot kill. . . . The fact

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36 November 16, 1874, 9.

37 Loc. cit.

38 Loc. cit.

> that she possesses an undying life and can bear yet crueller treatment can scarcely mitigate our estimate of the conduct of such a son.[39]

It was not only Catholics that thus interpreted Acton's words. An editorial of the November 9 issue of the Times states:

> Unless we strangely misapprehend Lord Acton's argument, his answer to Mr. Gladstone's charge that the Vatican Decrees have so infringed the obligations of civil allegiance that no Catholic can reconcile loyalty to the Crown with acceptance of them is that he does not accept them. Lord Acton treats them as a nullity. He does not say this in so many words, and it is possible that he may shrink from acknowledging that this short and simple solution of the difficulty is the exact statement of his meaning, -- the irresistible deduction from his apology; but we will presently show in detail that his argument can have no other force, and if we err, it will be open to him to point out the link of his reasoning we have misapprehended. . . . For the moment we must assume his position to be that the Vatican Decrees have not affected his loyalty, because he pays them no respect. . . . If not, why declare so in a single sentence?[40]

Thus we can see that such an interpretation of Acton's words would logically lead to the following conclusion which the Times writer draws:

> If such utterances as those of these two Peers [Acton and Camoys] are conclusive as to the practical meaning of Papal Infallibility, they indicate not less clearly that the extravagance of that claim is defeating itself. . . . It is one thing to claim Infallibility, it is a very different thing to get the claim admitted even by your own adherents.[41]

Considering such evidence from both Catholic and non-Catholic sources alike, it must be admitted that Acton was by no means representative of the English Catholics of that time. Even Gladstone admitted as much when he wrote to Manning on November 12, 1870. In this letter Gladstone says:

> I regard his [Acton's] character and admire his abilities and attainments, but I have never supposed him to be a

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39 Ibid., December 7, 1874, 9.

40 Ibid., November 11, 1874, 9.

41 Ibid., November 14, 1874, 9.

> man representative of the general body of English Roman Catholics. You will not be surprised at my adding that I wish he were such. For though I have noticed a great circumspection among his gifts, I have never seen anything that bore the slightest resemblance to a fraudulent reserve.[42]

Actually, then, one should not expect Acton to be considered as a typical representative of anything, be it his Faith or anything else. He was so definitely an individual and so deep-dyed a research student that his explanations were bound to seem foreign, both as to matter and manner, for the ordinary person. With his philosophic probings into the most intricate phases of topics under discussion, Acton often went off on a tangent that completely misled the uninitiated and casual reader.

This absorption with the essence of things was thus explained by Acton in a letter dated January 21, 1881:

> My life is spent in endless striving to make out the inner point of view, the 'raison d'etre,' the secret of fascination for powerful minds, of systems of religion and philosophy, and of politics, the off-spring of the others, and one finds that the deepest historians know how to display their origin and defects, but do not know how to think or to feel as men do who live in the grasp of the various systems.[43]

It is just such a deficiency in Acton that proved his "Waterloo" in the letters he wrote to the Times. From the tenor of his correspondence, from the tone of his journalistic contributions, and from the spirit of his lecture notes, it seems safe to say that underneath a welter of historical references and philosophizing by-ways, Acton accepted the same rock-bottom truths that representative Catholics hold. But his own confusion, resulting from a lack of integrated synthesis of his vast accumulation of scientific evidence, so permeated his writings that they

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42 Leslie, op. cit., 231-232.

43 Paul, op. cit., 158-159. Mac Coll, op. cit., 999.

easily misled one into concluding otherwise.

Take for example, Acton's mooted position on Infallibility. Figgis is probably correct in this belief that Acton felt that the reality of Papal Infallibility would neutralize the fears about the idea itself.[44] In truth, Acton told Lady Blennerhassett that he thought his fears of the decrees had been somewhat exaggerated, for the complications which he had feared never really materialized.[45] The reason Acton gives for this is that "The same causes which had largely nulified the worst aspects of authoritative evil in its official centre would continue to operate, as against the dangers inherent in the Vatican Decrees."[46]

Such misleading statements, even though they were basically the same as other Catholics, leave little doubt as to the justice of the claim that Acton was not a representative character. There is also much truth to a second objection made against Acton to the effect that his was a mind "much warped against the Roman System."[47]

Even the Times editorial wherein Acton is described as "serving the cause of truth," implies that Acton thus served only by "justifying the worst accusations ever brought against the authorities of his Church."[48] Such remarks prove conclusively it could be said of Acton that he wrote "as a Catholic and still trained his artillery on the seat of authority."[49]

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44 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., xvi., 49.

45 D.N.B., Supplement II (1901-1911), 10-11.

46 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., xvi.

47 Thurston, "Acton," Catholic Encyclopedia.

48 November 24, 1874, 9.

49 Burton J. Hendrick, Life of Andrew Carnegie, 1: 353.

Certainly many passages of Acton's writings would seem to substantiate such a charge. Note Acton's unhappy manner in the following:

> You [Gladstone] think that we ought to be compelled to demonstrate one of two things -- that the Pope cannot, by virtue of powers asserted by the late Council, make a claim which he was perfectly able to make by virtue of powers asserted for him before; or, that he would be resisted if he did. The first is superfluous. The second is not capable of receiving a written demonstration. Therefore neither of the alternatives you propose to Catholics of this country opens to us a way of escaping from the reproach we have incurred. Whether there is more truth in your misgivings or in my confidence, the event will show, I hope, at no distant time.[50]

Some of the resentment engendered by the above passage was removed by Acton's further explanation that

> At the same time when the Catholic oath was repealed the Pope had the same right and power to excommunicate those who denied his authority and to depose princes, that he now possesses. The doctrine against which you are contending did not begin with the Vatican Council. . . . The recent decrees have neither increased the penalty nor made it easier to inflict. That is the true answer to your appeal.[51]

In a second letter to the Times Acton reenforced this notion when he said:

> In my endeavor to show that the safety of the State is not affected by the Vatican Decrees, I affirmed that they assign to the Papacy no power over temporal concerns greater than that which it had claimed and exercised before, and that the causes which had hitherto deprived those claims of practical effect continue to operate now.[52]

It is possible to see some justification in Acton's labeling an answer to Gladstone's first objection "superfluous." It is a far more difficult task, however, to explain Acton's handling of Gladstone's alternative suggestion -- that Catholics would resist the Pope in regard

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50 Times, November 9, 1874, 10.

51 Ibid., 9. Gladstone, Vatican Decrees, 80.

52 Times, November 24, 1874, 6.

to matters decided infallibly. Presumably Acton's remark that no written demonstration of this alternative was possible referred to providing a true defence for such a line of action on the part of Catholics; because Acton found it only too possible, unfortunately, to cite several instances of Catholics who had failed to heed certain Papal pronouncements.

"There has been," Acton states, "and I believe there is still, some exaggeration in the idea men form of the agreement in thought and deed which authority can accomplish."[53]

To substantiate his contention regarding submission of thought, Acton cites the example of Fenelon.

> When his book was condemned, Fenelon publicly accepted the judgment as the voice of God, Acton points out. . . . In private he wrote that his opinions were perfectly orthodox and remained unchanged; that his opponents were in the wrong, and that Rome was getting religion into perils.[54]

The failure of authority to accomplish agreement in deed was well-illustrated, Acton maintained, by the case history of Philip II, who after being excommunicated and deprived of his right to rule, despatched his army against Rome with the full approval of the Spanish clergy.[55]

Earlier in his career Acton had discussed the same matter, and those remarks throw considerable light on the later ones. Acton insisted that it was necessary to notice briefly an opinion held by some who are either ignorant of the Catholic system or especially hostile to it, that an arbitrary authority exists in the Church which may deny what has hitherto been believed, and may suddenly impose on the faithful, against their will,

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53 Gladstone, Vatican Decrees, 83.

54 Letter to the Times included in Gladstone's Vatican Decrees with famous replies, 83.

55 Ibid., 84.

doctrines which, while there is warrant for them in the past, may be in contradiction with the existing and received conclusions of ecclesiastical, or even of profane science.[56]

Acton in thus utilizing both the possibility and fact of individual insubordination to authority employed a veritable boomering tactic. Many were the incriminating statements made by Acton in those unfortunate Times letters. It surely should have been no surprise to him that such letters would be the target of much vehement and righteous indignation.

Most Catholics agreed with Ambruzzi, who pointed out:

> To be carping at everything, and making the shortcomings of our Superiors and the defects of their administration the subject of public discourses or of letters to the Press, is to scandalize those of the fold and those who are without, to put off necessary reforms indefinitely, and to be the occasion of even greater evils than those which we try to redress.[57]

Indeed in his insistence on the disproof of Gladstone's charges against English Catholics, Acton so overstressed the exceptions as proofs that he gave a false picture by implying that no English Catholic could nor should be called on "to account for opinions whose existence among divines they would be exceedingly reluctant to believe."[58]

While this last statement is another instance of Acton's dangerous manner of expressing a fact not nearly so heterdox as it sounds, still one can appreciate the alarm such views when publicly expressed in the paper would be sure to arouse. This same observation holds for the proof Acton offers to substantiate his case. After telling of a Pope,

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56 Acton, "Ultramontanism," Home and Foreign Review, July 1863, 201.

57 Aloysius Ambruzzi, The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius, 180.

58 Gladstone, Vatican Decrees, 81.

the author of the first Crusade, who taught that it was no murder to kill an excommunicated person and still another later Pope who declared the murder of a Protestant a good deed,[59] Acton insisted:

> Little fellowship or confidence is possible between a man who recognizes the common principle of morality as we find them in the overwhelming mass of the writers of our Church and one who, on learning that the murder of a Protestant Sovereign has been inculcated by a saint, or the slaughter of Protestant subjects approved by a Pope, sets himself to find a new interpretation for the Decalogue.[60]

The gulf between his fellow-Catholics and himself certainly widened when Acton separated himself from the group he terms "Ultramontane" by the following words:

> It belongs peculiarly to the character of a genuine Ultramontane not only to guide his life by the example of the canonized saints, but to receive with reverence and submission the words of Popes. Now, Pius V, the only Pope who has been proclaimed a Saint for many centuries, having deprived Elizabeth, commissioned an assassin to take her life. . . . It is hard to believe that these things can excite . . . that sort of admiration or assent that displays itself in action. If they do not, then it cannot be truly said that Catholics forfeit their moral freedom, or place their duty at the mercy of another.[61]

And Acton concludes, "It is not the unpropitious times only, but the very nature of things that protect Catholicism from the consequences of some theories that have grown up within it."[62] Here again Acton once more indicates his belief that the reality will dispel fears about the idea.

Historically speaking, the charges against the Popes mentioned above

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59 Ibid.

60 Ibid., 82.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., 83.

have been investigated and found either unsubstantiated or less significant in their effects than Acton implied.

What concerns us more at the moment is that omnipresent misconception of religious persecution that haunted Acton. According to Acton, "Heresy was merely an error, while intolerance was a sin."[63] Consequently he insisted that "When the Catholic Church made use of persecution to stamp out heresy it was acting contrary to the spirit of Catholicism;"[64] for though "Every Catholic believes in Transubstantiation, . . . nobody knows what it is to burn a heresiarch. All are involved in the indictment; none benefit by the defence."[65] Acton's opposition to Papal Infallibility too had been based chiefly on his fear that that dogma would in some sense constitute "a reaffirmation of much that he deplored in the history of religious persecution."[66]

Such convictions inspired Acton to express many extreme views, but Brinton's assumption that Acton repeatedly insisted that the clergy ceased to be God's ministers when they did wrong,[67] seems to stretch even such remarks beyond credulity. This is especially true since such a belief is patently a form of the Donatist heresy. If there had been something to such a charge, it surely would have been more prominent in

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63 G. P. Gooch, "Apostle of Liberty," Foreign Affairs, 1947, 25: 641.

64 Crane Brinton, "Lord Acton's Philosophy of History," Harvard Theological Review, 1919, 12: 104.

65 Acton, "Review of Creighton's History of the Papacy," Academy, 1882, 22: 408.

66 Cecil Algernon, "Two Distinguished Gladstonians," Quarterly Review, 1918, 229: 210.

67 Brinton, op. cit., 106. The quotations of Acton's that probably misled Brinton occur in his essay on Mill, Rambler, 71 and in his lecture on Luther, Lectures on Modern History, 90.

the evidence brought against Acton in the various controversies.

Although Brinton's contention has little basis in fact, there is considerable weight to the belief that Acton considered Papal Infallibility as likely to produce that "moral fanaticism" which led to the St. Bartholomew Massacre.[68] For he believed firmly that every Ultramontane was bound logically to admit that the Pope who persecuted heretics to death was right whenever he acted thus in his official capacity. "He who accepted the Vatican system," Acton concluded, "cannot escape that conclusion."[69]

So Acton reasoned that if Pius V declared that "he would release a culprit guilty of a hundred murders rather than one obstinate heretic,[70] then in truth the Massacre of St. Bartholomew must be considered "an unanswerable indictment of religious persecution."[71] As to the usual excuses offered in defence of the Papal actions, Acton maintains that "a swarm of facts were invented to meet the difficulty."[72]

So says Acton! But there is definitely another side to the picture. Many of these "invented facts" to which Acton contemptuously refers are not generally accepted historical facts.[73]

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68 Barry, op. cit., 19. R. A. L. Smith, "The Strange Life of Lord Acton," New Statesmen and Nation, 1944, 27: 355.

69 Mac Coll, op. cit., 1007. "On Mill," 74. Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 108.

70 Acton, "The Massacre of St. Bartholomew," North British Review, 1869 cited in Figgis and Laurence, History of Freedom, 138.

71 Brinton, op. cit., 105.

72 Acton, "Massacre," 148-149.

73 Thurston, No Popery: Chapters on Anti-Papal Prejudice, 203. James W. Thompson, The Wars of Religion in France, 452. "Lord Acton's Lectures on Modern History - Review," Edinburgh Review, 1907, 205: 285. Times, November 26, 1874, 9.

F. H. O'Donnell in answering Acton's letter insisted that the Nuncio's report about the Massacre was intercepted and violated by French authorities before it reached the Pope.[74] This is the version that is accepted today. So too is the Bishop of Nottingham's translation of Urban III's letter to Godfred, Bishop of Lucca,[75] considered the more faithful interpretation of that Pope's actual message.

Although Acton's article in the North British Review on "The Massacre of St. Bartholomew" reflects his most extreme views on this subject, and although he later modified some of his conclusions,[76] his description of that event is still dangerously untrue. Acton's version of the Massacre seems to be quite definitely "a grotesque interpretation . . . a very serious misrepresentation of its purport."[77] While he undoubtedly was sincere when he wrote the following, there is reason to suppose that few were prepared or inclined to digest the historical indiscretions he seems to have swallowed whole:

> I know that there are some whose feelings of reverence and love are, unhappily, wounded by what I have said. I entreat them to remember how little would be gained if all that came within the scope of my argument could be swept out of existence-- to ask themselves seriously the question whether the laws of the Inquisition are or are not a scandal and a sorrow to their souls. It would be well if men had never fallen into the temptation of suppressing truth and encouraging error for the better security of religion. Our Church stands, and our faith should stand, not on the virtues of men, but on the surer ground of an institution and a guidance that are divine. Therefore I rest unshaken in the belief that nothing which the inmost depths of history shall disclose in the time to come can ever bring to

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74 Times, November 26, 1874, 9.

75 Ibid., November 28, 1874, 9.

76 D. N. B., Supp. II, 9.

77 Thurston, No Popery, 198-199. "The Late Lord Acton," 368.

> Catholics just cause for shame or fear. I should dishonour and betray the Church if I entertained a suspicion that evidences of religion could be weakened or the authority of Councils sapped by a knowledge of the facts with which I have been dealing or of others which are not less grievous or less certain because they remain untold.[78]

We realize indeed that times have changed since Acton's day; and also that many of the critical remarks made by Acton against the Papacy are probably no more serious than the evidence included in Pastor's History of the Popes,[79] still Acton's unwholesome bias gives a sting to his observations that antagonizes rather than castigates.

As one would expect, such views as Acton expressed in the Times drew forth a veritable volley of response. A consideration of these reactions will throw still further light on the precarious influence Acton exerted on his contemporaries.

The Voce, a Roman paper, relayed the message of Acton's response to Gladstone to its readers and then rhetorically denounced him in the following words:

> The most iniquitous letter which can be imagined, written by one who continues to call himself a Catholic. It is by Lord Acton, the pupil, the apostle, the docile instrument of Dollinger. Lord Acton, disfiguring, calumniating, inventing factious words, puts together all the most criminal imputations against the Pontiffs. . . . A man who at this time publicly accuses his Pontiff, and even many other sainted Pontiffs, of a crime which most directly exposes him to the vengeance of the State, and to the irritation of the citizens, yet continues to call himself a Catholic! We shall answer Lord Acton's long letter notwithstanding that it does not seem to us worthy of a reply.[80]

Naturally enough such censure from Rome led non-Catholics into

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78 Times, November 24, 1874, 6.

79 Butler, op. cit., 2: 105.

80 Cited in Times, November 20, 1874, 4.

speaking of the "imperfect Catholicism of Lord Acton."[81] Thus the Times stated that Lord Acton

> has long been distinguished for his liberal views, and has evidently become thoroughly accustomed to his ambiguous position. The anathemas such Roman Catholics may have incurred, have hitherto sat lightly on him, and the addition of a few more can occasion him no uneasiness whatever.[82]

While that last remark about Acton's unconcern about the censure of Rome may well be challenged,[83] there is no doubt that Acton did draw down violent opposition from both lay and ecclesiastic sources alike. In the November 17, 1874 issue of the Times, a Mr. Herries protested that he as a Catholic peer objected most stremuously against the expressed views of Lord Acton and Lord Camoys since they were "neither consonant with the faith of the Catholic Church nor with the opinions of their Catholic fellow-countrymen."[84]

But the ecclesiastical response in the form of letters, pastorals, and sermons, in which the really serious objections were made, reveal even more clearly the intensity of Catholic disapproval of Acton's line of thought. The very nick-name, "Apostate Triumvirate,"[85] applied to Acton, Camoys, and Henry Petre conveys this idea.

Acton realized this himself as can be seen in the letter he wrote

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81 Times, November 17, 1874, 9.

82 November 14, 1874, 9.

83 R. Mortimer, "Acton's life from his Birth to the Year 1862; Review of Acton, the Formative Years by David Matthew," New Statesman and Nation, 1946, 31: 213. Figgis and Laurence, History of Freedom, lxxviii. "The Late Lord Acton," Edinburgh Review, 534.

84 9.

85 Ibid., November 25, 1874, 9.

to Cardinal Manning explaining his position:

> November 18, 1874
>
> My dear Lord,
>
> I could not answer your question without seeming to admit that which I was writing expressly to deny, namely that it could be founded on anything but a misconception of the terms or the spirit of my letter to Mr. Gladstone.
>
> In reply to the question which you put with reference to a passage in my letter of Sunday, I can only say that I have no private gloss or favorite interpretation for the Vatican Decrees. The acts of the Council . . . constitute the law which I recognize. I have not felt it my duty as a layman to pursue the comments of the divines, still less to attempt to supercede them by private judgments of my own. I am content to rest in absolute reliance on God's providence in His government of the Church.
>
> I remain, my dear Lord,
> Yours faithfully,
> Acton[86]

The friction between Acton and ecclesiastical authority obvious in this letter was accentuated by a Pastoral of Bishop Ullathorne wherein it was stated that "any person . . . who adheres not with steadfastness to the dogmatic decisions of the Popes and the Councils is no longer a child of the Church, and has no right to her sacraments or communion."[87]

Under such circumstances, it is easy to surmise the effect of the following letter from Manning to Ullathorne upon the relationship between that Bishop and Acton:

> I hope you will carefully examine Lord Acton's letter and say what course ought to be taken. He has been in and since the Council a conspirator in the dark, and the ruin of Gladstone. His answers to me are obscure and evasive. I am waiting till after Sunday, and shall then send one more final question. We need not fear this outbreak for our people. Some masks will be taken off, to our greater unity.[88]

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86 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 153.

87 Times, November 24, 1874, 9.

88 Leslie, op. cit., 232.

In view of such expressions it is easy to recognize the person Manning refers to in the following remark cited in the Times.

> It has come to our knowledge that some who openly refuse to believe the said doctrines (Infallibility and Immaculate Conception) persist nevertheless in calling themselves Catholics, and give out that they go to Confession and Holy Communion in the Catholic Church. We therefore hereby warn them that, in so doing they deceive our clergy by concealing their unbelief, and that in every such Confession and Communion they commit a sacrilege, to their own greater condemnation . . . lest their words or their example should seem to be tolerated by the Catholic Church.[89]

This same attitude is evident also in the following letter Manning wrote to Ullathorne on December 7, 1874.

> I have had Acton's second letter examined by the most competent person here, and have along MS refutation. In my last letter to Acton I have asked him whether his words, 'The acts of the Council I recognize as my Law,' are equivalent to 'I adhere to the doctrines which it defined.' No answer as yet. I believe him to be evading. I wrote a third time to ask. Here is his answer. Can I in conscience allow him to receive Sacraments in London? His scandal was published there. He has caused there the belief that he does not receive the Definitions of the Church Council. I am also of that belief. And he will make neither reparation nor explanation.[90]

But lest all this adverse criticism be thought the only side of the picture of Acton's dealings with ecclesiastics, we quote now from a letter Acton wrote on December 10. Acton writes, "Dr. Green has written to a local paper to say that I never, even virtually, attacked the Council. He is my confessor and so has some claim to an assurance."[91]

In still another letter, dated December 18, 1874, Acton explained his position as follows:

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89 Times, November 30, 1874, 2.

90 Leslie, op. cit., 232.

91 Abbot Gasquet, Lord Acton and His Circle, 363.

> What I want people to understand is this:-- Gladstone's appeal could not be met by denying that political consequences could be drawn from the Council, or that any interpretation of that sort could be right or authentic. My reply to him was that, as an English statesman, he exaggerated the practical danger.[92]

While Acton's judgment proved true eventually, two letters appearing in the Times during this controversy seemed to substantiate Gladstone's fears. One such letter came from a Valparaiso merchant who described conditions in Chile as follows:

> If Chile remains tranquil and prosperous we are justified in concluding it will not be because of, but in spite of the teaching and desires of its national Church [the Roman Catholic], its disloyal priesthood, and its Ultramontane subjects.[93]

Still another testimony witnessing to the adverse political results of the Vatican Decrees was furnished by Emile de Laveleye, who explained circumstances in Belgium in the following words:

> Lord Acton, tout en prouvant jusqu'à quels excès ont été portés les doctrines Ultramontaines, croit néanmoins qu'it n'en peut résulter actuellement aucun danger.
>
> Permettez-moi de montrer combien le danger est réel et grand, en rappelant certains faits empruntés a l'histoire de mon pays, la Belgique.[94]

Then de Laveleye goes on to tell how the Church condemned the Constitution containing modern liberties, especially articles 145, 190-193, 226, thereby clinching his argument, at least in his own eyes.[95]

Such statements as that of the Chilean and the Belgian were well answered by W. C. Robinson, who wrote:

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92 Ibid., 366.

93 Times, November 23, 1874, 9.

94 Ibid., December 14, 1874, 9.

95 Ibid.

> I continually read journals having the good will of the Belgian Bishops, and I never found a sentence leading me to suppose that any of the bishops desired to make Belgium less of a land of liberty than it now is— a land where I, a Catholic, in common with hundred of my Protestant fellow-countrymen find the freedom of my own dear country.[96]

But to return to Acton's personal problem, we now take up his relations with Bishop Ullathorne. In a letter dated December 16, 1874, Acton answers some of Ullathorne's questions as follows:

> To your doubt whether I am a real or a pretended Catholic I must reply that believing all the Catholic Church believes, and seeking to occupy my life with no studies that do not help religion, I am, in spite of sins and errors, a true Catholic, and I protest that I have given you no foundation for your doubt. If you speak of the Council because you supposed that I have separated myself in any degree from the Bishops whose friendship I enjoyed at Rome, who opposed the Decrees during the discussion, but accept them now that it is over, you have entirely misapprehended my position. I have yielded obedience to the Apostolic Constitution which embodied these decrees, and I have not transgressed, and certainly do not consciously transgress obligations imposed under the supreme sanction of the Church. I do not believe that there is a word in my public or private letters that contradicts any doctrine of the Council, [!] but if there is, it is not my meaning and I wish to blot it out.[97]

Such an apology Acton rightly believed would convince Ullathorne of his sincerity and orthodoxy. But Acton also suspected correctly that it would be another matter to win Manning over. This state of affairs is hinted at in the letter Acton wrote to Gladstone in December 1874.

> I have brought my bishop to admit that I am quite in order as far as the Vatican Council goes, that I am not breaking the obligations of the Apostolic Constitution, or incurring any anathema; and I have tried to explain to him that my attack is directed elsewhere, and would, in fact, lose its real effect if I were to contradict the Vatican Decrees. I am not likely to succeed so well with Manning, who will probably think that the Council cannot practically be sustained if my course is allowed to be regular and will require

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96 Ibid., December 24, 1874, 9.

97 Leslie, op. cit., 233.

something more than a merely negative conformity.[98]

It was this fear of Manning's view as the one likely to prevail in the end that led Acton to conclude the letter with

> If I am excommunicated-- I should rather say when I am -- I shall not only be still more isolated, but all I say and do, by being in appearance at least, hostile, will lose all power of influencing the convictions of common Catholics.[99]

That Acton's estimate of Manning's reaction was correct can be gathered from the following note from Manning to Ullathorne on January 2, 1875:

> My correspondence with Lord Acton is not satisfactory. I did as you suggested with the Bishop. Then I had a conference here with four of my priests. We unanimously decided that the case ought to be sent to Rome, and I am now doing so.[100]

About this same time Acton wrote to Simpson his version of the precarious relations between Manning and himself.

> Manning in a letter which you will receive with my comments enclosing it, says he must leave the thing in the hands of the Pope, as everybody tells him I don't believe the Vatican Council. He means, it seems to me, that he simply asks Rome to excommunicate me -- a thing really almost without example, and incredible in the case of a man who has not attacked the Council, who declares that he has not, and the Council is his law, though private interpretations are not, whose Diocesan has, after inquiry, pronounced him exempt from all anathema.[101]

Whether the letter referred to is the one in which Manning admonishes Acton that he has given public scandal and therefore must make a public retraction,[102] is not quite clear, but the general import of the

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98 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 147.

99 Ibid., 147-148.

100 Leslie, op. cit., 232.

101 J. G. Snead-Cox, The Life of Cardinal Vaughan, 2: 296.

102 Gasquet, op. cit., 368.

letter seems to have been of that nature.

From London and then from Rome where he was made a Cardinal, Manning addressed three letters to Lord Acton which were never published.[103] But the general effect of them was to convince Acton that his excommunication was just a matter of time. Thus we find him fearing the worse when he writes to Lady Blennerhassett on April 13, 1875 as follows:

> It is simply at the choice of authorities, Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, or priest, when I am excommunicated. I cannot prevent, or even seriously postpone it, although Newman's conditions would make it possible, technically, to accept the whole of the decrees. But if they take further steps, it can only be with the object of pushing things to a crisis, and then they would take care so to prepare their tests that there would be no possible protection. It can only be a question of time.[104]

Just what sort of test Acton feared can only be conjectured. Possibly he believed that an "about-face" in regard to his views on persecution would be exacted. Since Acton was convinced that the Inquisition was THE evil linked with the Papacy, he would on principle feel forced to reject any submission that would entail an acceptance and approval of that institution.

That such a test would be alarming in the extreme to Acton is clear from the ideas he expressed on this topic in a letter of June 19, 1884:

> A man's opinion of the papacy is regulated and determined by his opinion about religious assassination. . . . If he honestly looks on it as an abomination, he can only accept the Primacy with a drawback, with precaution, suspicion, and aversion for its acts. If he accepts the Primacy with confidence, admiration, unconditional obedience, he must have made terms with murder. . . . [For] the Inquisition is peculiarly the weapon and peculiarly the work of the Popes. . . . It is the principal thing with which

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103 "The Late Lord Acton," Edin. Review, 527.

104 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 155.

the papacy is identified, and by which it must be judged.[105]

In another letter Acton repeats the same fear when he says of the Papal officers: They were not only wholesale assassins, but they made the principle of assassination a law of the Christian Church and a condition of salvation.[106]

Surely such writings testify to the vehemence of Acton's prejudices on this matter. As to the permanence of this sentiment, evidence is supplied from Acton's associates at Cambridge. They acknowledge that it was a common criticism of Acton's professorship that Acton had the "Inquisition on the brain."[107]

Neither the facts of history nor the opinions of friends could convince Acton of the error and injustice of his prejudice in this regard. Thus when Dr. Henry Jackson protested Acton's verdict against Borromeo and asked, "But must we not make some allowance for the morality of the time?" Acton replied, "I make no allowance for that sort of thing."[108]

Acton's correspondence with Creighton shows the same obdurate insistence on his own personal interpretation of the situation.[109] Acton writing to Creighton says:

> What is not at all a question of opportunity or degree is our difference about the Inquisition. . . . Whether Sixtus is infamous or not depends on our view of persecution and

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105 Paul, op. cit., 299. Cooch in his article, "Lord Acton, Apostle of Liberty" also speaks of this "bete noire on p. 641. David Mathew in Acton: His Formative Years also has a relevant citation on p. 178.

106 Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 54-55.

107 Thurston, "The Late Lord Acton," 369.

108 Paul, op. cit., 83.

109 Figgis and Laurence, Hist. of Freedom, xxxii.

> absolutism. Whether he is responsible or not depends simply on the ordinary evidence of history. Upon these two points we differ widely; still more widely with regard to the principle by which you undertake to judge men. . . . I cannot accept your canon that we are to judge Pope and King unlike other men, with a favored presumption that they did no wrong. If there is any presumption, it is the other way, against holders of power, increasing as the power increases.[110]

The reply of Creighton presents the more unbiased view of this particular matter, as can be noticed in the following excerpt:

> You judge the whole question of persecution more rigorously than I do. . . . Nowadays people are not agreed about what heresy is: they do not think it a menace to society, hence they do not ask for its punishment; but men who conscientiously thought heresy a crime may be accused of an intellectual mistake, but not necessarily of a moral crime.[111]

Not only Creighton, but also Lady Blennerhassett challenged Acton's over-emphasis on persecution. Writing to him after Dollinger's death, Lady Blennerhassett indicates the injustice of Acton's views as follows:

> Si, de ces yeux clairs et adoucis par l'expérience, il pouvait vous lire aujourd'hui, il vous dirait, cher Lord Acton, ce qu'il m'a dit tant de fois au sortir de ses discussions avec vous et en parlant de vous: 'Cet esprit si supérieur ne tient pas assez compte de la difference des temps et de l'influence des milieux. Il y a d'autres crimes que de tuer son prochain pour cause d'orthodoxie. Le mensonge, la luxure, toute la liste, sont tout aussi contraire à l'esprit de l'Evangile.'
>
> Nous ne pouvons pas Catherine de Medici nous méprendre sur le sens de ce même Evangile quant a la répartition des richesses, et dans notre société, qui se dit encore chrétienne, les gens meurent de faim à côté de nous. La société a ses exigences, comme la politique, et nos compromis sont singuliers.[112]

In addition to the limitations of Acton's reasoning that were noted by both Creighton and Lady Blennerhassett, it also seems apparent that

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110 Louise Creighton, ed., Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, 1: 371-372.

111 Ibid., 374-375.

112 E. L. Woodward, "The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century," Politica, 1939, 4: 262-263.

Acton ignored the possibility of invincible ignorance explaining papal actions of the past. While this theory is liable to abuse, still it should not be entirely overlooked as a possible explanation for the case in point.[113]

It must be admitted, as Figgis says, that Acton applied a too rigid rule to human affairs and assumed a knowledge beyond the ordinary person's capacity.[114] What is more, Acton's fear that the Inquisition would prove his stumbling block to submission was entirely unfounded.

While Manning had indeed left Acton with the impression of the imminency of excommunication, actually he had written to Ullathorne saying that "The less we deal with such matters the better. Even dust turns to dynamite" in this case.[115]

In the end, Manning accepted Acton's explanation and considered it as a satisfactory though vague statement of orthodoxy.[116] With Manning's capitulation, ecclesiastical opposition and pressure for Acton's excommunication died out; and Acton finished his life as a member of the Catholic Church in relative peace. As a matter of fact, in the later years of his life, Acton even received a little ecclesiastical "pat-on-the-back" from Cardinal Vaughan.

Not only did this Cardinal ask Acton as one of England's foremost Catholics to participate in the dedication ceremonies of Westminster

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113 H. C. Lea, "Ethical Values in History," American Historical Review, 1904, 9: 237.

114 Figgis and Laurence, Hist. of Freedom, xxxii.

115 Leslie, op. cit., 233.

116 J. H. F., "Review of Sel. Corr.," 425. Woodward, op. cit., 252.

Cathedral,[117] but he wrote the following laudatory letter to Acton on the occasion of his nomination as Regius Professor of Cambridge University (1895):

> My dear Lord Acton, -- I was proposing to myself a few days ago to write to congratulate you on your appointment to the Regius Professorship of History at Cambridge, but as usual here (Rome) a multiplicity of affairs delays the execution of good intentions. But this morning I have received an article from the Irish Catholic, which has simply infuriated me, and I wish to congratulate you on your appointment, and to say how I rejoice in your nomination to the distinguished post, and how confident I feel in your goodness and fidelity to the Church. I know and understand something of the awful trials you must have gone through in years past, and I cannot but thank God that you are what I believe you to be--- faithful and loyal to God and to His Church, though, perhaps, by your great learning and knowledge of the human in this same Church, tried beyond all other men. Pray accept, therefore, my affectionate congratulations and greetings, and be assured that you shall have a share in my poor prayers that you may unflinchingly do God's work during the career at Cambridge which is opening before you.
>
> Believe me to be
>
> Your faithful and devoted servant,
> Herbert Cardinal Vaughan[118]

Acton's reply to this gracious letter from Cardinal Vaughan reveals Acton's general reaction to the strife of his past life and also serves as a fitting close to this discussion of the Times controversy.

> Munich, April 30, 1895
>
> My dear Lord Cardinal,--
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> I was down with congestion of the lungs when I received from your Eminence the kindest and most touching letter that it has ever been my happy fortune to possess. If I were not afraid of being presumptuous, I

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117 Snead-Cox, op. cit., 300. Barry, op. cit., 24. Ethelred L. Tauton, "A Great Leader," Catholic World, 1906, 84: 356.

118 Ibid., 298-299.

would in reply assure you that you have judged me rightly as well as most graciously and I beg that you will believe in my sincere gratitude for all you say. I see that you have returned to England, and I hope that my thankful acknowledgments of your encouraging good wishes will reach you before you start on your historic expedition to Orleans. My Cambridge office is full of interest and promising opportunities; but the danger is that it is almost more a platform before the country than a "cathedra" with serious students under it.

I remain,
Your Eminence's most faithful and
obedient servant,
Acton [119]

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119 Ibid.

"Dismissing the Case"

It is time now to "take stock" of the evidence presented and render a verdict on the general character of Acton's relations with the Catholic Church. The detailed study of the three key events in which this relationship manifested itself has been completed. There remain, however, some other points that should be considered before arriving at the final judgment.

This is true, since as Barry points out, "It will always be impossible not to bring Acton's name and achievements to the front when we discuss the notables of Catholicism in England since the Emancipation."[1]

Figgis also insists on Acton's importance. He holds that "Acton's name may stand higher as that of one who really prepared for the future than that of many an empire-builder like Cecil Rhodes."[2]

Since it is generally recognized that Acton's life-work was, in fact, himself,[3] and his greatest influence is likely to be in the enduring example he provides,[4] something ought to be said about certain characteristics that have either been omitted or only touched lightly.

Undoubtedly one of the most forceful traits to be noted in Acton was his untiring, powerful intellect, his truly "high-voltage" mind.[5]

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1 William Barry, "Lord Acton: a Study," Dublin Review, 1918, 162: 2.

2 J. N. Figgis, Churches in the Modern State, 256.

3 Martin Burrell, Betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross, 76. Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas of History," Catholic Historical Review, 1941, 27: 182.

4 "Lord Acton," Athenaeum, June 28, 1902, 818.

5 James Bryce, "The Letters of Lord Acton," North American Review, 1904, 178: 710.

Almost extravagant testimony can be cited in this regard. Witness the following:

> It may be doubted whether any Englishman since Gibbon bore in his brain so rich and varied a freight of learning . . . and carried his massy treasure with such easy strength, or distributed it with a more disinterested generosity.[6]

Associates of Acton likewise testify to this same effect. Consider Professor Sedgwick's remark that "No matter how carefully you had mastered your special subject or period, Acton was certain to know more."[7]

The following tribute of a disciple of Acton also reenforces this general impression of Acton's amazing knowledge.

> When Lord Acton answers a question put to him, I feel as if I were looking at a pyramid. I see the point of it clear and sharp, but I see also the vast subjacent mass of solid knowledge.[8]

After hearing such estimates, it sounds almost belitting to hear Acton described as having one of the "richest of human minds."[9]

That such knowledge and intellect had its draw-backs Acton learned by personal experience. Might he not have been drawing a self-portrait as well as describing George Eliot when he wrote the following?

> She became impatient of minds that could not keep pace with her own, and learnt during a portion of her life to reckon prejudices, fallacious reasoning, and wilful blindness among the properties of orthodoxy.[10]

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6 A. Lyttelton, "Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," Nineteenth Century and After, 1906, 60: 113.

7 Burrell, op. cit., 71.

8 James Bryce, Studies in Contemporary Biography, 398.

9 John Pollock, "Lord Acton at Cambridge," Independent Review, 1904, 2: 363.

10 J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence, ed., Historical Essays and Studies, 278.

Mathew hints at another liability when he remarks that Acton could see, and appeared to have required that others also, should see all the premises and conclusions on a given subject.[11] Such a tendency only too easily gave Acton the air of a "self-satisfied pontiff of learning" that so many persons have noted and resented.[12]

By way of defence, Mathew points out that this impression of omniscience was typical of Victorian historical writers of this period; and Acton, by reason of his background simply developed a worse case of it than most.[13]

In the following quotation, the case of Doctor Dollinger is well described as an instance of scholarliness being rejected because of the too great discrepancy between the man and his contemporaries. It appears that Acton's name could be substituted, and the quotation would constitute a fairly accurate explanation of Acton's conduct as well as that of Dollinger's.

> Nor can it be doubted that in quiet times, and in the normal condition of the Papacy, a view such as that of Dr. Dollinger would have been readily acquiesced in, and that his argument would have been gladly accepted as one additional defensive weapon to be laid up in the storehouse of polemical theology as a reserve against possible future adversaries. But, in the actual conflict of party which then existed, to the wounded sympathies of the Catholic mind the very doubt in which this argument was founded and the possibility against which it was intended to provide, bore an appearance of weakness, if not of disloyalty; and by a not unnatural exaggeration of the language of the Lecture, Dr. Dollinger was represented as outraging the all but unanimous feeling of the Church, and

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11 David Mathew, Lord Acton: the Formative Years, 46.

12 "Lord Acton's Letters," Blackwood's Edinburgh Review, 1913, 193: 581.

13 Mathew, op. cit., 107, 122.

lending the weight of his name to her worst enemies.[14]

When Acton's intellectual prowess was developed along historical lines he became in truth "an eager explorer of the ideas that helped to govern the rise and fall of States and a scrupulous student of the march of fact, circumstance, and personalities in which such ideas worked themselves through."[15] In other words, Acton developed into a "master of his craft,"[16] to such an extent that he has been described in the following glowing terms:

> In modern history he was supreme; in general ecclesiastical history he had hardly a rival . . . in metaphysics he was widely read; in theology he could have occupied a doctor's chair.[17]

Probably even more interesting than this general agreement as to Acton's tremendous grasp of historical matters is the following testimony of his ability to convey a like enthusiasm about his subject to others.

> [Acton] spoke like a man inspired, seeming as if, from some mountain summit high in air, he saw beneath him the far winding path of human progress from dim Cimmerian shores of prehistoric shadow into the fuller yet broken and fitful light of the modern times. The eloquence was splendid, but greater than the eloquence was the penetrating vision which discerned through all events and in all ages the play of those moral forces, now creating, now destroying, always transmuting, which had moulded and remoulded institutions, and had given to the human spirit its ceaselessly-changing

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14 "Reviews of The Church and the Churches; or the Papacy and the Temporal Power by Dr. Dollinger, tr., by W. B. MacCabe," Dublin Review, 1863, 52: 473.

15 John Morley, Recollections, 1: 230.

16 Pollock, op. cit., 361-362.

17 "Review of Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," Catholic World, 1904, 79: 835.

forms of energy. It was as if the whole landscape of history had been suddenly lit up by a burst of sunlight.[18]

The following words of Acton provides us with a valuable clue as to the evaluation of his own character.

> It [History] is a most powerful ingredient in the formation of character and the training of talent, and our historical judgments have as much to do with hopes for heaven as public or private conduct.[19]

It was one of his "historical judgments" that involved Acton in much controversy. His "almost fanatical worship for the abstract idea of 'liberty'"[20] was responsible for much of the hostility Acton inspired.

Accordingly then we shall introduce at this time a brief summary of Acton's ideas on liberty. Acton named the following six conditions as essential for the insuring of liberty:

(1) that the government be constitutionally checked and controlled,
(2) that there be widespread participation in general government,
(3) that there be a definite division of power,
(4) that there be private property,
(5) that there be no pressure from without,
(6) that there be present different nationalities.[21]

Even more pertinent to our consideration is the following list of what Acton terms the enemies of liberty.

(1) confusion regarding the true nature of Liberty,
(2) excessive respect for law,
(3) political quietism of the early Christians,
(4) failure of sixteenth century to carry on political work of the Middle Ages.[22]

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18 Bryce, Studies, 396-397.

19 "Inaugural Lecture," Lectures on Modern History, edited by Figgis and Laurence, 8.

20 "Lord Acton and the Rambler," Dublin Review, 1907, 140: 2.

21 Frank E. Lally, "Liberty and Lord Acton," Commonweal, 1934, 19: 603.

22 Ibid., 575.

Such views on liberty prepare one for Acton's historical judgment on the Papacy. Creighton reports this judgment to Lea as follows: "His [Acton's] view of the decline of the Papacy is that it became untrue to its chief duty when it became antagonistic to liberty."[23]

It is the result of such a historical "mis-judgment," even more than the error itself, that concerns us here. Acton saw as the problem of his time the necessity of reconciling the practical ethics of unbelief and of belief, of saving virtue and happiness when dogmas and authorities were in the process of decay.[24] This is probably what led Figgis to interpret Acton as follows: "Acton's whole tendency was individualistic, and his inner respect for mere authority apart from knowledge and judgment was doubtless small."[25]

While there is some truth to such a judgment, one must also keep in mind the fact that Acton adhered faithfully to the principle of provoking no direct conflict with authority,[26] and maintained throughout his stormy career a respectful attitude toward authority.[27]

Barry argues that Acton lost true perspective of events, because he left out "the historic variable which we call Time."[28] Such an explanation accounts also for Acton's extreme severity in moral judgments - a point of criticism frequently cited against Acton.[29]

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23 Louise Creighton, ed., Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, 1: 377-378.

24 "George Eliot's Life," 283.

25 Figgis and Laurence, History of Freedom, xxviii.

26 Herbert Thurston, "The Late Lord Acton," Catholic World, 1906, 84: 362.

27 Ibid., 359.

28 Barry, op. cit., 3.

29 Mathew, op. cit., 4. Herbert Butterfield, The Whig Interpretation of History, 116.

Even though such allowance be made, it is still true, as the writer for the Catholic World remarks, that "In expression indignation against individuals or associations in the church, his tone is often regrettable, from the point of view of intellectual honesty no less than from that of religious propriety. . . . He was hardly capable of judging fairly the actions and policies of the popes."[30]

Brinton too notes that "However much he may seek for objectivity of judgment . . . we cannot but feel that in the end he is interpreting things in terms of his own personality."[31] It was true, as Barry points out, that "The very language he fell into when certain topics were broached gave proof by its extraordinary violence of the passion which was upsetting the scales of his judgment."[32]

Another factor that must be kept in mind when judging Acton is his slight tendency toward a persecution complex.[33] Such a thought was probably in Engel-Janosi's mind when he suggested the following note of Acton might well be considered a self-portrait. This person was "on his guard against every tradition . . . following his own conscience into isolation."[34]

This same note is obvious in the letter Acton wrote to Dollinger about 1880:

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30 "Review of Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," Catholic World, 1904, 79: 836.

31 Crane Brinton, "Lord Acton's Philosophy of History," Harvard Theological Review, 1919, 12: 89.

32 Barry, op. cit., 13.

33 Mathew, op. cit., 122.

34 Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas of History," 177.

> One important handicap is my inferiority complex which threatens to become worse. I found during all these years many problems in which you opposed me, so that I asked myself whether or not there could be a fault in my manner of thinking, that I overlook important facts which are necessary to judge history aright. He who judges my records from a national or confessional viewpoint will not be pleased with them. Even you, though you differ in this point from the rest, are continually finding fault either with the method or the result.[35]

A letter written to Creighton on April 16, 1887 reveals this same feeling of insecurity. Acton remarks: "If I tried to work out in detail and to justify my theory of history, I should lose all my friends, so that I am linked to the penumbra."[36]

Possibly it was such circumstances that led Gwynn to remark that Lord Acton's career possessed the elements of a Greek tragedy.[37] Indeed there is much truth to such an estimate. It is easy enough to call Acton hyper-sensitive; still what Butler said of Newman might to a certain extent be applied to Acton too.

> It has become the fashion,[Butler remarks,] to speak of Newman as hypersensitive, a 'souffre-doleur.' But when count is taken of the nature of the persistent campaign carried on against him in England and in Rome by Ward, Talbot, Coffin, Herbert Vaughan, and with Manning's assent; how such charges as unorthodoxy, unsoundness, disloyalty, worldliness, lowness of view, evil influence, Gallicanism were freely levelled against him during a period of ten years and more; and further when it is remembered that he knew quite well all the time all that was being spoken and whispered against him, so that he felt the cloud he was under: when all this is taken into consideration, it will be recognized that to possess his soul in peace, and not to mind, he must needs have been not merely uncommonly thick-skinned, but even rhinoceros-hided.[38]

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35 E.L. Woodward, "The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century," Politica, 1939, 4: 260.

36 Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "The Correspondence between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton," Cambridge Historical Journal, 1940, 6: 308.

37 Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., "Lord Acton and the Popish Plot," Studies, 1944, 33: 457.

38 Cuthbert Butler, The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne 1806-1889, 2: 312.

There is much truth to Mathew's observation that much of the sharpness of dispute in Acton can be traced to the general tenor of Victorian scholarship and Acton's absence of social contact with his disputants.[39] But even Acton himself insists that "since our opinions are notoriously influenced in a high degree by our passions and our character, it follows that we are morally responsible for our opinions also."[40]

It is for such reasons that even though one makes all the allowances possible, still one must come to the conclusion that Acton is definitely not a trustworthy guide in ecclesiastical history because of his prejudices. According to the qualifications laid down for historical critics, Acton would be disqualified. In the review of The Reformation: Its Interior Development and Its Effects by J. Dollinger, the rules for historical criticism are given as follows:

> One of the fundamental principles of the philosophy of history . . . is, to consider whether the evidence advanced in favor of any disputable statement, be the evidence of a friend or of an enemy; and to regard with suspicion, if not with absolute unbelief, the testimony of a writer who shall be proved to be a partisan on the matter upon which his testimony is produced.[41]

For such reasons then, as well as the "frank recognition of the fact that there are limited to what history and the historian can do,"[42] one must acknowledge the unreliability of Acton the historian as regards his evaluation of Church history.

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39 Op. cit., 111-112.

40 "On Mill," Rambler, 1860, 2: 379.

41 Dublin Review, 1848, 25: 204.

42 Butterfield, op. cit., 117.

Indeed Barry has put the matter well when he insists that "Individuals can never be supreme in the Church. . . . [For] the professor's chair is one thing, the Chair of Peter is another, and rests on a different foundation."[43]

Such a verdict seems well substantiated in the "confession" letter Acton wrote to Lady Blennerhassett, February 1879 wherein he says:

> [My life] is the story of man who started in life believing himself a sincere Catholic and a sincere liberal; who therefore renounced everything in Catholicism which was not compatible with Liberty, and everything in Politics which was not compatible with Catholicity.[44]

As Acton continues his self-analysis he provides us with the following revealing estimate:

> To speak quite plainly, as this is a confession, not an apology, I carried farther than others the Doctrinaire belief in mere Liberalism, identifying it altogether with morality, and holding the ethical standard and purpose to be supreme and sovereign.
>
> Therefore I was among those who think less of what is than of what ought to be, who sacrifice the real to the ideal, interest to duty, authority to morality.[45]

This last sentence certainly sums up Acton's stand on many controversial matters. Because Acton so often thought less of what was than of what ought to be, he often failed conspicuously in the tact and ability requisite for the various roles he assumed in public controversies.[46]

In his antagonism to Hildebrandine Infallibility and Temporal Power, Acton was upholding the "ideal" of papal authority of a spiritual nature

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43 Op. cit., 4-5.

44 J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence, Selected Correspondence, 54.

45 Ibid.

46 Barry, op. cit., 14. Creighton, op. cit., 1: 342.

in contrast to the "reality" of a papal authority of a chiefly temporal nature.

His treatment of border-line problems during his journalistic career was dictated by Acton's concept of his duty to present such matters to the public, even if certain religious and political interests were to suffer thereby.

Many of Acton's conflicts with authority were caused by his peculiar notions on the Inquisition and such moral matters in which cases Acton felt bound to sacrifice authority to morality.

This valuable self-portrait by Acton might well be supplemented by an analysis of the poem, the "Grammarian," by Browning. A similarity between the leading character of that poem and Acton has been suggested several times.[47] Algernon explains the justice of the comparison as follows:

> Acton, in truth, seems like the "Grammarian" in Browning's poem, defiant of time, circumstances, occasion, with which things no prudent man may trifle.[48]

Not only the burden of the whole poem bears out the appropriateness of the suggested comparison, but also several parts provide interesting grounds for judgment. For example, the following lines describe Acton very well as far as his prodigious learning is concerned:

> This man decided not to Live but Know. (Line 39) [49]
>
> Did he not magnify the mind, show clear
> Just what it all meant? (Lines 105-106)

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[47] "Lord Acton," Athenaeum, June 28, 1902, 818. Cecil Algernon, "Two Distinguished Gladstonians," Quarterly Review, 1918, 229: 206.

[48] Ibid.

[49] George Herbert Clarke, ed., Selected Poems of Robert Browning, 136 ff. All lines cited are from this source.

Acton's over-idealistic pursuit of learning induced him to assume the scornful attitude toward the practical, work-a-day matters of life as the following lines intimate:

> On such a life as he resolved to live,
> When he had learned it,
> When he had gathered all books had to give [9]
> Sooner he spurned it. (Lines 65-68)

The following description of the Grammarian likewise serves as a good summary of Acton's life.

> He ventured neck or nothing-- heaven's success
> Found, or earth's failure: . . .
> That low man seeks a little thing to do,
> Sees it and does it:
> This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
> Dies ere he knows it. (Lines 109-110; 113-116)

As we now conclude our analysis of "this high man," Acton, we believe, that even the "advocatus diaboli" would be compelled to recognize the lofty ideal which Acton pursued. It is also our conviction that even a "vice-postulator" would have to acknowledge the indiscretion Acton often showed.

The evidence seems to indicate that Acton deserves general absolution from heretical charges and even a measure of real admiration; but it is hardly likely that he will ever be canonized as a representative Catholic scholar.

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_____ *History of Freedom and Other Essays*. Ed. by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence. London, 1907.

Like the *Historical Essays and Studies* this volume consists of selections from Acton's writings. Several of the seventeen essays included in this volume are analyzed in the Glossary.

_____ *Lectures on Modern History*. Ed. by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence. London, 1906.

Volume includes the *Inaugural Lecture on the Study of History* and nineteen other lectures on the topics of Modern History that constituted the basis of his lectures from 1899-1900, 1900-1901.

_____ *Lectures on the French Revolution*. Ed. by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence. London, 1910.

Twenty-two lectures given by Acton during the terms: 1895-1896, 1896-1897, 1897-1898, 1898-1899. Of them, David Mathew in his *Acton: the Formative Years* remarks: "Acton's attitude towards French history has a great interest, for it would in time be widely endorsed by his English contemporaries and disciples. In the first place, it would seem to have been based on a great knowledge and appreciation of books but not a great sympathy for men." (p. 102)

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References to Acton's works reveal the power of these writings to overcome initial repugnance that Bennett first experienced in reading them.

Creighton, Louise, ed. *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*. London, 1904, 2 vols.

The material which this book provides in the form of correspondence throws much light on Acton's bias against the Papacy and religious persecution.

Figgis, F. N., and R. V. Laurence, eds. Selections from the Correspondence of the first Lord Acton. London, 1917. Vol. I.

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Butler says of this work that it was inadequate to meet the massive

and circumstantial writings on the other side. Thus its chief value is in its presentation of Manning's views.

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Diaries provide some interesting human interest items regarding Acton's relations with the Gladstones, but not of any real significance.

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Paul, Herbert, ed. Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone. London, 1904.

Introductory memoir useful as well as the letters included in the volume. Chronologically arranged, the letters cover the span from 1879 to 1886. Create a very definite impression of Acton's dangerous way of expressing himself on matters of religious import.

Quirinus. (I. J. von Dollinger.) Letters from Rome on the Council. London, 1870.

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In this personal reminiscence of a contemporary of both Acton and Dollinger there are some human-interest points brought to light on the relations between the master and pupil not found elsewhere. Also of interest is Dollinger's reaction to Papal Infallibility and his excommunication.

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Acton, Lord John E. "American Diaries," Fortn. R., 116(1921), 727-742; 917-934. 117(1922), 63-83.

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_____ "Medieval Fables of the Popes," H & F Review, No. VI (October 1863), 610-637.

This highly laudatory review of Dollinger's work on this topic shows Acton as a critic of those Catholics who swallow "legends" about the Popes without investigation; yet he seems equally gullible in swallowing Dollinger's documentary interpretation.

_____ "Mill - On Liberty," Rambler, 2 (New Series 1859-1860), 62-75; 376-385.

Providing as it does one of the first published expressions of Acton's views on liberty, this review is very valuable. Paul said of it: "For a Catholic organ, however, the treatment of Mill is, if not sympathetic, at least appreciative and respectful." (Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone, 31.)

_____ "The Pope and the Council," North Br. R., 101(1869), 127-135.

This review of Janus's work, The Pope and the Council, reveals Acton's misconception of the likely results of Papal Infallibility. Also obvious are his misinterpretations of finer distinctions that sometimes must be made in regard to such historical problems as the role of the Fathers in the interpretation of Scripture.

_____ "Review of Creighton's History of Papacy. Vols. I, II" Academy, XXII(1882), 407-409.

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This review of the work of one of Acton's favorites is not only

interesting but also revealing, especially in the places where Acton gives his views on 'debunking' in history.

_____ "Reviews: three books on the Popes," H & F Review, No. 5 (July 1863), 284-285; 285-287; 287-289.

While these reviews are good illustrations of Acton's astounding knowledge and acquaintance with primary and unpublished materials, the reviews in themselves add no significant notion either to the topic being discussed or Acton's attitude toward it.

_____ "Review of H. E. Manning: Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects," H & F Review, No. 7(Jan. 1864), 310-312.

In view of the relations existing between Acton and Manning, this review is interesting, especially since it so clearly shows Acton's unhappy talent for saying something true but in such a barbed way as to invite resentment.

_____ "Review of P. LePage Renouf: The Case of Pope Honorius," North Br. R., 51(1870), 525-562.

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"Lord Acton's First Lecture," Spectator, 74(1895), 814-815.

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"New Regius Professor," Times, February 19, 1895.

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North British Review, October 1869, January 1870, April 1870, July 1870, October 1870, January 1871, passim.

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"Our Library Table," Athenaeum, 104(1896), 85.

Another contemporary reaction to Acton's Inaugural Lecture. Calls Acton's apparatus of notes accompanying the lecture a full page of "minute errata."

"Review of A Lecture on the Study of History," Nation, 62(1896), 39.

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_____ History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century. 2nd ed. New York, 1913.

Contains excellent summaries of the chief of Acton's published works. As a former pupil, Gooch is inclined to be prejudiced in Acton's favor.

_____ Studies in Modern History. London and New York, 1931.

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Janus. (I. J. von Dollinger) The Pope and the Council. Boston, 1870.

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Mathew, David. Acton, the Formative Years. London, 1946.

A "Must" book for any study of Acton. Although Mathew covers only the first thirty years of Acton's life, he certainly provides the key to the true appreciation and evaluation of Acton's later life and works.

Morley, John. The Life of William Ewart Gladstone. New ed. 3 vols. in one. New York, 1921.

Scattered references to Acton add some details to the story of Acton's relations with Gladstone. Particularly interesting are the letters that reveal Acton's advance knowledge of the publication of the pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees by Gladstone. In correspondence about Robert Elsmere, Acton also reveals some new facets of his ideas on Liberalism.

Olf, Lillian Browne. Their Name is Pius - Portraits of Five Great Modern Popes. (Science and Culture Series.) Milwaukee, 1941.

Popular treatment, reasonably well-authenticated. Worthwhile in its general presentation of the reign of Pius IX. Does not mention Acton.

Pallen, Conde B. What is Liberalism. Englished and Adapted from the Spanish of Dr. Don Felix Sara y Salvany. St. Louis, 1899.

Polemical work that has definite traces of the charged atmosphere of the times.

Parsons, Reuben. Some Lies and Errors of History. 4th ed. Notre Dame, Indiana, 1893.

Popular treatment of the subjects discussed. One of these that concerns Acton is the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. In this work, Parsons deflates Acton's charges against the Popes in regard to this event.

_____ Studies in Church History. 6th ed. Vol. VI. New York and Cincinnati, 1901.

Surprising credulity is shown in Parsons' use of a source that places Dollinger's defection exclusively on the shoulders of Acton.

Paul, Herbert Woodfield. The Life of William Ewart Gladstone. London, 1901.

Only one reference to Acton. This work provides further evidence of Paul's inability to appreciate the possibilities of various interpretations of the decree of Infallibility, other than the extreme view upheld by the Ultramontanes.

Phillips, C. S. The Church in France 1848-1907. (Published for the Church Historical Society.) London, 1936.

Several sections help in understanding Acton's appraisals of certain affairs and personages of his time.

Purcell, Edmund Sheridan. Life of Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster. New York, 1895. 2 vols.

Scattered references to Acton bear out the antipathy that existed between the two. It has been said of this book that in it Purcell performed an 'execution' in the fullest sense of the word. It is therefore interesting to know that Acton, despite his dislike for Manning told Gladstone that Purcell was a 'shifty, untrustworthy individual' when the Prime Minister had asked Acton's opinion of the biography of Manning. (Maud Lyttelton, "Mr. Gladstone's Friendship with Lord Acton," Lippincott's Magazine, 1904, 74: 612.)

Shaw, W. A. A Bibliography of the Historical Works of Dr. Creighton, Dr. Stubbs, and the late Lord Acton. (Ed. for Royal Historical Society.) London, 1903, pp. 41-63.

Systematized line-up of Acton's works. Useful in finding out his authorship for many of the unsigned contributions to the Rambler, Home and Foreign Review," "Chronicle" and North British Review.

Shorter, Clement King. Immortal Memories. New York, 1907.

Lists the books suggested by Acton and then follows it up with his

own list of the hundred best books. The original comments of Acton, excepting the purpose of the list, are omitted in this account.

Snead-Cox, J. G. The Life of Cardinal Vaughan. Vol. II. London, 1910.

The relations between Vaughan and Acton are given briefly in this account. The letters exchanged on the occasion of Acton's appointment to the Regius Professorship are worthy of note.

Thompson, James W. A History of Historical Writing. Vol. II. New York, 1942.

Cites Acton frequently in this second volume. Evidently entertains a high opinion of him.

_____ The Wars of Religion in France: 1559-1576. Chicago, 1909.

Useful in providing modern opinion on this "bug-bear" of Acton, and thereby revealing the unreliability of his pronouncements on this topic.

Thurston, Herbert, S.J. No Popery - Chapters on Anti-Papal Prejudice. London, 1930.

Only two passing remarks worthy of note, but still worthwhile because of the very fact that inclusion in such a work of anti-Papal sentiment indicates the impression Acton left on Father Thurston, the writer of Acton's sketch in the Catholic Encyclopedia.

Ward, Maisie. The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition. Vol. II: Insurrection versus Resurrection. New York, 1937.

Interesting appraisal of the nineteenth and early twentieth century by one intimately connected with the leaders in the Catholic development of the England of that time. Some mention is made of Acton, indicating his role of opponent to W. G. Ward.

Ward, Mrs. Humphrey. A Writer's Recollections. Vol. I. New York, 1918.

Few references to personal contacts with Acton. Tells of Acton's advice on how to see Rome and also makes the comparison of Msgr. Duchesne to Lord Acton.

Ward, Wilfrid. The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman Based on His Private Journals and Correspondence. London, 1912. 2 vols.

There are many references made to the relations between Acton and Newman that throw much valuable light on this topics.

_____ The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman. 3rd ed. Vol. II. London, 1898.

In a chapter entitled "Converts and Old Catholics," there is much material that helps to understand more clearly Wiseman's role in the suppression of the Rambler.

_____ Ten Personal Studies: A. J. Balfour, J. T. Delane, R. H. Hutton, Sir J. Knowles, Henry Sidgwick, Lord Lytton, Father I. Ryder, Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, Leo XIII, Cardinal Wiseman, John Henry Newman, Cardinals Newman and Manning. London, 1908.

These pen-pictures of Acton's contemporaries are worthwhile in clearing up the many questions that arise in one's mind about the character and personality of the individuals that figure in Acton's career.

Magazine Articles

Algernon, Cecil. "Two Distinguished Gladstonians," Quarterly Review, 229(1918), 205-221.

This review of Selections from the Correspondence of Lord Acton and Recollections by Morley provides Algernon with the chance to refute some mistaken notions that Figgis and Laurence held regarding Acton and his stand on Infallibility.

Auchmuty, James J. "Acton's Election as an Irish Member of Parliament," Engl. Hist. R., 61(1946), 394-405.

Provides detailed information about Acton's political career.

Barry, Canon William. "Lord Acton: a Study," Dublin R., 162(1918), 1-24.

Using as his starting point a review of the Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton, Barry proceeds to a very thorough study of Acton as revealed in his other works also. The article gives excellent pointers about Acton's relations with the Church.

_____ "Lord Acton's French Revolution," Bookman, 39(1911), 230-232.

As noted above, Barry's remarks are useful in arriving at a true judgment of Acton. A good suggestion is made regarding the reading of these lectures-- that one read them with Carlyle's work at hand.

Birrell, Augustine. "Lord Acton's Letters," Contemp. 85(1904), 473-479.

The highly laudatory tone of this review can be gleaned from its closing line where Birrell suggests that "There might well be some solemn household rite to celebrate the placing of such a book in the library."

Blennerhassett, W. L. "Acton, 1834-1902," Dublin R., 194(1934), 169-188.

A considered judgment on Acton, even though somewhat laudatory in

parts. Throws some light on the delicate question of Acton's supposed excommunication.

Brinton, Crane. "Lord Acton's Philosophy of History," Harv. Theol. R., 12(1919), 84-112.

The title is indicative of the content, which is useful in studying Acton from that very important angle.

Bryce, James. "The Late Lord Acton," Nation, 75(1902), 28-30.

Interesting, personal tribute of a friend at the death of Acton.

_____ "The Letters of Lord Acton," No. Amer. R., 178(1904), 698-710.

Bryce's personal contact makes the comments and asides that he makes when reviewing Acton's letters to Mary Gladstone, interesting and useful in understanding the personality of Acton.

Coulton, G. G. "Mistaken Ascription to Acton?" Eng. Hist. R., 46(1931), 460.

Claims Simpson wrote "Protestant Theory of Persecution."

Davies, W. Watkin. "Politics of Lord Acton," Hibbert J., 45(1946), 21-30.

An interesting analysis of the topic indicated by title.

"Divided Allegiance," Sat. Review, 38(1874), 693-695.

Commentary on Times controversy which conveys the confusion caused among non-Catholics by the Catholic reaction to Gladstone's pamphlet.

"Dollinger and the Papacy," Quarterly R., 172(1891), 33-64.

Good general sketch of Dollinger's relations. Distinction made between Dollinger and Newman interesting.

Drew, Mary. "Acton and Gladstone," Constructive Q., 6 (1918), 226-245.

This article is also included in a book, Acton, Gladstone and Others, and provides worthwhile testimony from a close friend of Acton. It is, of course, sympathetic as is to be expected from the intimate relations that existed between Mary Drew and Lord Acton.

Elms, D. E. "Liberty and Lord Acton," Commonweal, 20 (1934), 247-248.

This letter written to the editor in praise of Lally's articles on Acton is interesting as a contemporary reaction to Acton.

Engel-Janosi, Friedrich(Frederic). "The Correspondence between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton," Camb. Hist. J., VI (1940), 307-322.

This paper which highlights the new information unearthed in the

letters recently added to the Cambridge University Library is done in a scholarly manner and presents much worthwhile information about Acton from this new source.

_____ "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas of History," Cath. Hist. R., 27 (1941), 166-185.

This paper read at the twenty-first meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association on December 27, 1940 provides a truly scholarly estimate of Acton. It is well documented and makes frequent reference to MSS notes and other material not available to the ordinary research student doing work on Acton.

_____ "Some Notes on Lord Acton Suggested by a Recent Book," (As Lord Acton Says), Cath. Hist. R., 29 (1943), 357-361.

An annotated analysis of Lally's work. In addition, Engel-Janosi increases one's knowledge of Acton by his frequent citation of unpublished matter. He questions Acton's rigid accuracy.

Finley, John. "Letters and Life - Review of Lord Acton's Letters to Mary Gladstone," Lamp, 29 (1904), 53-56.

No particular value, outside the ordinary use of a review.

F., J. H. "Review of Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton," America, 18 (1918), 425.

Ford, G. S. "Review of Lectures on Modern History," Amer. Hist. R., XII 1907, 621-632.

From this vantage point of university professor of history, Ford judges Acton's Lectures on Modern History. In general he steers a middle course between excessive praise and downright condemnation.

Fisher, Herbert A. L. "Acton's Historical Work," Quarterly Review, CCXV (1911), 166-190.

Nothing unusual, but good general analysis.

Gardiner, Samuel R. "Review of Acton's Lecture on the Study of History," Engl. Hist. R., XI (1896), 121-123.

Ordinary.

Gladstone, W. E. "Ritualism and Ritual," Contemp., XXIV (1874), 674.

Article contains the germ of the later pamphlet of Gladstone against the Vatican Decrees.

Gooch, G. P. "Lord Acton: Apostle of Liberty," Foreign Affairs, 25 (1947), 629-642.

Interesting article on Acton's favorite topic. Enthusiasm of this former pupil of Acton is still obvious.

Grant-Duff, M. E. "The Late Lord Acton," Spectator, 89 (1902), 12-13.

Letter to editor giving Grant-Duff's personal reactions to acquaintance with Acton. He mentions that Acton's explanation for the booklist of the hundred books he listed was worthy of being placed on his monument.

_____ "Lord Acton's Letters," 19th Cent., 55 (1904), 765-775.

As an intimate of Acton, Grant-Duff's testimony to the indiscretion of publishing certain of the letters included in Mary Gladstone's collection is well worth noting and keeping in mind when reading these letters.

Gwynn, Aubrey, S. J. "Lord Acton and the Popish Plot," Studies, 33 (1944), 451-464.

This analysis of Pollock's works on the Popish Plot suggests that his inaccurate treatment is the result of Acton's prejudices on this score.

Hammond, J. L. "Lord Acton's Liberalism," Indep. R., 2 (1904), 651-656.

Really a commentary on Letters to Mary Gladstone, with only a few remarks about Liberalism as revealed in these letters.

"The Late Lord Acton," Edin. R., 197 (1903), 501-534.

Keen analysis of Acton based on a detailed discussion of some of his contributions to periodicals, the Sendschreiben, Letters to the Times, five Lectures, and Private Correspondence. Includes some very unusual personal data also.

"The Letters of an English Liberal," Sewanee R., 13 (1905), 112-115.

Simple review of Mary Gladstone's Letters.

"Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," Athenaeum, (1904), 487-488.

Very laudatory in tone, little evidence of critical evaluation of Acton's ideas.

Lally, F. E. "Liberty and Lord Acton," Commonweal, 19 (1934), 573-575; 602-604.

Presents in brief space the main ideas of Acton on the subject but in a very light and popular manner.

_____ "Literary Notes on Lord Acton," Commonweal, 27 (1937), 93-96.

Interesting consideration of Acton's style. Good summary of the varying views on it.

Lea, H. C. "Ethical Values in History," Amer. Hist. R., IX (1904) 233-246.

Presidential Address to American Historical Society on December 29, 1903 in which Lea develops his difference of opinion from Acton on morality in history. Interesting in its revelation of the extent of Acton's ideas influencing others.

_____ "Review of Lecture on the Study of History," Amer. Hist. R., I (1896), 517-518.

A very brief article in which Lea challenges Acton chiefly on the grounds of the possibility of absolute impartiality.

Lilly, W. S. "Lectures on the French Revolution, review," Dublin R., 148 (1911), 213-229.

Good analysis of the Lectures.

_____ "The New Spirit in History," 19th Cent., 38 (1895), 619-633.

Using Lord Acton's appointment as a "jumping-off" place, Lilly launches into an elaboration of the high hopes he holds for a new concept of history like unto that of Acton's for getting a real foothold in universities.

Lyttelton, A. "Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," 19th Cent., 60 (1906), 107-113.

General information only.

Lyttelton, Maua. "Mr. Gladstone's Friendship with Lord Acton," Lipp. Mag., 74 (1904), 610-616.

A few incidents are included in this general story that throw new light on some facets of Acton's dealings with Gladstone.

"Lord Acton," Athenaeum, (June 28, 1902), 817-818.

Usual editorial to be expected on the occasion of the death of a celebrity.

"Lord Acton and the Rambler," Dublin R., 140 (1907), 1-19.

Review of Gasquet's Lord Acton and His Circle and Wilfrid Ward's W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival. As such it brings out related points to show just what the scene was like when these two men waged their respective journalistic crusades.

"Lord Acton on Trial," Sat. Review, 79 (1895), 821-822.

Gives evidence of contemporary reaction to Acton's appointment as Regius Professor at Cambridge.

"Lord Acton's Correspondence," Month, 130 (1917), 568-571.

More of a discussion of Acton's attitude toward the Papacy than a review of the book. Poses two problems on Acton's ideas on Papacy, shows how Acton could hold such ideas along with his pledged allegiance as a Catholic and intimates how Acton got that way.

"Lord Acton's Lectures on Modern History - Review," Edin. R., 205 (1907) 273-298.

Highly critical analysis of these Lectures. Keen analysis of Acton's weaknesses as well as well-substantiated criticism of several facets of these Lectures.

"Lord Acton's Letters - Review," Blackwood's Edin. R., 193 (1913), 576-582.

Extremely adverse criticism of Acton. Unjust, even while interesting as presenting the opposition side. Such remarks as the following indicate the tone of the article. "He [Acton] ate up books as an ogre eats up babies." He had a "dog-like devotion" for Gladstone, etc."

"Lord Acton's Letters," Indep. 57 (1904), 39-40.

Definitely pro-Acton. Many instances of insufficient knowledge of true Catholic teaching on certain points.

"Lord Acton's Letters," Spectator, 93 (1904), 428-429.

Definitely Protestant attitude evident in remarks made about Acton's relations with the Catholic Church. Also considers many of the letters as being indiscreetly published.

MacCaffrey, James. "Lord Acton's Lectures on Modern History," Irish Eccl. Rec., XXI (1907), 500-510.

Caustic analysis of this work. Many of the faults pointed out are true but no extenuating explanations accompany them to present the complete picture. Much of the criticism is truer far of the poor editorial job than the Lectures themselves.

MacColl, Malcolm. "Lord Acton's Letters to Mary Gladstone - Review," Fortn. R., 81 (1904), 996-1010.

Contains some interesting analyses of certain phases of Acton's thought. Cites some remarks of Acton not found elsewhere.

McGlynn, Edward. "The Bugbear of Vaticanism," Amer. Cath. Q., 1 (1876) 73-100.

Review of Gladstone's Vatican Decrees and Their Bearing on Civil Allegiance that uncovers the misinterpretations of Gladstone in regard to Infallibility, thereby helping in an understanding of Acton's mistaken notions on the same topic.

Mannhardt, F. X. "Authors and Their Authority," Hist. Bul., 11 (1933) 56-57

One of a series of articles which provides appraisals of authors whose authority one should check on. Points out that G. P. Gooch's estimate of Acton is not to be relied on in view of his definite pro-Acton prejudice.

Marshall, Arthur F. "Dr. Dollinger and the 'Old Catholics,'" Amer. Cath. Q., XV (1890), 267-284.

In its analysis of Dollinger's position in regard to the "Old Catholics," the article provide a good background for appreciating Acton's views on this matter.

Merrick, Whitcomb. "Review of the Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I: The Renaissance," Amer. Hist. R., IX (1903), 142-147.

Very general analysis of book in question. No value for topic.

Meynell, Wilfrid. "A Man of Letters," Liv. Age, 241 (1904), 378-379.

Brief but interesting analysis of Paul's Letters to Mary Gladstone. Mentions an incident about a certain Mr. Bond being rejected for an office on the sole ground of his being Roman Catholic. The fact is that he was an Episcopalian, but because Acton had suggested him as a candidate, he was presumed to be a Catholic.

Mooney, John A. "The Popes of the Renaissance and their Latest Historian," Amer. Cath. Q., XIV (1889), 410-434.

This review of Pastor's work includes as worthy of attention Acton's estimates. Mooney also accepts Acton's evaluation of Creighton's work on the Papacy.

Mortimer, R., "Acton's Life from His Birth to the Year 1862; Review of Acton, the Formative Years by D. Mathew," New Statesm. & Nation, 31 (1946), 213.

Brief review of Mathew's work; indicates the generally accepted opinion of the real worth of Mathew's work.

Moulton, W. Fiddian. "Review of the Lectures on the French Revolution," Lond. Quarterly R., 115 (1911), 269-279.

Mediocre analysis.

"Musings without Method," Blackwood's, 175 (1904), 577-582.

Considers the dangers of indiscriminate reading and offers this as one of the several reasons for Acton's literary sterility.

Parsons, Reuben. "Dupanloup," Cath. Reading Circle R., X (1897), 211-239.

Provides an over-all picture of Dupanloup, but gives no really significantly new ideas.

Pollock, John. "Lord Acton at Cambridge," Indep. R., 2 (1904), 360-378.

Highly laudatory remarks made by a former student of Acton. Furnishes practical evidence of the influence Acton exerted on his pupils.

Poole, Reginald L. "John Emerich, Lord Acton," Engl. Hist. R., XVII (1902), 692-699.

General appreciative account furnished on the occasion of giving honor to one of the early founders of the Review shortly after his death.

"Review of Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," Cath. W., 79 (1904), 835-838.

Throws light on Acton's attitude toward Papal Infallibility; denounces Paul's notice as "slander."

"Review of Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton," Cath. W., 107 (1918), 535-537.

Critical appraisal of Acton. In general well-written. Some points, though barbed, are very much to the point.

"Reviews of The Church and the Churches; of the Papacy and the Temporal Power, by Dr. Dollinger, tr. by W. B. MacCabe," Dublin R., 52 (1863), 467-503.

This critical review of Dollinger's works sounds so much like the charges brought against Acton's works that the comparison is interesting and enlightening.

"Review of The Reformation: Its Interior Development and Its Effects by J. Dollinger," Dublin R., 25 (1848), 204-236.

Article in itself constitutes an essay on the subject of the Protestant Reformation as well as providing a good analysis of Dollinger's views on this subject. In view of Dollinger's influence on Acton, this article prepares one for the many errors of judgment Acton makes regarding this period.

Richardson, Oliver H. "Lord Acton and His Obiter Dicta on History," Sewanee R., 13 (1905), 129-142.

This attempt to present Acton's main ideas in a unified form presents a good working basis for forming an estimate of Acton's ideas on the points considered.

Roberts, Paul. "Liberalism and Divergent Types of Genius," Westm. R., 162 (1904), 510-518.

Comparison made between Spencer and Acton as Liberals. Rather too optimistic toward Liberalism to be a truly fair estimate of Acton's role therein.

Shillito, E. "Centenary of Lord Acton," Christ. Cent., 51 (1934), 161.

Short laudatory notice on the occasion mentioned.

Smith, G. "Review of Lord Acton's Letters," Nation, 78 (1904), 252-253.

Usual material, except the naive remark made to the effect that the volume will not miss the distinction of prompt insertion in the Index.

Smith, R. A. L. "Strange Life of Lord Acton," New Statesm. and Nation, 27 (1944), 355-356.

In view of the fact that R. A. L. Smith has been described as "a Catholic scholar intent upon a study of Acton's opinions," this article was somewhat of a disappointment. The usual data on Acton is given, and the only worthwhile addition made is his insistence on Acton's loneliness as the plausible excuse for Acton's so-called moral fanaticism.

Taunton, Ethelred L. "A Great Leader," Cath. W. 84 (1906), 344-356.

Very favorable opinion of Acton. Explains away many of the usual objections brought against Acton by stressing the intellectual gap between such a man and his intellectually less prepared ecclesiastical critics.

Tedder, Henry R. "Lord Acton as a Book Collector," Proceedings of Br. Acad., I (1903-1904), 277-288.

The writer knew Acton for thirty-three years and served as his librarian during 1873-1874. Provides enlightening asides about Acton the teacher and the student.

Thayer, W. R. "Review of Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," Amer. Hist. R., IX (1904), 846-848.

Ordinary; laudatory and uncritical opinion of Acton.

Thurston, Herbet, S.J. "The Late Lord Acton," Cath. W., 84 (1906), 357-372.

While Thurston quite definitely plays the role of "Advocatus Diaboli" in this article, still his points are well-made and backed up by evidence. Should not be overlooked in any attempt to appraise Acton.

Vance, John G. "Professor Bury and Lord Acton," Month, CXXIII (1914), 225-239.

By paralleling Bury's words with Acton's on the subject of freedom of thought and other topics of history, Vance shows the definitely Christian tone of Acton's observations as contrasted with the anti-Christian tone of Bury's.

Woodward, E. L. "The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century," Politica, IV (1939), 248-265.

Excellent article. Woodward takes his illustrations from Acton's unpublished letters to Dollinger thereby providing evidence on this phase of Acton's career otherwise unavailable.

Wright, C. "Lord Acton - Appraisal of a Great Nineteenth Century Figure," Commonweal, 34 (1943), 162-164.

Brief, enthusiastic appraisal of Acton. Rather naive in objecting vehemently to Thurston's writing of the article on Acton for the Catholic Encyclopedia. Seems too generous in estimating Acton's influence on English and American Catholic scholarship.

Chronological Survey, 1834-1910

1834 January 10, Birth of Acton.
1840 Acton's mother married to Lord Granville.
1843 Student at Oscott; Wiseman, president.
1845 Conversion of Newman.
1846(?) Student at Edinburgh under tutorage of Dr. Logan. Pius IX elected Pope.
1848 Student at Munich at Dollinger.
1850 Establishment of Catholic hierarchy in England.

1852(?) Trip to America. George Ticknor refers to this as the date for the American tour. (Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor, 2: note on p. 323.) The editor of Lord Acton's American Diaries published in the Fortnightly Review, 1921-1922, 116-117 also indicates this as the date. (See F. R., 116, 728.) Therefore it would seem safer to accept this as the date, rather than 1855 sometimes given for this tour.

1854 Proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.
1856 Departure from Munich without degree. Visit to Russia.
1857 Visit to Italy with Dollinger. Visit to Minghetti.

1858 Co-editorship of Rambler with Simpson. Representative of Carlow in the House of Commons. James J. Auchmuty in "Acton's Election as an Irish member of Parliament," (English Historical Review, 1946, 61: 405) says that he "was not a happy candidate even though a rejoicing member-- Acton was not personally responsible, nevertheless his conscience may have troubled him more than most" as far as the method of securing his membership was concerned.

Martin Burrell in Betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross on p. 69 remarks that "it is easy to understand that the compromises necessary in practical politics put him out of the running for a high place in the political sphere."

1859 Newman's editorship of Rambler for two issues followed by Acton's assumption of that office. Treatise on John Stuart Mill. Acton's expressed interest to reestablish the Lingard Society, a defunct Catholic historical society.

1860 Death of Acton's mother.

1862 Rambler becomes Home and Foreign Review. Wiseman's rebuke of these periodicals.

Davis Mathew in his Acton: His Formative Years says of this year: "If a point in Acton's development must be chosen at which the reader will first meet those accents and that matured outlook which the historian would retain, there is much to be said for fixing the year 1862." (p. 181)

1863 M. P. for Cavan. Munich Congress. First International.

1864 Syllabus Errorum. Publication of Home and Foreign Review ceased. Visit to Rome for investigation of material in archives. While in Italy Acton was asked to draft an address to Pope on behalf of non-Italian Catholics. But when he agreed only on the condition that he need make no reference to the Encyclical and Syllabus, his offer was rejected. (E. L. Woodward, The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century," Politica, 1939, 4: 255.)

1865 M. P. for Bridgnorth. Acton's marriage to Countess Marie Arco-Valley. Interested in working out studies on the Index, James II.

1866 Meeting with Gladstone. Unseated as M. P. of Bridgnorth. Auchmuty notes that Encyclopedia Britannica errs in giving 1865 for this event.

1868 Articles for T. F. Wetherell's Chronicle. Lecture at Bridgnorth. Publication of Janus.

1869 Acton created Baron on Granville's recommendation. In his letter to Queen Victoria, Granville says: "The old Catholic peers cannot speak. They cannot think for themselves and under the directions of their bishops. Sir John Acton would be excluded if Dr. Manning had the power to do so. He and Lord Edward are proposed as greatly superior to any Irish Catholic who could be recommended to your Majesty for the honor. (Edmond Fitzmaurice, The Life of Lord Granville, 2: 17.)

In the Edinburgh Review for April 1903 an article on the "Late Lord Acton" tells of a meeting of Dollinger and Mgr. Dupanloup, the Bishop of Orleans, that took place at Hernsheim, the Dalberg country seat on the Rhine on October of this year, which was full of significance in view of the approaching Vatican Council.

1870 Acton's residence in Rome during the Vatican Council. Quirinus's Letters from Rome on the Council. Articles for Wetherell's North British Review, especially the one on the Vatican Council. Sendschreiben an einen deutschen Bischof dea vaticanischen Concils.

Cooch, in his Annals of Politics and Culture, p. 420, says of this year that the Vatican Council declared Papal "ex cathedra" definitions of faith and morals infallible by 533 to 2. "The decrees are accepted by the Bishops who had disapproved them; but Catholic professors and scholars record a dissent at Nuremberg."

1871 Excommunication of Dollinger. Formation of the "Old Catholics."
1872 Honorary degree (Ph.D.) at Munich. End of regular work for press.

1873 Acton suggested as candidate for Ambassador to either Berlin or Constantinople. Lord Carlingford did not approve his candidacy. (Fitzmaurice, op. cit., 2: 364).

1874 Gladstone's Vatican Decrees and their Bearing on Civil Allegiance. Acton's Letters to the Times on November 9, 24, 30, and December 12.

1875 Newman's Letter to the Duke of Norfolk.
1876 Acton created an F. S.A.
1877 February and May, Bridgnorth Lectures on Freedom.

1878 Death of Pius IX. Election of Leo XIII. Gooch (op. cit., 435) says for this entry: "Leo XIII succeeds Pius, and appoints liberal ministers; but Hampolla, an ultramontane, is soon forced on him by the Jesuits."

1879 Sale of Hernsheim. Rental of Aldenham. Articles on Wolsey, and a review of May's Democracy.

1881 Acton requested to write article on "Jesuits" for the Ency. Brit. In view of the bitter prejudice on Acton's part and in view of the fact that his Jesuit critic wrote the article on "Acton" in the Cath. Ency., the following excerpt from Acton's letter of Jan. 28, 1881 included in Paul's Letters of Acton to Mary Gladstone, (p. 163) is very interesting:

"Fancy the Ency. Brit. asking me to do their article on the Jesuits! I answered that I hoped they would have one on Mrs. Lewes."

1883 Opening of Vatican archives.
1885 Article on George Eliot for Nineteenth Century.

1886 Founding of English Historical Review. Article on German Schools of History in its first issue. Review of Creighton's History of the Papacy in a later issue.

1888 Honorary degree (Doctor of Laws) at Cambridge.
1889 Honorary degree (Doctor of Civil Law) at Oxford.

1890 Article on Dollinger's works in English Historical Review." Library sold to Carnegie but allowed to remain for Acton's use. Invitation to stand for Creighton's Chair as Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge. (Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 70.)

1891 Honorary Fellow of All Souls.

1892 Created Lord-in-waiting. Requested to write article on Newman for the Dictionary of National Biography. The reason given for his refusal (Sel. Corr., 76) is well worth quoting:

"The Dictionary of National Biography has offered me Newman; but I should not get access to the necessary papers; and I cannot discover the secret of his quarrel with Manning typical of his quarrel with ecclesiastical authority generally. All that I

know about him, I mean of the richer and more exquisite species of knowledge, comes into my book in connection with the Roman question."

1895 Recommended for Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge University by Lord Rosebery. Inaugural Lecture.

1896 Formation of Trinity Historical Society with Acton as first president.

1897 K. C. V. O.

1901 Honorary Fellow of Trinity College.

1902 June 19, Death of Acton at Tegernsee, Bavaria.

1904 Publication of Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone, ed. by H. Paul.

1906 Publication of Lectures on Modern History which have since been reprinted eight times. Lord Acton and His Circle by Abbot Gasquet.

1907 Publication of Historical Essays (four printings all together). Publication of History of Freedom (four printings all together).

1910 Publication of Lectures on French Revolution (three printings).

1917 Publication of Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton.

Biographical Dictionary

Significant Persons in Acton's Career

ACTON, CARDINAL CHARLES: Uncle of Acton whose fame for legal ability and diplomacy was anything but a source of pride and satisfaction to a nephew who distrusted all diplomats. (Reginald L. Poole, "John Emerich, Lord Acton," English Historical Review, 1902, 17: 692).

ACTON, GENERAL JOHN FRANCIS E.: Grandfather of Acton; abominated by him because of the General's association with the treacherous execution of Caracciolo. (E. Mortimer, "Acton's life from His Birth to the Year 1862; Review of Acton: the Formative Years by David Mathew," New Statesman and Nation, 1946, 31: 213).

ANTONELLI, CARDINAL GIACOMO: Secretary of State to Pius IX, whose true character has remained an enigma to impartial writers. While prejudiced historians, like Acton, saw in him an "out-and-out" opportunist, motivated solely by personal ambition, his advocates praise him overmuch. Middle-course opinion likely to be truest view. (Lillian Browne-Olf, Their Name is Pius, 201).

ARCO-VALLEY, COUNT AND COUNTESS: Some of Dollinger's oldest and best friends. Family into which Acton married. (Louise Von Kobell, Conversations of Dr. Dollinger, 86).

BLENNERHASSETT, LADY: Correspondent of Acton whose letters reveal much of the personal attitude of Acton.

BLENNERHASSETT, SIR ROWLAND: About 1862 Blennerhasset became an intimate friend of Lord Acton whose stand against the later development of ultramontanism he approved. When the Home and Foreign Review was discontinued, Blennerhassett suggested the possibility of establishing a journal the main objects of which should be political and literary. Thus began the Chronicle for which Blennerhassett furnished the money and some contributions for foreign correspondence. (D.N.B.)

BROWNE, BISHOP: Bishop of Shrewsbury, who like Clifford, testified to Lord Acton's orthodoxy. ("The Late Lord Acton," Edinburgh Review, 1903, 197: 527).

BROWNSON: American scholar who impressed Acton very favorably as can be gathered from the following quotation from his American Diaries: "These conversations with Brownson and Bishop Fitzpatrick were the first I had with Catholics, and had a great effect. I was very glad to meet with judgments founded on a sure basis, instead of party feeling or prejudice. . . . Altogether I obatined a much surer footing for my own observations." ("Lord Acton's American Diaries," Fortnightly Review, 1922, 117: 71).

BRYCE, JAMES: Disciple of Acton. Like Morley, Creighton, Bryce too

regarded Acton as the master of them all. (W. Watkin Davies, "Politics of Lord Acton," Hibbert Journal, 1946, 45: 21).

BURKE, EDMUND: Definite influence on Acton's development. G. P. Gooch in "Lord Acton: Apostle of Liberty," (Foreign Affairs, 1947, 25: 631) says that Acton looked to Locke, Montesquieu, Burke and Mill, not to Hobbes or Rousseau, Hegel, de Maistre.

Mathew too insists that "The influence of Edmund Burke would penetrate and colour each aspect of John Acton's thought. (Acton, the Formative Years, 99). And then Mathew points out that "Here are three sentences whose effect would in their different ways prove durable. 'Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found.' 'Individuals pass like shadows: but the commonwealth is fixed and stable.' 'The march of the human mind is slow.'" (Ibid.)

Herbert Butterfield, too, in his Whig Interpretation of History, indicated this same indebtedness of Acton to Burke as follows: "Burke's dictum, which Acton endorses, that 'the principles of true politics are those of morality enlarged,' may contain a world of truth, but it can be dangerous in the hands of the historian. And not the least of its dangers lies in the fact that it can be so easily inverted. (p.129)

Mary Gladstone even goes so far as to claim that what has been said by Acton of Burke could also be applied to Acton, the disciple of Burke. (Mary Drew, "Acton and Gladstone," Constructive Quarterly, 1918, 6: 231).

Acton has the following to say about Burke: "Burke, who when true to himself, is the most intelligent of our instructors, says 'My Principles enable me to form my judgment upon men and actions in history, just as they do in common life; and are not formed out of events and characters, either present or past. History is a preceptor of prudence, not of principles. The principles of true politics are those of morality enlarged; and I neither now do, nor ever will admit of any other." ("Inaugural Lecture," Lectures on Modern History, 28).

CARLYLE: Historian whom Acton criticizes as follows: "It is by accident that I read Coleridge first, that Carlyle never did me any good. Excepting Froude I think him the most detestable of historians. The doctrine of heroes, the doctrine that will is above law, comes next in atrocity to the doctrine that the flag covers the goods, that the cause justifies its agents." (Wilfred Meynell, "A Man of Letters," Living Age, 1904, 241: 378).

Still Acton admits: "But he [Carlyle] had historic grasp which is a rare quality-- some sympathy with things that are not evident, and vague fluctuating notion of the work of the impersonal forces. There is a flash of genius in Past and Present and in the French Revolution, though it is a wretched history." (Ibid.)

CLIFFORD, BISHOP: Bishop of Clifton, who testified to Acton's orthodoxy. (Herbert Paul, Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone, 62. "The Late Lord Acton," Edin. Rev., 1903, 197: 527). Cuthbert Butler, The Vatican Council, (1: 206) mentions the fact that Clifford of Clifton was the only diocesan bishop to throw in his lot heartily with the Minority -- a fact that is significant for his judgment of Acton.

CREIGHTON, MANDELL: Enthusiastic co-worker of Acton on English Historical Review and like projects. Creighton said of Acton that he was "the most learned Englishman now alive, but he never writes anything." (1884) He also remarked to C. J. Longman that Acton was "most helpful through his learning, which is probably greater than of any other Englishman now alive." (1885,-Louise, Creighton, ed., Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, 1: 275, 334). Another testimony of Creighton worth noting is his remark to Acton that "You are one of those whom we all must try to obey." (Cited in Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas of History," Catholic Historical Review, 1941, 27: 182).

Other evidences of Acton's influence can be seen in such details as Creighton's lecture on Heroes which he gave on Nov. 4, 1898 in which he warned of the dangers and limitations of hero worship-- a very definite result of Acton's views. (Creighton, op. cit., 1: 338).

A similar note of reverence is evident in Creighton's note of Nov. 18, 1896 about the proposed Cambridge History of Modern History. "Your project fills me with interest and I will do my utmost to fulfill your wishes, because they are yours. I could not entertain such a proposal from anyone else." (Ibid., 1: 204).

Friedrich Engel-Janosi in his article, "The Correspondence between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton," (Cambridge Historical Journal, 1940, 3: 307) discusses the interesting light that is thrown on Acton by a new series of letters between these two made public in 1936.

DARBOY, ARCHBISHOP: One of the Opposition Bishops at the Council with whom Acton worked. Engel-Janosi in his "Reflections on L.A.'s Ideas," (p. 185) cites Acton's description of him: "A man of action with the instinct of government; not a profound scholar, but in reality the ablest of all the prelates assembled at Rome." (MSS 4972).

DOLLINGER: THE Teacher and Influence in Acton's life. We have Acton's own words for this: "I am indeed, nothing more than what you attempted to make out of me. I am nourished only bythe crumbs that fell from your table. The brilliancy of your renown, your name, recalling your words, a study of your lofty ideas make me appear like someone who I am not in reality." (E. L. Woodward, "The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century," Politica, 1939, 4: 249).

Such an attitude also accounts for the following rash statement Acton made to Gladstone later: "In short, I do not believe that there are Catholics who sincerely and intelligently believe that Rome is right and that Dollinger is wrong." (Figgis and Laurence, Selected Correspondence, 43).

Such expressed opinions would naturally lead Figgis to conclude that "The key to the development and to some of the limitations of Acton lies in his association with Dollinger. . . . This influence did not cease when his tutelage was over, but grew for a time in intensity, waning a little after 1870." (Ibid., x.)

A similar notion of Acton's dependency on Dollinger is expressed by William Barry ("Lord Acton: a Study," Dublin Review, 1918, 162: 3). Barry says that "From early youth until the day he died, his [Acton's] life was that of a disciple."

Woodward points a significant fact when he remarks (Op. cit., 250) that "Dollinger was not the best teacher for a young man of Acton's temperament . . . he did little to correct what one might call the over-absolute and over-polemical character of Acton's judgments."

So much for the fact of Dollinger's influence on Acton. Now for a short consideration of the character of Dollinger himself. Arthur F. Marshall in his article, "Dr. Dollinger and the 'Old Catholics'" in American Catholic Quarterly, (1890, 15: 267) quotes Pius IX as referring to Dollinger in the following manner: "Il Signo Dollinger e un dottore, ma, non un pastore." Such a remark is reenforced by Dollinger's explanation of why he became a priest. In her Conversations of Dr. Dollinger, Von Kobell quotes Dollinger as saying: "The idea soon took such hold upon me that I determined to become a theologian and nothing else, thinking less of the priesthood than of the study it entailed." (p. 4)

Another conversation recorded by Von Kobell that is worthy of note is Dollinger's reaction to Infallibility. Dollinger said: "I have had only one sleepless night in my life, and that was when I was considering the impossibility of reconciling my conscience to the dogma of Infallibility, thinking it over and over and coming to the conclusion that I could not and must not go over to that side." (p.15) In connection with this same crisis, Butler (op. cit., 2: 185) gives Dollinger's actual words of March 28 to Schrerr, Archbishop of Munich: "As Christian, as theologian, as historian, as citizen, I cannot accept this doctrine."

In view of this decision of Dollinger, it is interesting to recall, as Reuben Parsons does in his Studies in Church History, (6: 444) that "Dollinger . . . when in 1832 Lamenais asked him what course the 'great immoderate spirit' should pursue in regard to the papal condemnation, had replied: 'Submit.'"

The following words of Dollinger at Munich in 1845 sound very ironic in view of his actual solution to his problem. On that occasion Dollinger said: "Gentlemen, the question is this: it is true that the Infallibility of the pope is not a dogma defined by the Church; yet anyone who should maintain the contrary would put himself in opposition to the conscience of the whole Church, in the present as well as in the past." (Marshall, op. cit., 267)

Marshall introduces the following idea for consideration as an explanation of Dollinger's defection. "It would be unfair perhaps, to lay stress upon such rumors; yet it seems likely, from the general tone of his controversy, during the ten years which preceded the Council, that he was not quite master of himself intellectually, because morally he was disturbed by wounded vanity" (caused by his not being appointed a Bishop). (pp. 272-273)

So much then for the brief analysis of Dollinger's character. But before dismissing the subject, one should recall that, even though Acton was definitely a disciple of Dollinger, still the "disciple was also a critic." (Barry, op. cit., 4) A reason for this difference of opinion is furnished by G. P. Gooch in History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century (p. 393) where he quotes Acton as writing in 1879: "Dollinger looks for the root of differences in speculative systems, in defect of knowledge, in everything but moral causes, and in this I am divided from him by a gulf that is almost too deep for sympathy. He refuses to see all the evil there is in men."

Parsons' analysis is interesting chiefly because of the altogether different light in which he interprets the Acton-Dollinger relationship. How different is Parsons' explanation of Dollinger's dealings with Acton can be seen in the following quotation from his Studies in Church History (6: 414-416)

After speaking of Dollinger's preeminent characteristic of never having a will of his own, Parsons remarks: "It was this excessive susceptibility that ultimately ruined Dollinger. . . . This lamentable defect . . . worked no great detriment in the mind of Dollinger until he fell under the influence of John (afterwards Lord) Acton, now a Professor in the University of Cambridge, who, although a mere boy of seventeen, when he became the nominal pupil of the idol of Munich, soon showed that he was the idol's master and predestined evil genius."

Then, in a note, Parsons quotes Kannengieser as saying: "In 1849 a young Englishman of noble family was entrusted to the care of Dollinger for the completion of his scientific and literary education. Lord Acton-Dalberg was seventeen years old when he arrived in Munich. He was a boy of quick intelligence, and very precocious; and his temperament attested his double origin. . . . Although a Catholic because his mother was one, he lived in a Protestant and Liberal atmosphere which was necessarily an obstacle to his religious development. Full of admiration for Gladstone, Russell, etc., he had conceived an invincible repugnance for Wiseman and the English converts of the day. He was bitter against the restoration of the English hierarchy, and like all his intimates, he entertained feelings of horror for the Jesuits. It is evident therefore, that the young Acton was more of a Protestant than a Catholic. . . . His mother perceived this fact, and in hopes of withdrawing her son from pernicious influences, she confided him to the care of the most illustrious scholar in Germany. She trusted that Dollinger, by means of his knowledge and faith, would subjugate his English Telemachus. But wonder of wonders! The contrary happened. The erudite scholar, who knew only his books, was conquered by the young politician who had a great experience of life. [!] Lord Acton was

certainly the evil genius of Dollinger; he obtained an incredible ascendency over his master and drew him insensibly into schism. And this was effective because the young Englishman was endowed with what Dollinger did not possess-- character. . . . When Acton entered the household of Dollinger he became literally the master of the professor's soul. . . . This disciple put the professor in relation with his compatriots - not, however, with men like Wiseman, Newman, Manning, and others of the English Catholic school,-- but with a group of Protestant Liberals, of whom Gladstone was more or less the soul. Dollinger became entirely Lord Acton, in anticipation of the moment when he would become entirely Gladstone. . . . Perhaps all would have yet been well, if Dollinger had remained faithful to his vocation as a historian; but questions of religious politics were the order of the day. . . . Lord Acton took a keen interest in the political struggles which his English friends had instigated (in Italy). . . . These problems were often discussed by master and pupil; and Dollinger ended by harbouring all the antipathies of the English Liberals and by encouraging the designs of the Sub-Alpine plotters."

DUCHESNE: French Monseigneur, who is called by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, the French Lord Acton; because, like Acton, Duchesne was "a Liberal, and a man of vast learning, tarred with the Modernist brush in the eyes of the Vatican but at heart also like Lord Acton by the testimony of all who know, a simple and convinced believer." (A Writer's Recollections, 2: 214)

DUPANLOUP: Minority Bishop with whom Acton had rather close connections. Grant-Duff seems to hint that Dupanloup was once Acton's teacher, but Mathew (Op. cit., 54) insists that "If Acton was ever taught by Dupanloup, he does not seem to have referred to it."

Evidently Acton's early impressions of Dupanloup were modified. For we find Morley (Recollections, 1: 60) recalling that "When Lord Acton met him [Dupanloup] in Germany in 1809 he was appalled at his ignorance, and said to Dollinger, 'What is to be expected if this is one of the best specimens?'"

In view of Dupanloup's stand on Infallibility, it is interesting to remember that his thesis for Doctorate at the Sorbonne was on the defense of the Infallibility of the Pope. (Parsons, "Dupanloup," The Catholic Reading Circle Review, 1897, 10: 232)

Butler says of Dupanloup's letter to Pius IX that "it helps us to enter into the mind of those who opposed the definition." Because of that fact, an excerpt from that letter will be cited as well as Pius IX's answer.

Dupanloup to Pius IX: "This question [Infallibility] has already set Europe on fire; the fire will become a conflagration, if by a violent haste it seems that, at all costs and by a change in the natural order of things forestalling the hour of Providence, the thing is being carried by assult. I would think I was betraying the Holy See and the Church if, knowing what I know, and foreseeing what I foresee, I did not utter a word of warning to Your Holiness with

respectful but entire sincerity, Holy Father, while there is yet time, to spare the Church and the Holy See from evils that may become disastrous for all Christendom during long ages, and cause the loss of an incalculable number of souls."

On May 2, 1871, Pius IX wrote the following to Dupanloup: "Your name is no less pleasing to us now than in the past. . . . But our paternal affection for you compels us, when you are stiffly dissenting from most of your venerable brothers and from the greatest part of the clergy and Catholic people of the whole world, to warn you not to wish to be wise in your own eyes, or to rely on your own prudence; for you know that all errors and heresies have arisen from the fact that their authors thought they were wiser than others, and would not acquiesce in the common opinion of the Church. It is right for the Fathers at the Council to put forward clearly difficulties they think stand in the way of any definition; but it is not right to strive by all means to bring all over to one's way of thinking. . . . Return, brother, I pray you to that golden simplicity of little ones; cast away prejudiced opinions, which may obscure the holiness of your character, and which may make, if not pernicious, certainly useless for the Church those gifts of intellect, alacrity, eloquence, with which God has so liberally endowed you for the extending of His Kingdom." (Butler, op. cit., 2: 41, 42)

ECKSTEIN, FREDERICK: Great influence in Acton's life. According to Figgis and Laurence (Sel. Corr., 18), Eckstein had a great influence over Acton, greater probably than any one excepting Dollinger. In proof they quote Acton's letter to his mother in 1853 when he wrote of Eckstein as follows: "Tous les autres sont des pygamies en comparison de lui."

ERASMUS: Acton has been compared to him. W. L. Blennerhasset (Op. cit. 188) maintains that this comparison made by Lady Blennerhasset suggests great insight into Acton's character. Both were, he points out, products of cosmopolitan erudition, makers of occasional ironical evaluations of human affairs, and both were appreciative of the good things the world has to offer.

The writer of the article, "The Late Lord Acton," which appeared in the Edinburgh Review (Op. cit., 528) remarks the same similarity. He sees Acton's affinities with Erasmus on the basis of their cosmopolitan culture, their thirst for knowledge, their principle of the dissemination of knowledge.

However, R. A. L. Smith in his "Strange Life of Lord Acton," (New Statesman and Nation, 1944, 27: 355) disagrees. While he admits that it is tempting to "cast Lord Acton as a Renaissance scholar, the legitimate successor of Erasmus. . . . Yet this analogy, so often drawn, is surely superficial. . . . [Acton has more] affinities with Aufklurung, a German critic of scientific scholarship of the nineteenth century," Smith adds.

FITZ-ALAN, LORD: Contemporary of Acton who provides a well-rounded account of the effect that Acton produced in his last years in Conservative and Catholic circles. (Mathew, op. cit., 6)

FRIEDRICH: co-worker with Acton in furnishing Dollinger with material for Quirinus's work. Author of Geschichte des Vaticanischen Konsils, a work which Butler describes as "animated by the spirit of Quirinus, is tendentious, abounding in exaggerations and distortions, every incident receiving the worst interpretation." (Butler, op. cit., 1: xvi) Even J. B. Bury, not ordinarily friendly toward the Papal cause, says that Friedrich's work is bitterly anti-Papal. (History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century (1864-1878), 73)

FITZPATRICK, BISHOP: American prelate, who with Brownson, made a very favorable impression on the young Acton when he visited America. Acton says of Bishop Fitzpatrick: "In spite of what was formal or distant in his manner, I found him a real specimen of a kind of man whose existance I have always been inclined to doubt, who, without mingling in public life or gaining literary reputation, possess greater abilities and wisdom than those who do." ("American Diaries," 70)

GIBBON, EDWARD: Author of Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Cousin of John Acton and Commodore Acton, (Mathew, op. cit., 11) and therefore distantly related to Lord Acton. (J. H. Thompson, A History of Historical Writing, 1: 75)

GIESEBRECHT: Historian who was accepted by Acton as one of the better historians. Acton says of his notes that they "contain the most penetrating and instructive discussion of authorities to be found anywhere in modern literature." (G. P. Gooch, Hist. and Historians in the 19th C., 124)

Giesebrecht's position among historians has been defined by Acton as follows: "He never became a European classic, like Ranke and Mommsen. He was neither the head of a school like Waitz, nor the chief of a party like Sybel. . . . He did not speak with authority of things that came before Clovis or after Manfred. . . . His limitations were distinctly marked, and they were part of his strength. He spent a long life in mastering a single epoch and writing a single book. But among all his countrymen employed on the Middle Ages no one was more widely known and read and trusted; and the Kaiserzeit was the nearest medieval equivalent of the Romische Geschichte and the Zeitalter der Reformation." (Ibid., 127)

GLADSTONE, WILLIAM E.: Master and leader of Acton in political realm. Barry (Op. cit., 4) says that Gladstone was one of Acton's three masters, and the one that fascinated him because of his devotion to duty. Mary Drew points out that although Acton has been truly called "the most hypercritical of men, the precise opposite of a hero-worshipper, an iconoclast, if ever there was one," still he regarded Mr. Gladstone as the first of English statesmen, living or dead [!!]" (Op. cit., 236.)

Somewhat the same idea is expressed in Blackwood's Edinburgh Review, (1913, 193: 579) in which the writer reviewing Acton's letters to Mary Gladstone says: "If politics be a religion, then Gladstone is Lord Acton's Pope, supreme and infallible. Not only can he do no wrong; he is the only man that ever lived immune from sin and shame."

While such an estimate of Acton's relations with Gladstone is exaggerated, still it provides reasons for our suspecting that Lord Acton's judgment of Gladstone will be biased because of his hero-worship of the man. ("Lord Acton's Letters," Spectator, 1904, 93: 428)

The relationship was not one-sided, however. As Figgis notes in D. N. B. ("Acton") Acton influenced Gladstone more deeply than did any other man. Still another proof of this fact is Mathew Arnold's remark to the effect that "Gladstone influenced all around him but Acton. It is Acton who influenced Gladstone." (Cited in Drew, op. cit., 227) Gooch (Hist. and Historians in 19th C., 390) recalls how Mr. Tollemache tells how Gladstone used to dismiss abstruse points that arose with "We must ask Lord Acton."

It would seem then that there is much to E. Shilleto's observation that Acton as a close friend and a valued counselor of Gladstone helped to shape the history of his times. ("Centenary of Lord Acton," Christian Century, 1934, 51: 161) One proof of the actual influence of Acton is pointed out in the Times (Feb. 19, 1895) as follows: "He [Acton] is believed to have been one of the first of English politicians to favor Home Rule, and he has been said to have helped to seduce Mr. Gladstone into that heresy." ("The New Regius Professor," 9)

In concluding this brief analysis of the second great influence on Acton, Wilfrid Ward's citation of a contemporary's estimate of Gladstone might well be quoted. Ward says, "That acute observer, Walter Bagehot, when asked if Gladstone's was a first-rate intellect, hesitated, and then said, 'No, but an admirable second-rate intellect in a first-rate state of effervescence.'" (Ten Personal Studies, 271)

GOOCH, G. P.: Pupil of Acton. Possibly this relationship accounts for F. X. Mannhardt's remark that Gooch's opinion on Lea and on Acton cannot be accepted by a critical scholar. ("Authors and Their Authority," Historical Bulletin, 1933, 11: 57)

GRANT-DUFF, SIR MOUNTSTUART: Intimate friend of Acton. His accounts of relations with Acton provide us with many human-interest stories. He tells, for example, of his asking Acton what he would do if he wanted to convert anyone like himself [Grant-Duff] to the Catholic faith. To Grant-Duff's astonishment, Acton replied that he would give such a person some books and leave them alone. Then when Grant-Duff pressed the matter by asking what would be the first book he would recommend, Acton replied: Rothe's Ethik [A work of a Protestant Divine]. ("The Late Lord Acton," Spectator, 1902, 89: 12)

In his book, Out of the Past, Grant-Duff also tells of another human-interest item. Speaking to Acton about 1863, Grant-Duff reports that Acton said on this occasion that he agreed with nobody, and nobody agreed with him. (p. 192) The persecution and isolation complex certainly got an early start in Acton's life, if this statement be more than a superficial remark.

GRANVILLE, LORD: Step-father of Acton. Foreign Secretary and influential Whig leader. Although not much direct evidence can be traced to Granville, still much of the Whig philosophy that Acton held had been constantly demonstrated in practical matters by his step-father.

GREEN, DR.: Acton's confessor, who wrote to the local paper at the time of the Times letter controversy to testify that Acton had never, even virtually, attacked the Council. (Blennerhassett, op. cit., 184)

HARPSFIELD: Author of manuscript that Acton edited for the Philobiblon Society. Acton describes him as "one of the earliest ecclesiastical writers whose mind fell naturally into an historical attitude, and with whom religious controversy resolves itself into the discussion of fact." (Harpsfield's Narrative of the Divorce, Academy, 1876, 9: 607)

As Acton continues his remarks, he reveals many interesting sidelights of his views on such persons as More and Pole. "one imputation rests on Harpsfield's memory which would go against his credit if it could be proved. . . . I hesitate to believe that Harpsfield actually stained his hands with blood. It is true in his book on the Lollards, he describes their punishment without any sign of compassion or regret. It cannot be said of him, as it can be said of More and Pole, that he was an advocate of toleration; but it cannot be proved against him, as it can be proved against them, that he became an advocate of religious persecution." (Ibid., 610)

HEFLE: Bishop of the Minority who seems to have had the greatest difficulty in accepting the definition of Infallibility. He wrote to Dollinger: "If it were declared that before any definition the Pope must consult the Church in the manner most suitable for the particular case one could reconcile oneself to the Infallibility." (Butler, op. cit. 2: 187)

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA: Founder of the Jesuits, whom Acton describes as "the same man who helped to transplant to Rome the Inquisition of his own country." ("The Counter-Reformation," Lectures on Modern History, 114) Such a description from a man who "had the Inquisition on the brain," reflects his opinion of that saint and his followers.

When one recalls Acton's insistence on the primacy of morality, one can appreciate Acton's reaction to the Jesuits even though he may disagree with his analysis. "St. Ignatius directed his disciples according to the maxim that more prudence and less piety is better than more piety and less prudence." (Ibid., 115)

JAY: Historical writer who utilized some of Acton's arguments in a paper he wrote on Church-State relations. Parsons challenges Jay's citation of Acton as "a very distinguished Roman Catholic historian, who so admirably represents the honorable members of that faith who reject the doctrine and method of the Jesuits." Acton, Parsons insists, far from being reliable in the point under fire [the translation of letters referring to the Bartholomew Massacre] actually makes

a mountain out of a mole hill when he translates as "exterminate" the word which should read "extirpate." (Some Lies and Errors of History, 242-243)

KENDRICK, BISHOP: Bishop of the Minority group; probably the stiffest opponent of the definition. (Butler, op. cit., 2: 176) Cardinal Gibbons in his A Retrospect of Fifty Years notes that the Most Reverend Dr. Kendrick violently opposed the definition, "not only because of what he considered its inopportuneness, but because he did not see that it was part of the deposit of faith; nevertheless he accepted the decrees and published them." (1: 32)

A letter Kendrick wrote to Acton is printed by Schulte and in part by Granderath. In it Kendrick declares that his acceptance was an act of pure obedience to the authority of the Church, from which he had never thought of separating himself; he submitted himself most unreservedly, taking the words of the decree in their strict and literal significance; but his submission was not grounded on the removal of his motives of opposition; he reconciled himself intellectually to submission by applying the theory of development; he intended to issue no pastoral on the Council, and not to preach or speak on the Papal Infallibility, nor would he say that it is certainly in Scripture. (Butler, op. cit., 2: 176)

LEO XIII, POPE: Successor to Pius IX, whom Acton speaks of as follows: "The Pope probably had no clear view about policy. If he had he would hardly be Pope." (Paul, op. cit., 188)

LOCKE, JOHN: Whig philosopher, admired by Acton because he was "always reasonable and sensible," but also censured by Acton as also being "diluted and pedestrian and poor." ("The Rise of the Whigs," Lectures on Modern History, 217)

LOGAN, DR.: Cambridge man from Oscott, who tutored Acton at Edinburgh. (F. E. Lally, As Lord Acton Says, 5)

MACAULAY: Influence on Acton's early style. Mathew points out this in regard to Acton's essay on James La Cloche, and his review of Buckle's Philosophy of History. (Op. cit., 111)

MAINE, SIR HENRY: "Le plus grand historien de notre temps" according to Fustel de Coulanges. (Cited in John Pollock, "Lord Acton at Cambridge," Independent Review, 1904, 2: 373) Acton also admired Maine profoundly. (Ibid.) But James Bryce ("The Letters of Lord Acton," North American Review, 1904, 178: 701) believes this is one instance that Acton is not always right in his judgment of men because he overestimates their abilities.

MANNING, CARDINAL: "Cultured prelate of the Church of England or University old type, with a taste for diplomacy." (Percy Fitzgerald, Fifty Years of Catholic Life and Social Progress under Cardinals Wiseman, Manning, Vaughan and Newman, 1: 331)

Definite opponent of Acton. Note Granville's remark to Gladstone in

this regard: "I send you back Manning's letter. I presume there is no Protestant or atheist whom he dislikes more than Acton." (Edmond Fitzmaurice, The Life of Granville, 2: 136)

The title Manning received at the Vatican Council that Shane Leslie notes in his life of Manning indicates one of the deepest reasons for the antipathy between Manning and Acton. Manning was nicknamed "Diabolo del Concilo" because of his intense activity on behalf of Papal Infallibility. Such a fact indicates immediately the reason for the cleavage between the two. (Henry Edward Manning, 220)

MICHELET: Authority on French Revolution. Cooch in his History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century, 238, quotes Acton's estimate of him: "Of books that are strong enough to work a change and form an epoch in a reader's life, there are two, perhaps on our revolutionary shelf. One is Taine, and the other Michelet. No one feels the grandeur of the Revolution till he reads Michelet, or the horror of it without reading Taine."

MILL, JOHN STUART: Subject of Acton's first serious piece of writing. Mary Drew (Op. cit., 229) quotes her father's reaction to this treatise: "I have read your remarkable and valuable paper; its principles and politics I embrace; its research and wealth of knowledge I admire; and its whole atmosphere is that which I desire to breathe."

Acton's evaluation of Mill is obvious in the following: "Any book of Mr. Mill's which professes to lay down fixed principles, applicable to important questions of social and individual ethics, deserves to be as carefully studied by those who possess known landmarks and unalterable methods for the guidance of life and the discipline of the soul, as by those to whom all questions of the kind are still open." ("On Mill," Rambler, Nov. 1859, 2: 62)

Acton notes, however, in this same paper that Mill confounds Calvinism and thereby arrives at some unfair judgments against Christianity. (Ibid., 67) In March 1860 when Acton concludes his discussion, he points out that "Catholics have no cause to despair of being able ultimately to work round free institutions more to their advantage than they seem to be at the present. Let them show themselves the equals of their Protestant fellow-citizens in public spirit, in intelligence sharpened by education, and in acquired knowledge, -- in short, in the whole circle of the civic virtues and qualifications, and they may reckon on not being always excluded from posts of trust." (Ibid., 385)

MINGHETTI: Italian liberal Catholic Statesman who headed the last government of the Italian right. Visited by Acton in 1857. (Engel-Janosi, Some Notes on Lord Acton Suggested by a Recent Book," Catholic Historical Review, 1943, 29: 358)

MONTALEMBERT: French Liberal Catholic. Leslie speaks of Acton as "A more learned and less able Montalembert." (Op. cit., 215) For that reason, the following account of Grant-Duff is very interesting:

"Montalembert mentioned him [Lord Acton] to me, asking a number of questions about him which excited my curiosity in the highest degree." (Grant-Duff, Out of the Past, 191)

MORLEY: Ardent friend and admirer of Acton. This can be gathered from such remarks as the following: Morley on one occasion when the discussion turned on the topic of whom they would invite back from the grave said that he would ask for Acton. (G. P. Gooch, "Apostle of Liberty," 629) Then in one of his letters, Morley writes: "Friendship is a relation that has many types. On none did I presume to set a more special value than on my intercourse with this observant, powerful, reflective, marvelously full mind. He saw both past history as a whole and modern politics as a whole. (Morley, op. cit., 1: 229)

MORRIS, J. B.: Professor at Prior Park, Chaplain to Acton. Had much to do with Acton's educational schemes at Norville. (Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 4)

NEWMAN, CARDINAL: One-time mentor and influence for Acton. Acton once said of him that "For good or evil he greatly reminds me of Fenelon; But Newman was the stronger man." (Ibid., 67)

An inkling as to the reason for the breach between Acton and Newman can be gleaned from the following excerpt: "Borromeo wrote a letter for the purpose of causing a few Protestants to be murdered. Newman is an avowed admirer of Saint Pius and Saint Charles, and of the pontiffs who canonized them. This, and the like of this, is the reason for my deep aversion for him." (Paul, op. cit., 242-243)

NOLAN, MGR.: Contemporary of Acton who provides testimony to the effect that he never heard Acton during the course of his four years at Cambridge say one word which might be construed into disloyalty to the Church. (Herbert Thurston, "The Late Lord Acton," Catholic World, 1906, 84: 371)

PETRE, HENRY: "Old Catholic," who was associated with Acton and Camoys in the so-called "Apostate Triumvirate," It was Henry Petre, who made the remark often indiscriminatingly attached to all the members of the triumvirate (Times, Dec. 1, 1874: citing Voce della Verita) that "he was an Englishman first, a Catholic after." (Times, November 17, 1874)

PITT: English Liberal whom Acton censured for the following reason: "It is a vice, not a merit to live for expedients, and not for ideas." And this is just what Acton felt Pitt did. (J. L. Hammond, "Lord Acton's Liberalism," Independent Review, 1904, 2: 654)

PIUS IX: Pope during the Vatican Council. A human-interest item recorded by Leslie (Op.cit., 220) mentions that Pius IX was reported to deny his blessing to Acton's children, who were playing on the Pincio.

POLLOCK, SIR JOHN: Writer of article on the Popish plot in which the Protestant myth about Jesuit responsibility for the killing of Godfrey

is incorporated in the impartial and international Modern History--Cambridge History. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., believes that Pollock was arguing in detail a solution which had been first brought to his notice by Acton himself. ("Lord Acton and the Popish Plot," Studies, 1944, 33: 453)

RANKE: Historian whom Acton admired very much, even to the extent of comparing himself to him. Lord Acton says of Ranke's method: "It provides a discipline which every one of us does well to undergo, and perhaps also well to relinquish." Samuel R. Gardiner, "Review of Acton's Lecture on the Study of History," English Historical Review, 1896, 11: 122)

W. S. Lilly relates in his article, "The New Spirit in History," (Nineteenth Century, 1895, 38: 625) that Lord Acton in his Lecture told a characteristic story of Ranke. When a strenuous divine, who, like him had written on the Reformation, hailed him as a comrade, Ranke repelled his advances. 'You,' he said, 'are in the first place a Christian, I am in the first place a historian. There is a great gulf between us.'

RENOUF, P. LE PAGE: Convert author of work on Pope Honorius. Of Renouf's qualifications for his job, Acton says: "He [Renouf] is quite equally at home in all things pertaining to the history of philosophy and of religion, and without excepting Newman he is the best informed of all the English Catholics." (Engel-Janosi, "The Correspondence between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton," Cambridge Historical Journal, 1940, 6: 311)

The above-mentioned opinion given in 1885 was still the same as that Acton held of Renouf in 1870. In the North British Review of January 1870 (51: 525) Acton reviewed Renouf's The Case of Pope Honorius, and remarked that ecclesiastical censure of this book "signified that the Court of Rome will not tolerate the imputation of dogmatic error to a Pope and has anticipated the expected result of the General Council." [Vatican Council on Infallibility]

RIEHL: Professor whose classes Acton attended while at Munich. Of him Acton says: "One man living has an equal grasp of the moving and abiding forces of society. Over thirty years ago, before Burckhardt or Friedlander, Buckle or Symonds, Riehl began to lecture on the history of civilization, revealing to his fortunate audience new views of history deeper than existing in literature." (Gooch, Hist. and Historians of 19 C. 574)

RUSSELL, ODO: Official representative of Great Britain at Rome during the Vatican Council. Engel-Janosi in "Some Notes. . ." (Op. cit., 358) quotes Russell as saying that, whatever the liberal Catholics might be able to achieve "will be mainly due to Acton's influential activity."

Paul expressed the belief that Russell's information was much less copious than Lord Acton's. (Op. cit., 54) But the truth of the matter is given by Butler when he indicates that Russell received complete

information from Manning, who had received a dispensation from the law of secrecy, in order to keep Russell well-informed so as to influence Clarendon. (Op. cit., 2: 10)

SALMON, DR.: Author of one of the widely circulated works on Infallibility. Butler analyzes this work as "one of the best known in England but a travesty of the facts. . . based wholly on Quirinus. . . . Reflects the mentality of Friedrich and Dollinger, who were frankly working to wreck the Council by every means and sought to represent the Minority bishops as being of the same mind as themselves." (Ibid., 1: 266)

It is significant that Gladstone should have used this work. In a letter to Acton, 1889, Gladstone says: "Have you read any of the works of Dr. Salmon? I have just finished his volume on Infallibility, which fills me with admiration of its easy movement, command of knowledge, singular faculty of disentanglement, and great skill and point in argument. . . . He touches much ground trodden by Dr. Dollinger; almost invariably agreeing with him." (Herbert Paul, Life of Gladstone, 3: 417)

SARPI, FATHER PAUL: Writer on the Council of Trent. Lord Acton, at least in Paul's (Letters of L. A. to M. C., 47) eyes, had much in common with Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, since they both expressed their own views with unmistakable energy and force.

This suggested comparison makes the following remark of Acton all the more significant: "Father Paul, in a very famous work, describes the Council as a scene of intrigue in which the good intentions of virtuous prelates were thwarted by the artifices of Rome." ("Counter-Reformation," Lectures on Modern History, 119) In still another place, Acton says of Sarpi that he was no better than a jail bird. (Cited in H. E. Barnes, A History of Historical Writing, 129)

SAVANOROLA: "Friar who died for his belief that the way to make people better was to make them free." (Paul, Letters . . . 229)

SCOTT, MGR.: Contemporary of Acton who testified to the following about Acton: his punctuality at Sunday Mass, his custom of carrying the canopy for the Blessed Sacrament when opportunity offered itself, his reception of Viaticum on his knees. (Thurston, op. cit., 371)

SIEYES, ABBE: Author of "What is the Third Estate." Of Acton's opinion of this man, Herbert A. L. Fisher says: "Lord Acton's enthusiasm for checks and balances leads him to single out for enthusiastic praise a statesman who is generally mentioned in terms of depreciation often descending to ridicule." ("Acton's Historical Work," Quarterly Review, 1911, 115: 179)

SIMPSON: Co-editor of Rambler with Acton. Fitzgerald refers to him as follows: "Half-baked," Catholic, however, -- an expressive term once in use -- might be applied to him; for there was prominent in him a crotchetiness or dissatisfaction which was to cause much trouble. (Op. cit., 280)

Mathew, however, offers a somewhat more favorable impression when he says that it was "Simpson's intolerant and reckless integrity . . . [that] never failed to rouse the future historian's [Acton's] admiration." (Op. cit., 118)

TAINE: See "Michelet."

THENIER: Papal librarian. Although Bury trusts hearsay evidence too much, the following episode which he relates concerning Thenier throws an interesting light on relations between Acton and Pius IX, even though it may not be too trustworthy in itself.

"The Pope summoned him [Thenier] and charged him with having admitted Lord Acton into the archives and thus committed treachery of the worst kind. Thenier solemnly swore that the charge was untrue, enjoined on Thenier to say nothing to Lord Acton, and then reproached the librarian for his friendship with such men as Dollinger and Friedrich." (Bury, op. cit., 121)

TICKNOR, GEORGE: American contemporary of Acton, who said of Acton at 23: "He is certainly a most remarkable young man, and much advanced and ripened since we saw him. . . . Books just at this time being his passion." (Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor, 2: 396)

TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS: One of Acton's teachers. Mathew points out that "it is around the conception of a natural aristocracy that the thoughts of Acton and his two teachers [Burke and Tocqueville] gather." (Op. cit. 97)

Acton also "followed Tocqueville in believing a tendency towards absolutism was inherent in the search for political equality . . . and hated nothing so much as plebiscitary dictatorship." (R. Mortimer, "Acton's Life from his Birth to the Year 1862; Review of Acton, the Formative Years by David Mathew," New Statesman and Nation, 1946, 31: 213)

"An examination of Tocqueville's attitude toward religion [is very worthwhile.] It is an interesting position, for it has resemblance and contrast with John Acton's: quality of inescapable, and atmosphere of quenched hope." (Mathew, op. cit., 90-91)

Mathew also feels that "The influence [Tocqueville] exercised on the English Historian was in some ways all the more powerful for being purely literary." (Ibid.)

Acton in his review of Souvenirs d'Alexis de Tocqueville for May 1893 issue of Nineteenth Century magazine (33: 884) says of Tocqueville: "He displays his impartiality in the disposition to condemn all around."

On another occasion Acton gives indirect praise to Tocqueville when he remarks about a professor of History who was famous in every way but as a student, that "His lectures are indeed not entirely unhistorical, for he has borrowed quite discriminatingly from Tocqueville." (Cited in Martin Burrell, Betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross, 71)

The last citation from Acton to be given below is interesting in the parallel it provides for Acton's own case: "It may generally be affirmed of ruling and leading spirits that, the better we know them, the worse they appear. Tocqueville was not known hitherto, by his books, his letters, or his conversations, as a hanging judge. What he was is now shown; and he has joined the disparaging choir, that declares the reign of sin and folly and contributes to the Iconoclasm of History." (Souvenier, 886)

TREITSCHKE: One of the German Historians described by Acton as bringing historical teaching into contact with real life, and thereby creating a public opinion more powerful than laws and entirely remodeling the methods of thought of the generation then springing into manhood in Germany. (Cited in Fitzmaurice, op. cit., 1: 454-455)

Pollock also mentions Acton's high regard for this historian when he says that Acton once spoke of Treitschke as the greatest of historians and justified his choice by saying that he had the greatest power of generalship in marshalling facts. Pollock then adds, "It may be doubted whether his own power was less than Treitschke." (Pollock, op. cit., 370)

TREVELYAN, PROFESSOR GEORGE M.: Pupil of Acton.

ULLATHORNE, BISHOP: Bishop of Birmingham. Of him, Mathew remarked that it was probably the greatest tragedy of Acton's life that he never could get Ullathorne to see "eye-to-eye" with him.

VICTORIA, QUEEN: Queen of England, who felt the warmest respect and admiration for Acton, according to James Bryce. (Studies in Contemporary Biography, 384) Acton served her as a Lord-in-Waiting in the later part of his career.

WARD, W. G.: Editor of Dublin Review and avowed enemy of Acton in controversies of the day. Possibly it was the extreme views on Infallibility that most antagonized Acton, for he saw in Ward's Ultra- Ultramontanism the "unhistorical impossibilities which were being advanced as indispensable to whole-hearted orthodoxy" and realized that they would fall through. (Wilfred Ward, The Life of Newman, 2: 215)

WARD, WILFRID: Prolific writer of biographies of contemporaries of Acton. Lord Acton's son approached him on the matter of writing one for his father. Wilfrid Ward refused because he felt he could not sufficiently agree with him to write with the necessary sympathy. So he answered the son as follows: "And reading through Mrs. Drew's letters again has deepened my feeling that my standpoint and your father's are on some important points too divergent for me to be such a biographer as he ought to have. . . . But I see that both Mrs. Drew and Sir Rowland Blennerhassett feel as I do that I am not the person to write it. . . . It is with a great pang that I relinquish the idea. But I think that there is a point at which divergence is too great for a biographer to write, when relations and near friends justly expect a sympathetic picture." (Maisie Ward, The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition, 1: 245-246)

WEEDALE, DR.: Headmaster of Oscott, who was removed from Oscott to make room for Wiseman as part of a piece of episcopal politics. Mathew says of this: "The episode [of Msgr. Acton's substitution of Wiseman for Dr. Weedale] has a definite bearing on the development of Lord Acton's outlook. It was only a small matter of ecclesiastical politics, but it clearly foreshadows the Historian's hatred of the adroit solution." (Op. cit., 34)

WETHERELL, T. F.: Companion of Acton in many journalistic ventures. After The Home and Foreign Review was discontinued, Wetherell undertook the Chronicle for which Acton wrote. Also the North British Review.

WHITTAKER, SIR EDMUND: Contemporary of Acton who conveys the luminous quality of Acton's Cambridge years. (Mathew, op. cit., 6)

WISEMAN, CARDINAL: Headmaster of Oscott while Acton was there. At first, Mathew notes, Wiseman's effect on the historian was great, but "it was an inevitable factor in the latter's development that in time this influence curdled." (Ibid. 46)

Something of this later reaction of Acton to Wiseman can be seen in his review of Wiseman's book on the Popes. Writing to Dollinger, Acton says: "You'll find in it neither a display of literary talent nor a taste for a fitting and dignified tone. His predominant characteristic faults become manifest; one can learn absolutely nothing new in it. You have not in the least fathomed the depth of superficiality of the Anglo-Catholic writers of literature." (Woodward, op. cit., 253)

Glossary

Significant Terms Associated with Acton's Career

ALDENHAM: English residence of Acton.

AMERICAN CIVIL WAR: Acton's attitude toward the defeat of the South in 1864 is interesting because of his seeing in this incident the issue of a battle that was always vital to him, viz., diffusion v.s. concentration of power. (G. P. Gooch, "Lord Acton, Apostle of Liberty," Foreign Affairs, 1947, 25: 641)

BOOKLIST: List of hundred books Acton recommended for growth in reading. Included 2 poetical works, 32 theological works, 10 philosophical works, and 15 historical works.

Clement King Shorter says that the list "indicates the enormous preference which on the whole Lord Acton gave to the Literature of Knowledge over the Literature of Power." While it was "an index to what a well-trained mind thought the noblest equipment for life's work, at best . . . it would represent but one half of life." (Immortal Memories, 254, 255)

Acton says himself of his list that while Lubbock gives tools for the mind to use; I give forces to form the mind." (Frederic Engel-Janosi, "Some Notes on Lord Acton Suggested by a Recent Book," Cambridge Historical Review, 1943, 29: 360)

In view of such an exalted view of books, the following opinion about the results of right reading is also worthy of note. "It is by the choice of books that we are emancipated from our masters; no authority will be left in the usual sense, no writer not balanced by other writers; no security in favour of particular opinions; but security that no opinion will be rejected from ignorance, interest, prejudice, or passion." (Ibid., 361)

"THE BORGIAS AND THEIR LATEST HISTORIAN:" Acton's review of Gregorovius, History of Medieval Rome, in the North British Review, Jan. 1871: 65-84.

The pretext of reviewing serves Acton as an opportunity to express his mind on the topic. Both Acton's ability to suggest where necessary information could have helped the author to avoid errors and also Acton's unsympathetic attitude toward certain papal prerogatives is noteworthy in this review.

BRIDGNORTH: Region represented by Acton in Parliament. It was to these constitutents that Acton made that ambiguous remark so often misinterpreted. He spoke of belonging to the soul rather than the body of the Catholic Church. Figgis and others interpret this as expressing very clearly the distinction dominant in Acton's mind between membership in the Church of Rome and trust in the court of Rome. (D.N.B. Supplement II, 9)

BRIDGNORTH LECTURES: Lectures delivered in February and May of the year 1877 on the general topic of History of Freedom. They are considered by Lady Blennerhassett as the highest example of Acton's encyclopedic knowledge and truly great art. (W. L. Blennerhassett, "Acton, 1834-1902," Dublin Review, 1934, 194: 184)

In the article, "The Late Lord Acton," (Edinburgh Review, 1903, 197: 536) the writer says that these lectures give at once the final and highest idea of Acton's capacity. Indeed they might be considered his masterpiece.

One dissenting voice is heard, however, in regard to these lectures. E. L. Woodward remarks that they reveal clearly Acton's failing to apply Liberalism in its full strength. Woodward notes that Acton was "liberal on purely theoretic grounds" only. ("The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century," Politica, 1939, 4: 261)

"BUCKLE'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY": Acton's review of the book mentioned, David Mathew describes as a "fine example of the operation of Acton's mousetrap. The time of savage reviewing was not over and there was not much sympathy for the mouse." (Acton: The Formative Years, 126)

Arnold Bennett's testimony on this review is interesting, especially when one recalls his first impression of dislike for Acton's writings. Bennett's entry for March 24, 1908 reads as follows: "Much more pleased than I was with Lord Acton. The two essays on the history of freedom were not good specimens. He has a pretty wit in biographical stuff, and does Buckle to death with fine ferocious cruelty. His learned allusiveness is assuredly sometimes 'voulu'. If it isn't, it shows a strange lack of imagination. Altogether, jolly good. It is a pleasure to be in such company, though often one is unable to keep up with the allusiveness. As a display of learning -- dazzling. Even in science and philosophy he is terrific." (The Journal of Arnold Bennett, 290)

CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY SERIES: Series of historical essays on assigned topics by authorities in the respective field. The plan was conceived and mapped out by Acton. Whitcomb Merrick notes that the "success of cooperative editing demands an editorial activity of the most positive sort, a central power to whose judgment, the contributors shall yield, not in questions of historical fact, but on all points relating to the disposition and correlation of material. Such editors, it is hardly necessary to say, are rare. The late Lord Acton . . . was, by all accounts, such a man." (Review of the Cambridge Modern History, Volume I; The Renaissance." American Historical Review, 1903, 9: 143)

The writer for the Athenaeum of June 28, 1902 feels otherwise. He says that "All the general planning and mapping out, he managed admirably; but with the arrangement of the details he was from the first hopelessly overweighted. . . . The practical task of The Cambridge Modern History was too great for him." ("Lord Acton," 818)

Which estimate is the truer is hard to say. Still the very idea seems to us, as it did to Maitland, to be "Napoleonic." Maitland recalls his reaction when he was told of the idea. He says, "I felt as if I had been permitted to look over the shoulder of a general who was planning a campaign that was to last for five centuries and extend throughout the civilized world." (F. W. Maitland, The Collected Papers of Frederick W. Maitland, 519)

"CARDINAL WISEMAN AND THE HOME AND FOREIGN REVIEW": Article published in the Home and Foreign Review, 1862 (pp. 436-460) in which Acton answers Wiseman's pamphlet of criticism of the Rambler and the Home and Foreign Review. Provides insight into the reasons for Acton's conduct on this occasion as well as giving the differences in his opinions from those expressed by Wiseman.

CARLOW: Borough represented by Acton from 1859-1865. At the time Acton was the only English Catholic elected in Ireland. (James J. Auchmuty, "Acton's Election as an Irish Member of Parliament," English Historical Review, 1946, 61: 394)

The influence of his step-father can be seen in this event. Granville, writing to Canning on March 10, 1857 says: "I am trying to get Johnny Acton in for some place in Ireland. I am glad to find that, although he is only a moderate Whig, he is also a very moderate Catholic." (Edmond Fitzmaurice, The Life of Granville, 1: 227)

Acton's letter to Granville about this same time is also interesting for the light it throws on Acton's early opinions; Acton says: "The most serious matter that occurs to me on which I differ from the Government would be any interference in the affairs of the Pope. I mention this because I once heard you read a passage in a letter from the Duke of Argyle expressing views which I should oppose with all my heart. I could not of course promise the Catholics of Clare more than I have promised you. I hope if I am Whig enough for the Government, that I shall be Catholic enough for them." (Figgis and Laurence, Selected Correspondence, 29)

Another contemporary reaction to Acton's election to Parliament is given in Wiseman's letter. Wiseman writes on November 27, 1857 from London: "My dear Sir John,-- It would give me the greatest pleasure to see you in Parliament. I am sure you would discharge your duties there with independence, and in a thorough Catholic spirit. . . . If this expression of my high opinion can be of any service to you in your efforts to attain an honorable position, which I think you well deserve, you are at liberty to make use of what I write with any of our Bishops and clergy." (Ibid., 29-30)

After his actual election, Acton did little in the line of active participation. Bryce says that "When he [Acton] was asked soon after he entered Parliament why he did not speak, he answered that he agreed with nobody, and nobody agreed with him." (J. B. Bryce, Studies in Contemporary Biography, 383)

Actually Acton was present for most of the important developments,

and though he never intervened in debate, he did address the House on three occasions: (1) "The Condition of the Roman State," May 4, 1860; (2)"Catholic Inmates of Prisons," May 7, 1861; and (3) "Inspection of Roman Catholic Schools," April 11, 1862. (Auchmuty, op. cit., 404)

In the speech of May 4, 1860 Acton appealed for information about the government of the Papal States. "No Catholic," he said, "would defend bad government because it was exercised in the name of the Pope." In this case the evidence was contradictory and all Acton wanted was the truth. (Herbert Paul, Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone, 27)

Mathew makes a very good point when he sums up this aspect of Acton's life by saying "If we seek for an explanation of his failure to accommodate himself to either house of Parliament, the reason would seem to be that he was too professorial for that assembly." (Op. cit. 138)

CATHOLIC UNION: Association for the defence of Catholic interest, founded in 1871, and presided over by the Duke of Norfolk, that condemned Acton's policies in the Times letters controversy. (Times, November 21, 1874)

"CAUSES OF THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR": Paper read at "Eranus," the Trinity College Historical Society and the St. Catherine's College Historical Society in which Acton analyzed the War in question. Acton's use of personal conversations and human interest experiences relevant to the subject injects a lively note into the discussion.

"CAVOUR": Account of Cavour which gives not so much of Cavour's biography as a discussion of his works and deeds that seem characteristic of Cavour in Acton's eyes. Appeared in the July 1861 issue of the Rambler, 174-203.

One of Acton's earlier reviews, this reflects Acton's tendency to describe a historical movement by pointing out the germinal form and then tracing it into its later developments. Acton utilizes the opportunity to express some general principles on Church-State relations in a democratic state.

CHRONICLE: Periodical sponsored by Acton, Wetherell, Simpson and Renouf that was intended to replace the defunct Home and Foreign Review. Abbot Gasquet says of this periodical that "it lasted unfortunately only ten months, but in that period it produced much that deserves even now to be read for the critical principles ennunciated and as a model of the scientific methods which ought to be followed in all investigations." (Lord Acton and His Circle, lxxix)

"CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA": One of the lectures delivered at the Literary and Scientific Institution, Bridgnorth. This is interesting in its insight into Acton's ideas on the U. S. What one writer remarked about Acton's explanation of the Declaration of Independence is true of this lecture. He said, that, "If Acton's account were the only source of information, one would carry away the wrong notion;" but it is stimulating and significant, nevertheless, especially as regards the attitude toward the South.

"CONFLICTS WITH ROME": Article published in the final issue of the Home and Foreign Review (April 1864: 461-491) in which Acton explains the differences between the policy and program of the periodical and the Papal implications in the Syllabus. Contains many of those statements that are so dangerously expressed as to give credence to those charges of heterdoxy that are often laid against Acton.

"DOLLINGER": Article on his former teacher that has been described as next in importance to Acton's "German Schools." (Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century, 386)

Creighton, writing to H. C. Lea on October 6, 1890 says of this article: "It is of course allusive and overweighted with learning in a way which makes it unintelligible to the uninitiated; but it shows a marvellous knowledge of the results of historical investigation during the last fifty years." (Louise Creighton, Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, 1: 414)

"GEORGE ELIOT": Review of Cross's Life of George Eliot that appeared in the March 1885 issue of Nineteenth Century, (17: 461-485)

Paul claims that this is "one of the most elaborate Acton ever wrote. . . extreme and provoking instance of the writer's passion for condensation, reference, and innuendo" (Op. cit., 71) On the other hand, Shorter says that "In imaginative literature, however, his [Acton's] critical instinct was perhaps less keen. . . . [While there is some] excuse of personal friendship and admiration for a woman whose splendid intellectual gifts were undeniable, [still Acton exaggerates her importance, for she is not, as he claims,] the greatest of modern novelists." (Op. cit., 226)

ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW: Title of periodical indicates nature of magazine. Acton contributed 11 articles to it between the years 1886 to 1892. Many persons insist that "in point of fact, Lord Acton was its virtual founder." (F. E. Lally, As Lord Acton Says, iv)

FEUDAL SYSTEM: Acton's definition: "the most absolute contradiction of democracy that has co-existed with civilization." (In his article on Sir Erskine May's Democracy in Europe, Quarterly R., 1878, 145: 68)

"GERMAN SCHOOLS OF HISTORY": Essay on Modern German historical science which appeared in the first issue of English Historical Review. Of it Creighton wrote to Mr. C. J. Longman on December 28, 1886: "Acton has written a survey of German historians which will at once command attention all over the Continent, and will, I think, secure our reputation abroad as first-rate." (Creighton, op. cit., 1: 339)

The Times mentions the fact that this essay "won the approbation of erudite Teutons, while it perplexed some simple Saxons." ("The New Regius Professor," February 19, 1895) Another writer in reviewing Acton's Inaugural Address refers to the "German Schools of History" as "perhaps the only magazine article that has ever served as a justification for appointment to a chair in a great university." (Nation, 1896, 62: 39)

Gooch calls this article "striking for boundless learning, sureness of judgment, with a pregnant style." And then Gooch adds, "Students may measure their advance by their progressive ability to understand and appreciate this marvellous dissertation." (History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century, 385)

HISTORY OF LIBERTY: "The greatest book that ever was written." (L. March Phillips, Europe Unbound, cited in Mary Drew, "Acton and Gladstone," Constructive Quarterly, 1918, 6: 230)

In April of 1878 Acton wrote as follows to Dollinger: "I notice that my History of Freedom is rapidly increasing in volume. Various conversations with renowned Frenchmen furnished valuable information." (Woodward, op. cit., 258-259)

But the undertaking was too much for Acton. Actually such a task, as he visioned it, would have required the "intellects of Napoleon and Julius Caesar combined and the lifetime of the patriarchs, to have executed the project as he planned it." (Martin Burrell, Betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross, 166)

For some reason or other, Grant-Duff was of the opinion that "It is well indeed that the 'opus magnum" (The Madonna of the Future, Mrs. Drew called it) was never written." (Lord Acton's Letters," Nineteenth Century, 1904, 55: 775) It may have been that Grant-Duff felt as did the writer of the article "Lord Acton's Letters," for the Spectator, September 24, 1904, who said, "It has never been suggested that his projected History of Liberty was left unwritten through the fault of his unfaltering loyalty to what we may call a Platonic Vatican. Yet it is impossible not to feel that . . . such a startling contrast [as having the book placed on the Index] hampered it. It must at least have hampered his project." (93: 429)

HOME AND FOREIGN REVIEW: Scholarly successor to the Rambler, begun by Acton in July 1862 and discontinued in April of 1864 because of difficulties with ecclesiastical authorities and the binding force of the Syllabus of 1864 on writers.

"INAUGURAL LECTURE": Lecture on the Study of History delivered at the time of Acton's acceptance of the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge.

In view of later laudatory remarks about this lecture, the following contemporary reaction to the lecture is doubly interesting: "Unless in his succeeding lectures the new Professor can find some means to give lucid expression to his reputed learning and thus to justify his appointment, we sincerely hope he will resign a post, which, were we to judge merely from his inaugural lecture, he would seem in no way qualified to fill." ("Lord Acton on Trial," Saturday Review, 1895, 79: 822)

Some time later, Samuel R. Gardiner reviewing this same lecture said: "Lord Acton's lecture shows that in him Cambridge will find a teacher who never allows it to be forgotten that complicated subjects

are really complicated, and those who deal with the fortunes of humanity have before them a subject which borders on the infinite and cannot be dismissed with clean-cut sentences." ("Review of Acton's Lecture on the Study of History," English Historical Review, 1896, 11: 122)

John Pollock, pupil of Acton, says of the lecture that it was "in truth an emotional performance of the highest order, . . . a wonderful work of art, such as in all likelihood will not be witnessed again." ("Lord Acton at Cambridge," Independent Review, 1904, 2: 369)

Henry Charles Lea in his review of this same lecture remarks: "If this little volume is stimulating from one point of view, it is depressing from another. It stimulates with its eloquent presentation of high ideals of the values and uses of history; it depresses by conveying to the reader the conviction, which Rasselas formed from Imlac's definition of a poet, that the necessary qualifications can never be found united in a single individual." (American Historical Review, 1896, 1: 517)

JANUS: Pseudonym assumed by the writer of a book which Bury describes as a "systematic criticism of Papal Infallibility; it traced the gradual growth of Ultramontane doctrine, and dealt with the fabrications on which they were built." (Op. cit., 64)

It is generally conceded that this work was from the pen of Dr. Dollinger, even though it possesses "so blatant a Protestant spirit." (Arthur F. Marshall, "Dr. Dollinger and the Old Catholics," American Catholic Quarterly, 1890, 15: 272)

Since this is the case, the following letter of Acton on "Janus" is very apropos. Writing to Gladstone on November 24, 1869 he says: "I thought the book of Janus very important because it alters the position of the Catholics towards those who are not in communion with Rome, and I don't know any book from which I learned so much. But it seemed to me very insufficient for the purpose of arresting the Roman current and projecting a great reform. For that I think it is necessary to trace the growth of many errors besides that of Infallibility, to bring down the inquiry to the present time, and to make a clear and complete confession of all that it behooves a pure Catholicism to renounce. I have good hopes that such a book will be written and published before Easter." (Figgis and Laurence, Sel. Corr., 86)

Manning's estimate of the work is found in his work, The True Story of the Vatican Council, (151-152) where he notes that "a book more full of false accusations than any that ever came from nominally Catholic hands [has been published by Janus, who,] true to his name, double-tongued and double-faced . . . has placed more stumbling-blocks in the way of men who were seeking the truth" perhaps, than any other book.

In this same work of Manning, Von Ketteler's opinion of Janus's work is also given. "Janus," says Von Ketteler, "is, moreover, a tissue of numberless falsifications of the facts of history to which

perhaps nothing but the Provincial Letters of Pascal can be compared for violation of the truth. And not only has the Provast Dollinger failed up to the present time to disavow his cooperation with the author of Janus, but he is himself notoriously the anonymous author of the writing entitled 'Considerations presented to the Bishops of t the Council on the Question of Infallibility of the Pope' -- a writing which is indeed more moderate than Janus, but which is nevertheless so perfectly similar to it in general tone of thought and betrays aims so exactly identical, that the world has justly inferred a most intimate connection between the authors of Janus and of the 'Considerations." . . . I have nothing in common with the Dollinger whom the enemies of the Church and of the Apostolic See now load with praise." (Ibid., 155)

"LEA'S HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION": This review of Acton has been termed "perhaps the most perfect of Acton's great reviews" and praised because of his frequent citation of unused sources. (Engel-Janosi, "The Correspondence between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton," Cambridge Historical Review, 1940, 6: 320) While this analysis of the review is probably the truer and more scholarly, still Gooch's remark, that this review revealed Acton as probably the only Catholic who welcomed the publication of such a work on the Inquisition," is probably a more typical reaction of Acton's contemporaries to the review. ("Apostle of Liberty," 641)

LECTURES ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: This account of Acton has been termed "The best account of the French Revolution yet written by an Englishman." (Herbert A.L. Fisher, "Acton's Historical Work," Quarterly R., 1911, 115: 176) Barry also praises it when he points out that it serves as a perpetual commentary and often as a corrective of Carlyle's account of the French Revolution. (William Barry, "Lord Acton's French Revolution," Bookman, 1911, 39: 230)

It would seem that Lilly's estimate that "it was written with fullness of knowledge and an earnest striving after impartiality," ("Review," Dub. R., 227) is also the opinion of W. Fiddian Moulton, who says that the interpretation of the facts of the French Revolution was being given in this case by "the man who of all others is qualified to give it." ("Review of Lectures on the French Revolution," Quarterly R., 1911, 115: 271)

Figgis, on the other hand, claims that "except in actual investigation of bare facts no historian is less impartial and more personal in his judgments than Acton appears in the volume on the French Revolution." (D.M.B., 12)

Fisher observes that Acton overrates the influence of books on men in his account of the French Revolution. ("Acton's Historical Work," Quarterly R., 1918, CCXV: 176)

Then Lilly remarks that "the able gentlemen who edited [this work] might well have corrected such errors of fact" as occur throughout the work. (Op. cit., 229) To such a suggestion might well be added that of Fisher, who says: "Perhaps some day a young scholar will in a due

spirit of piety take down from their shelves at Cambridge the long array of histories and memoirs on the French Revolution which bear the traces of Lord Acton's reading, and when he has mastered these, and the Croker collection of pamphlets in the British Museum, which Lord Acton read and greatly prized, will give us an annotated edition of the Lectures which will enhance their authority and furnish a fresh illustration of the genius and industry of their author." (Op. cit., 190)

LECTURES ON MODERN HISTORY: "In some ways the best text-book for a college class in general European history to 1789 yet published." (G. S. Ford, Amer. Hist. R., 1907, 12: 622) This view of Ford expressed in his review of the book on Modern History co-incides with the estimate given in the article on the "Late Lord Acton," in the Edinburgh Review (1903, 197: 530) which says of these lectures that they give at once the final and highest idea of Acton's capacity.

MacCaffrey claims, however, that he has "never heard or read a presentation of the history of the Reformation that from the position of lecturer and from his method of narrative was likely to prove more damaging to the Catholic Church than that given by Acton in the opening lectures of his course. ("Lord Acton's Lectures on Modern History," Irish Eccl. Rec., 1907, 39: 508)

Such lectures, MacCaffrey continues, "are unworthy of any man claiming to be a historian; they are doubly unworthy of a Catholic professor, and they have been edited by men, who either did not understand or who neglected the first principles of editorial work." (Ibid., 510)

The reason for Acton's failure is well-stated by MacCaffrey as follows: "No man, however gifted, could have successfully [covered the whole period in modern history from the Renaissance to the Revolution in nineteen lectures,] whilst few who had any regard for their reputation as historians, would have displayed such a singular want of judgment as to have undertaken it." (Ibid., 503) In truth it does seem "so manifestly impossible to give even a sketch of the history of England, of Western Europe, and of the United States in the compass of nineteen lectures, that it does not tell of sound judgment in Acton to have attempted it." ("Lord Acton's Lectures on Modern History," Edin. R., 1907, 205: 298)

The last mentioned writer continues: "The comments of such a man will always be interesting; they will often be suggestive; but when based, as these very commonly are, on imperfect knowledge or an inaccurate understanding of the determining facts, they have not, they cannot have any authority." (Ibid.)

These instances of imperfect knowledge and inaccurate understanding are noted as follows. It seems as if "like Aaron's rod - the ecclesiastical element in history has swallowed all others as far as Acton is concerned." Thus the French wars of religion are made to appear as solely religious. (Ibid., 283)

One reason for the inadequacy of the Lectures might be traced to the fact that Acton seems to have studied the details of more modern

English history mainly in the pages of Macaulay, who is anything but an accurate and true guide on facts and meaning. (Ibid., 294) This same defect can be noted even in that Lecture on the American Revolution which Gooch praises very highly. (Hist. and Historians of the 19th C., 388) The writer of the Edinburgh Review's article insists that Lord Acton seems to have taken the story ready-made from the writings of Burke. (Op. cit., 298)

Indeed, "everywhere mixed with the good, there are far too many contentious statements put curtly in a very unsatisfactory manner." (Ibid., 276) But a great deal of the responsibility lies on the shoulders of the editors who should have corrected the manifest literary and grammatical errors which confront the reader in every chapter, if not in every single page of the work. (MacCaffrey, Op. cit., 502)

Another respect in which MacCaffrey notes that the editors fail is not giving a single reference to the authorities cited by Acton for his dogmatic utterances about the most debatable and most debated questions. They have allowed him without note or comment to contradict himself. (Ibid., 503) Lilly also notes this fact when he discusses the various errors of fact made in these Lectures. (Op. cit., 229)

In conclusion one might say that it is "difficult to believe that a student even much inferior to Acton would offer such contradictory statements "as are found in the pages of these lectures; and so, one must find the editors lacking in a faithful performance of their task to such an extent that the Lectures lack much of the value and authority they could otherwise possess. ("Lord Acton's Lectures," Edin. R., 275)

LETTERS OF LORD ACTON TO MARY GLADSTONE: Letters written between 1879 and 1886. Of particular interest for Acton's judgment on Mr. Gladstone and other politicians of the time. (E. L. Woodward, "The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century," Politica, 1939, 4: 248)

Still another aspect of these letters that is of value is the light they throw on Acton's ethical individualism at the extreme point to which his Catholic theology could allow him to carry it. (Engel-Janosi, "Corr. between LA and Bishop Creighton," Camb. Hist. J., 1940 6: 317.) G. Smith puts this same idea in a more radical way when he says: "If there were such a thing in the papal code as posthumous excommunication, the soul of Lord Acton would be in some peril. It certainly will lose the benefit of any masses that may have been purchased for it, and the payment of which may be still standing to its credit." ("Review of Lord Acton's Letters to Mary Gladstone," Nation, 1904, 78: 253)

After such remarks it is difficult to see the entire validity of Father Thurston's remark that these Letters present "an authentic presentment of the historian's inmost thought, written at a period of calm (1881-1884) when the heat evoked by the Vatican Council had time to cool." ("The Late Lord Acton, Cath. World, 1906, 84: 365)

That Father Thurston's statement might be misinterpreted when considered alone is obvious when we note the following quotation from that same article later on. "That he [Acton] was formally heterdox I do not for the moment suggest. Neither do I believe that he himself would ever have sanctioned the printing of such unrestrained outbursts against the papal power as those which are included in the Drew letters. (Ibid., 371)

We agree with Father Thurston in regretting the publication of these letters and feeling that Acton would never have sanctioned their publication. Still we think that Ethelred Taunton is more correct when he lays the blame for the general soreness against the Papacy, so evident in these letters, to Acton's reaction to his earlier experiences with ecclesiastical authorities. Father Thurston does not seem quite just in assuming that the "heat evoked" by such circumstances has died away, at least as far as Acton personally is concerned. ("A Great Leader," Cath. W., 1906, 84: 356) This is also the conviction of the writer of the article, "Lord Acton and the Rambler," Dub. R., 1907, 140: 2) who says that "Acton's prejudices at times made his historical judgments flagrantly unjust as some of the later letters to Mrs. Drew have convinced most people.

But allowing for these prejudices, the book is still valuable in throwing light on the political situation in England of that day; in revealing Acton's ideas on history, writing, study, and historians; in providing worthwhile verdicts on historical personages or parties or causes. (W. R. Thayer, "Review of Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," Amer. Hist. R., 1904, 9: 846-847)

Even though it be true that the idea of publishing a selection of these letters was agreed to by Acton with certain reservations in 1898 (Paul, Introduction to Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone, 5) still we agree with those writers who express the thought that it would have been much better for all concerned if the letters had been edited with more regard for the feelings of persons still living ("Lord Acton's Letters," Spectator, 1904, 93: 428) and with Barry, who remarks that "it would have served our turn better had the whole of Acton's correspondence been published at one time." ("Lord Acton: a Study," Dublin R., 1918, 162: 9)

Acton himself once said: "No public character has ever stood the revelation of private utterances and correspondence." (Cited in Engel-Janosi's "Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas of History," Cath. Hist. R., 1941, 27: 179) Even one of the letters included in this collection bears witness to Acton's feelings along this line. Writing on Oct. 3, 1880, he says: "Please do not destroy the ease and serenity and confidence of my letters, which are chatted and whispered more than written, by wanting to show them— even to Morley, in whom I have the great reliance. I should write quite differently, as you rightly say, if I was not writing to the most chosen of correspondents." (Paul, op. cit., 138)

Under such circumstances and considering the other piece of advice given in his letter on Rosmini that he "should hardly have resolved to say all this to anybody but yourself, relying on you not to misunderstand

the exact and restricted meaning of my letter," (Malcolm MacCall, "Lord Acton's Letters to Mary Gladstone - review," Fortn. R., 1904, 81: 1004) one honestly wonders how the editor and Mary Drew salved their consciences when publishing this volume.

LIBERALISM: "The dogmatic affirmation of the absolute independence of the individual and of social reason, whereas Catholicity is the dogma of absolute subjection of the individual and of the social order to the revealed law of God." (Conde B. Pallen, What is Liberalism, 37)

Such a definition makes one understand why Pius IX when speaking of Montalembert as a liberal Catholic called him only a half-Catholic. (J. B. Bury, History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century, 111)

"Historically, it [Liberalism] has stood for rejection of authority in Church and State; for a repudiation of tradition, custom, and convention. . ." Corrigan points out and then adds, "Integral Liberalism makes man the master and measure of things, and asserts his independence of God and divine law. . . . The Liberal might be saved by a lack of logic. But his principles led to destruction." (Raymond Corrigan, S.J., The Church and the Nineteenth Century, 30)

This last point about a Liberal being saved by a lack of logic is especially noteworthy in Acton's case, since even if it be granted that he was Liberal in the usual sense of that word, his actions prove him to be illogical in following the prescribed course of action for a Liberal. William Barry seems to imply as much when he says that "absolute ethics cannot be reconciled with absolute freedom, either in the individual or in the social order; nevertheless, Acton's life was consumed in the vain attempt to insist on the supremacy of both." ("Lord Acton, a Study," Dublin R., 1918, 162: 12)

A similar recognition of Acton's inconsistency is noted in the following: "Liberals, cut after the pattern of Lord Acton, are dominated solely and wholly by words. For them the world outside has no existence in reality." ("Lord Acton's Letters," Blackwood's Edinburgh R., 1913, 193: 578)

These views provide us with a truer picture of Acton as a Liberal than does the statement made by another writer who maintains that "Lord Acton was a Liberal who perfectly understood the limits of his creed." ("Musings without Method," Blackwood's Edinburgh R., 1904, 175: 578)

LIBRARY: Acton's prize library consisting of 60,000 volumes was bought by Andrew Carnegie, and on Acton's death presented to John Morley, who in turn gave it to Cambridge University. It took ten years just to arrange and catalogue the contents. (Burrell, op. cit., 66)

In view of such statistics it is easy to understand Barry's description of Acton as "the Napoleon of Literature, [who seemed] to conquer libraries as the Corsican won battles by unsleeping energy." (Op. cit., 2)

LORD ACTON AND HIS CIRCLE: This volume really is a collection of Acton's letters rather than a biography proper. There is a worthwhile biographical sketch by this priest friend of Acton, but the main body is the 178 letters dated from 1858 to 1864. It was written to correct the false impression conveyed by Paul's volume of letters.

This purpose is obvious in the following from the Introduction: "One feature in these letters, which will probably seem strange to those who have been accustomed to see illustrated in Acton a spirit of aggression against ecclesiastical authority, is the manifestation of his desire to avoid quarrels and to soften any expression likely to give offence." (lxxxv)

While Woodward maintains that Casquet's effort to minimize Acton's difference with ecclesiastical authority by his selection of letters lacks permanent interest, it is just that feature of them that makes them useful for our topic. (Op. cit., 248) It is very worth our while to find out as Casquet says that "It would seem from them [his letters] that whatever position he had taken in regard to the question of Papal Infallibility before the promulgation of the dogma, after the decision he accepted the Council and its decrees as he did those of every other Council." (Casquet, lxxxviij)

Thurston has one criticism to make of this volume. He says that he has "an uncomfortable suspicion that at least some of the omission, which are here and there indicated by dots are prompted rather by a motive of edification than by any real necessity for considering the feelings of living persons. Still," Thurston continued, "it is not to be thought of that Abbot Casquet would lend himself to anything which amounted to a substantial misrepresentation of the general tone of the letters, and he more than once lays stress upon the sincerity of purpose of both Acton and his correspondent." (Op. cit., 360)

It seems that Father Thurston has answered his own difficulty.

LORD-IN-WAITING: Appointment given Acton by Queen Victoria of which Figgis expressed the following sentiment: "It is not insignificant for English habits that the only place in the Government for a man deep in the counsels of the chief of party, and knowing more than nearly all the Cabinet put together, should have been that of a Lord-in-Waiting." (Churches in the Modern State, 255)

"MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW": Article written for the October 1869 issue of the North British Review. Reveals Acton's misconception of this event most clearly. His view is generally discredited today.

"MAY'S DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE": This review of May's book actually constitutes a minor treatise on the subject of May's book, Democracy. Naturally such a topic so dear to Acton's heart provided him with many an occasion to express his views on that topic. It is also an excellent example of Acton's reviews in the sense that it illustrates his proclivity for using an idea expressed by the author reviewed to develop his own ideas on that same subject.

"McKNIGHT'S LIFE OF BOLLINGBROKE": One of the poorer reviews of Acton. In it he makes a statement on the Tories that is one of the least mature of his pronouncements. (Mathew, op. cit., 138)

MUNICH: Bavarian capital, which in the second half of the nineteenth century was the home of high scholarship, frankly and aggressively in the service of the Church. (Corrigan, op. cit., 76) Another point of interest concerning this site of Acton's early training under Dollinger is made by Acton himself in his article about the Munich Congress. He says: "There is no centre of learning in Germany, and no theological headquarters. . . . They have not yet fought out with their own resources and on their own behalf, the great controversies of modern theology." (Home and Foreign Review, January 1864, 210)

MUNICH CONGRESS: Meeting called by Dollinger to discuss philosophical and historical aspects of current theological problems. An article on this Congress was written by Acton for the January 1864 issue of his Home and Foreign Review (pp. 209-244). Certain statements made by Acton reveal many tell-tale symptoms of his later views.

NEWMAN'S LETTER TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK: "The" answer to the dilemma posed by Gladstone in his Vatican Decrees pamphlet. This answer enabled Acton to accept the Vatican Decrees in their entirety, as he confided to Lady Blennerhassett. (W.L. Blennerhassett, op. cit., 184)

NOACK'S WORKS: Geschichtswissenschaft und Warheit (1935) and Katholizitat und Geistesfreiheit (1936) -- the two works by Ulrich Noack constitute a systematic review of Acton's thought and therefore one should consider them carefully, even though they might be expanded or corrected in points of detail. (Engel-Janosi, "The Corr. of L.A. and R.C." 314)

NOBEL PRIZE OF 1902: When considering the awards of that year the President of the Swedish Academy quoted Lord Acton's opinion on the supreme excellence of Theodore Mommsen's History of the Roman Law as testimony worthy of note— a fact which indicates the reputation Acton held among European scholars. ("The Late Lord Acton," Edin. R., 505)

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW: Another journalistic venture that Acton embarked on with Wetherell as companion. J. W. Thompson says of it that Acton "helped Wetherell, editor of the Catholic Chronicle, to revise the North British Review on liberal Catholic lines." (A History of Historical Writing, 2: 331)

In this periodical as with the earlier enterprises Newman found it necessary to disagree. Newman felt that Acton and Wetherell were using language that was too offensive to achieve any real good. He felt that the excesses which Acton so denounced were not necessarily the index of an attitude which had existed from the very first; but that often they were more a reaction and protest to developing circumstances, and were, therefore, indefensible but natural. (Wilfrid Ward, The Life of John Henry Newman, 2: 284)

This view of Newman is obvious in the following letter he wrote to Wetherell on November 7, 1869: "It [North British Review] has to me,

only one fault, but a serious one. I don't want a review to be religious, or even to profess Catholicity; but did not I know the quarter whence it came, I should think it written by liberal Scotchmen, religious in a way, who looked at the Church as a fiction of the past." (Gasquet, op. cit., xxxij)

NOTES: These scraps of thoughts Acton jotted down are preserved in boxes and boxes in the Acton collection. Mathew says of them that they "reveal a lightness of touch seldom found in Acton's published letters or his more elaborate works . . . seems to give himself up to the joy of the chase." (Op. cit., 159)

Of these notes, Engel-Janosi also remarks that they are too numerous for detailed examination, but they bear witness to the inexhaustibleness of which his friends speak. ("Reflections on Lord Acton's Ideas of History," Catholic Hist. R., 1941, 27: 167)

"OLD CATHOLICS": Schismatic group formed after the Vatican Council's definition of Infallibility. Although Friedrich joined them, neither Acton nor Dollinger did.

OSCOTT: English school where Acton received his early training.

"POLITICAL THOUGHTS ON THE CHURCH": Article written for Rambler. Figgis gives it as an article in an 1858 issue, while Gasquet places it as one for the January 1859 issue.

Interesting summary of the Church's role in regard to political forms throughout history. Interesting thoughts on the close relationship between Church's teachings and their penetration into the political milieu.

"PROTESTANT THEORY OF PERSECUTION": Article in the March 1862 issue of the Rambler. Several statements in the article stress the idea that freedom requires the existence of error. In view of the radical notions held in this article, it is worth noting that Gasquet ascribes this article to Simpson. Woodward points out that Professor Whitney says the style is different from Acton's; and Wetherell admitted his memory was not always trustworthy in recalling the authorship of these anonymous articles in his various journals. (G. G. Coulton, "Mistaken Ascription to Acton," Engl. Hist. R., 1931, 46: 460)

QUIRINUS' LETTERS FROM ROME ON THE COUNCIL: A series of articles on the proceedings of the Vatican Council, which appeared while that body was in session in the Allgemeine Zeitung and were later published as a book. "Rightly or wrongly, these have sometimes been attributed to Lord Acton." (Times, February 19, 1895, 9)

Woodward also insists that these articles are "largely based (at times verbatim) on information supplied by Acton." (Op. cit., 249) Cooch is of the same opinion when he notes: "From Rome Acton sent to Dollinger full reports on which the Letters of Quirinus" were largely based." (Hist. and Historians of 19th C., 383)

Morley would hold Dollinger responsible for this work. (John Morley, Recollections, 1: 135n) This seems to be Figgis' view also, for in The Dictionary of National Biography in his article on Acton, Figgis says: "Acton is only partially responsible for Quirinus's deliverances. In some places the sympathies of the writer are strongly Gallican-- a point of view which appealed to Dollinger but never to his pupil." (p. 10) Writing in 1930, Butler says quite definitely that "It is known that the writer was Dollinger; but they were made up from materials supplied to him from Rome by three correspondents closely in touch with the principal Minority bishops and with the embassies of the Catholic governments, and so were (presumably) well-informed on what was going on . . . two of the correspondents for Quirinus can be identified-- Dr. Friedrich and Lord Acton," .. . the one acting as theologian to Cardinal Hohenlohe, who was brother of Prince Hohenlohe, the Bavarian Foreign Minister; and the other in contact with Gladstone. (Cuthbert Butler, The Vatican Council, 1: 256) This idea of Acton serving as supplier of the ideas and Dollinger as the actual author is also expressed by Thompson (Op. cit., 540) and Reuben Parsons (Studies in Church History, 6: 419-420)

Cooch adds the name of Strossmayer as the third correspondent. (Hist. and Historians in the 19th C., 559) While Paul M. Baumgarten in his article on Quirinus in the Catholic Encyclopedia states that "We do not as yet possess accurate knowledge concerning Acton's share in the work known as "Letters from Rome." Engel-Janosi believes that "The question of the authorship of the Quirinus" letters may perhaps be solved after a study has been made of the reports which Acton sent from Rome to the British government." ("Some Notes . . .," 358)

Bury expresses the case as follows: "Suspicion alighted for a moment on the attache of the Bavarian Embassy, Count Louis von Arco and also on Acton. But they finally concentrated themselves on the Palazzo Valentini, the residence of Cardinal Hohenlohe, and ascribed the authorship to Professor Friedrich. . . . Friedrich absolutely denies the charge; he says that the letters could not have been the work of one person alone." (Op. cit., 87)

Still another version is forwarded by Malcolm MacColl, who says that "It is a slip to say that . . . Letters to Quirinus in Allgemeine Zeitung represent the collected and published letters and reports of Acton to Dollinger and Gladstone. [They were] probably inspired by Acton, but Quirinus is the 'nom de plume' of Dr. Reinkens, who attended Cardinal Hohenlohe, the first bishop of 'Old Catholics.'" ("Lord Acton's Letters to Mary Gladstone," Fortnightly R., 1904, 81: 1010)

RAMBLER: earliest journalistic venture of Acton.

REGIUS PROFESSOR: Position given Acton at the recommendation of Lord Rosebery in 1895. The Times for February 19, 1895 remarks that "On the whole we fancy that this appointment will be received with hopeful expectation by the educated public. Doubtless it will offend the sensitive sensibilities of more than one orthodoxy." (p. 9)

An interesting point is made in this same article when they note that "The new Professor is by birth and education a Roman Catholic,

and he is probably the first member of that faith who has held high office in either of our national Universities since the reign of James II." (Ibid)

Summing up Lord Acton, one writer remarked that "the peer and the politician in him were subsidiary, as it were, to the professor." ("Lord Acton - In General," Athenaeum, 1902, 117: 32)

Just what was Acton as a professor may be gathered from such testimony as Figgis provides in The Church in the Modern State where he says of Acton that "His lectures had not the abundant fertility of suggestion which characterized Creighton. . . . He had not Maitland's gift of historic imagination. . . . Yet in one respect his lectures were more impressive than those of either. . . . he excelled them in moral passion and dignity and weight of eloquence. No one could listen to him without being convinced of the tremendous issues which lie in political choice, or of the absolute difference between right and wrong doing. It was this burning conviction of the eternal distinction between good and bad, and the immeasurable gulf that divides expediency from justice, that gave to his lectures, his writings, and his life their peculiar significance." (p. 259)

"There was a simplicity of life, a nobleness of purpose, and a solid basis of principle of which all were conscious," that proved Acton's chief attractions in the opinion of Henry E. Tedder. ("Lord Acton as a Book Collector," Proceedings of British Academy, 1903-1904, 1: 284)

Such accounts prepare one for the following glowing testimony cited by Mary Drew (Op. cit., 240) "There was a magnetic quality in his voice, a light in his eye that compelled obedience from the mind. Never before had young men come into the presence of such intensity of conviction as was shown by every word Lord Acton spoke. It took possession of the whole being and seemed to enfold it in its own flame. More than all else it was this conviction that gave to his lectures their amazing force and vivacity." Of a similar nature is Gooch's expressed in his Studies in Modern History where he speaks of his beloved former teacher as follows: "Though not the greatest historian, he was the most commanding personality who held the Chair of Modern History. The University has never possessed a teacher more capable of inspiring his students to research and reflection or one more ready to enter into their interests." (p. 315)

It is easy to see then the justice to Crane Brinton's point that Acton's "most potent influence has been felt through the men who studied under him at Cambridge, when one recalls the above testimonies. ("Lord Acton's Philosophy of History," Harvard Theological Review, 1919, 12: 111)

So far we have pointed out the students' reactions to their teacher. It is worth noting one reaction of this teacher to his pupils. On one occasion Acton remarked, "I don't like clever young men." And Pollock who reports this also adds that Acton's teaching was always directed to prevent his pupils from getting the consciousness of being clever. (Op. cit., 371)

Not only students but also fellow-professors were influenced by Acton. Thus we find Reginald L. Poole stating that "His influence at Cambridge was perhaps even stronger among the teachers of history than among his undergraduate pupils." ("John Emerich, Lord Acton," English Hist. R., 1902, 17: 699) It was probably some such view that caused Thompson (Op. cit., 330) to name Acton as the real founder of the Cambridge school of history.

Acton certainly was qualified for this position of prominence. "Within his range of studies the most refreshing, informed, suggestive, historical critic that we English-speaking people have," is one's estimate. "Clear of vision and definitely frank in the expression of his judgments, he is gifted with a rare spirit of moderation and an enviable command of refined and diplomatic language, whose effect is immediate and lasting." (John a Mooney, "The Popes of the Renaissance and Their Latest Historian," Amer. Cath. Q., 1889, XIV: 414)

While it was said of Acton that he knew too much to write himself, still the same writer added immediately, no one could have been more helpful, both by temperament and talent, in inspiring others to write. And this was the function which he most admirably discharged from the professorial chair." ("Musings without Method," 581) In the article, "The Late Lord Acton," in the Edinburgh Review (op cit., 529) mention is made of the fact that Acton influenced the methods of research and the thoughts of men more than the famous authors of celebrated works.

Such considerations compelled Figgis to arrive at the conclusion that "Certainly no one in Cambridge ever did more to remove the reproach from what the ignorant think of as the easiest of studies. His defect was, rather, that he over-estimated the responsibility of his task." (Lectures on Modern History, xv)

In conclusion then we might summarize Acton's role as Regius by mentioning the special contributions he made in that capacity. These have been enumerated as follows: (1) He represented to the world the worth and dignity of historical studies; (2) He stood for a high ideal of perfection and fastidious accuracy . . . such as may be necessary to secure the comparative excellence of the work turned out by the ordinary scholar; (3) He placed his erudition at the disposal of any one who chose to ask him for assistance; (4) He impressed his concept of history views and methods on Cambridge; (5) He kept alive the standard of cosmopolitan culture. ("Lord Acton - As a Teacher," Athenaeum, 1902, 117: 817-818)

REVIEWS: Reviews of books, according to Acton, constituted a sort of "an inverted Index" which served the purpose of guarding men "against desultory, casual, disconnected reading, when men are at the mercy of temporary reputation and even of accidental encounters." (Engel-Janosi, "Corr. of LA and C.," 308)

"A man [such as Acton] prepared to receive so much benefit from books was bound to regard the mere work of discussing books and criticising them as an important contribution to personal and social

welfare . . . . [This] also helps to explain the degree to which Acton was willing to devote himself to the work of reviewing." (Ibid.)

In listing the qualities possessed as a reviewer, Mathew gives the following for Acton: (1) tartness of expression, (2) antipathy to hero worship, (3) play on sources, (4) liking for wide canvas and striking and far-reaching implications, (5) tracing of ideas, and (6) unrestrained bibliographical erudition. (Op. cit., 150ff)

Even shorter notices of books betray this intimate and detailed knowledge of documents and authorities that Mathew refers to. (D.N.B., 9)

When one remembers the prolific flow of such reviews from Acton's pen -- he had 31 such reviews and shorter notices in the Home and Foreign Review for January 1863 issue alone-- one appreciates the following comment of Poole all the more: "Lord Acton's reviews of books are not so helpful in guiding us to the value of the book dealt with . . . as they are as contributions to the literature on the subject itself, with hardly an exception permanent achievements of the finest quality." (Op. cit., 696)

"RISE AND FALL OF THE MEXICAN EMPIRE": Lecture delivered at Bridgnorth Literary and Scientific Institution on March 10, 1868. Subject is obvious-- depiction of the career of Maximilian in Mexico. Again this lecture shows a more fluent and understandable style than his reviews. It contains some pertinent remarks about democracy and empire that are interesting.

SECRET HISTORY OF CHARLES II: Piece written by Acton, which while easier reading than most reviews, still is marked by a certain immaturity of tone. Mathew insists that Acton had no understanding of the Restoration "milieu", did not like its bawdy wit, purposeful frivolity. (Op. cit., 127)

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE FIRST LORD ACTON: Contains practically all the letters of importance to Gladstone and Newman. This volume like that edited by Paul creates the impression that Acton's submission had the appearance of diplomacy, as in the case of Talleyrand, states Barry, and then adds, "a supposition I do not grant." (Op. cit.,1)

The writer for the Month (1917, 130: 568) in his article, "Lord Acton's correspondence," says that "Their [the editors] chief perplexity - and a not unreasonable one - seems to have been to understand how a man who could inveigh so bitterly against the Papacy, and say such things against the Ultramontanes for being loyal to it; how one who, animated by these prepossessions, could oppose himself so vigorously to the Infallibility of the Vatican Council - could, when what he feared had become the law of the Church, have none the less decided not to quit its communion, but have remained in it till the end of his life, though, as his subsequent letters prove, he never changed his views or even the external expression of them."

As long as one believes as the above writer does, it is easy to understand his remark that he feels like these editors that the whole thing is a puzzle which he is also unable to solve, and would honestly wish that the letters had never been published. (Ibid., 569) But it does seem that Barry's belief that Acton was sincere and not merely being diplomatic in his acceptance of Infallibility is the truer estimate if one allows for the omnipresent misconception of that dogma that Acton held.

SENDSCHREIBEN AN EINEN DEUTSCHEN BISCHOF DES VATICANISCHEN CONCILS: Strong of most strongly worded objections culled from the Synopsis, giving the anti-infallibilist arguments. (D.N.B., 10)

SYLLABUS ERRORUM: "Not a body of dogmatic teaching, but a list or index, issued to bishops, of errors condemned in the allocutions and encyclicals of Pius IX; to each of the eighty propositions is attached the reference to the documents wherein that error was condemned, and in order to understand the several condemnations and the nature of the errors, recourse must be had to the original documents, the contexts not the face value of the propositions, affording the key to the right interpretation." (Butler, The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne, 2: 95)

TEGERNSEE: Bavarian home of Acton.

ULTRAMONTANISM: "The centralizing tendency within the Catholic Church; "Looking beyond the mountains;" a reaction to French Gallicanism, and German Febronianism and Josephism. Also opposed to Liberalism. Ultramontanes were vigorous supporters of Papal Infallibility, the exercise of the primacy and increased papal prestige." (Corrigan, op. cit., 309)

Acton looked on Ultramontanism as the "supreme and triumphant expression of the principle of Machiavelli." ("Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone," Athenaeum, 1904, 488) But the harshness with which Acton always regarded ultramontanes was due to that bitter feeling which arose from his earlier experiences with representatives of that school, (Figgis and Laurence, History of Freedom, xxv) rather than a true study of the movement.

What's more the "difficulty created by Lord Acton's peculiar attitude of mind towards Ultramontanism is a difficulty which must be fairly faced. . . . Great as Acton's qualities were, his judgment in certain matters in which his sympathies were warmly enlisted did not always hold the balance even. Lord Acton by no means possessed the cool, impartial temper proper to the historian." (Herbert Thurston, "The Late Lord Acton," Catholic World, 1906, 84: 369) Still another writer agrees substantially with Thurston when he says that there is "danger of allowing the religious idea to absorb the individual. This is particularly true of his attitude towards those whom he calls Ultramontanes. He seems to have his own peculiar definition of the word and he applies his own peculiar standard of criticism with unsparing vigor." (Oliver H. Richardson, "Lord Acton and his Obiter Dicta on History," Sewanee Review, 136)

Grant-Duff notes a similar confusion in Acton's use of the word. He says, "The use of the word Ultramontane in these letters [to Mary Drew] puzzles me. Pretty late in the 60's I had said in an article that Acton and his associates in the Church were not Ultramontanes, but he maintained they were. Whether it was that in later life, he fell into ordinary parlance, or whether after the Council of 1870 he deliberately changed the phrase by which he wished to be designated, I am not sure. The word had altered its meaning more than once in the course of history." (Grant-Duff, op. cit., 773)

What Grant-Duff remarks above can be noted also in the following letter Acton wrote in 1861 where he protests against his not being considered an Ultramontane. "I must protest against the distinction between ultramontane and historical. Everything systematic is anti-historical. . . . For my part I believe myself just as much an ultramontane as a partisan of the historical school." (Gasquet, op. cit., 235)

This earlier favorable interpretation is obvious in the two following quotations from Acton's article on Ultramontanism, which appeared in the July 1863 issue of the Home and Foreign Review.

"Protestant observers have adopted a designation to indicate the esoteric spirit of Catholicism, the real essence of the system they oppose. That designation is Ultramontanism. . . . Ultramontanism stands in the same relation to Catholicism in matters of opinion as Catholicism to Christianity in matters of faith. It signifies a habit of intellect carrying forward the enqueries and supplementing the work of authority. It implies the legitimate union of religion with science, and the conscious intelligible harmony of Catholicism with the systems of secular truth. Its basis is authority, but its domain is liberty, and it reconciles the one with the other." (pp. 164-165)

And on page 205, Acton remarks: "When a man has really performed this double task, -- when he has worked out the problem of science or politics, on purely scientific and political principles, and then controlled this process by the doctrine of the Church, and found its results to coincide with that doctrine, then he is an Ultramontane in the real meaning of the term -- a Catholic in the highest sense of Catholicism."

"VATICAN COUNCIL": Article for North British Review. Title indicative both of content and value.

VATICAN DECREES AND THEIR BEARING ON CIVIL ALLEGIANCE: Pamphlet by Gladstone, published in 1874, that aroused so much controversy.

"WAR OF 1870": Lecture delivered at the Bridgnorth Literary and Scientific Institution on April 25, 1871. Rather heavy reading; not particularly noteworthy in any respect.

"WOLSEY AND THE DIVORCE OF HENRY VIII": Article in the Quarterly Review of January 1877 (pp. 1-64) in which Acton reviews Mr. Brewer's work and at the same time exposes Acton's views on the topic. Acton's antagonism to persecution under religious pretext is very obvious in the article.