Religion & Liberty

January and February • 1996 A Publication of the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty Volume 6 • Number 1

Private Solutions: The Best Hope for Cultural Renewal

Interview: Kay Coles James

Secretary of Health and Human Services for the State of Virginia, a post she recently left to return to the private sector, Kay Coles James served in the White House during the Bush Administration as Associate Director of the Office of National Drug Control, and was the Director of Public Affairs for the National Right to Life Committee. She has authored *Never Forget* and *Transforming America from the Inside Out*, and lives with her husband Charles and their three children in Virginia. *Religion & Liberty* interviewed Mrs. James on her final day as Secretary of Health and Human Services.

R&L: In your book* Transforming America from the Inside Out*, you diagnose America's social condition as "Cultural AIDS". That has become a controversial metaphor. What do you mean by "Cultural AIDS" and why is it more accurate than the common phrase "culture wars"?

James: The concept of culture wars is that there are two, three, perhaps four cultures in America that are clashing with one another, and the strongest will ultimately survive. I believe, however, that America at its core has an identity, a culture that represents who we are as a nation. I see that culture as sick and dying. That is true because those institutions in our culture that historically provided a shield for us against the pathologies of our communities are breaking down. These pathologies—violence, pornography, child abuse, chemical addiction—have existed in world culture since the very beginning of time. But what has allowed us as a nation to fight off those particular pathologies is that we had a very strong immune system—things like strong families, strong faith, strong institutions, a moral base, a strong sense of virtue. As a result of our immune system now being broken down, we are susceptible to these viruses. So the way we need to address this problem is to build up those institutions that have made us be able to resist the pathologies.

R&L: You also suggest that government cannot restore sound moral principles to American society. Yet you have been an executive in a government bureaucracy. What is the proper role, if any, for the federal and state government in restoring America's moral order?

James: The interesting thing about that question is that you are interviewing me on the final day of my service in government. I do believe that there is a limited role for government to play, and I don't think that, as someone who holds that philosophy, I ought to leave government to those who believe in larger and more expansive governments. What we need is people who have a limited view of government who are willing to serve. Unfortunately, what that usually means is that those people are willing to come in for a while, serve, and leave. There are too few of us who hold these views who are willing to leave the private sector to serve in the government. I think conservatives, by the nature of

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who we are and our view of government's limited role, would prefer to work in the private sector.

Something I said at the very core of *Transforming America* is that I really do believe that cultural change actually happens outside of the government sector. It happens more slowly, but that is where you really advance the ball for cultural change. And being an African-American conservative who holds those views, I am often in demand to come in and serve. There is a great deal of pressure for people who believe in limited government to serve in government. So I usually come in and do what I believe I can do in a limited amount of time, and then run back to the private sector as fast as I can—which is what I'm doing today!

R&L: In retrospect, what do you think was your major accomplishment as Secretary of Health and Human Services for Virginia?

James: What will be remembered publicly and historically will be Virginia's welfare reform, and I do believe that it was a major accomplishment to develop the plan, write the legislation, get it through the general assembly, and then actually implement it in Virginia. Having said that, however, I believe that there are some things that have happened in the last two years that are probably as significant—if not more so—but they aren't as interesting to the general public, and so they don't get discussed as frequently.

As an example, one of the major thrusts here was to look at the government and try to figure out how to make it less intrusive. So we thoroughly reviewed the regulatory process and current regulations to see how to streamline them and get them out of peoples' lives. One way to do that is by limiting bureaucracy, and because this administration believed in limited government, and because I had a strong commitment to doing that, I cut the bureaucracy by eleven percent in two years, which is impressive. We've never done that.

R&L: Usually it goes the other way.

James: Absolutely. And as a conservative, I know that if you don't run a bureaucracy with conservative principles—if you are just neutral—it will still grow. So you really have to come in committed to limited government. A lot of people miss the fact that this is a four *billion* dollar agency which started out with 19,000 employees; significantly dropping that was a huge managerial challenge. So I think it is important to know that conservatives can manage well, provide services at a minimum level, protect the tax payers' interest, and give good government. That to me was a real opportunity to take the philosophy and actually implement it hands-on. For someone who has come out of Washington or out of a think tank where you think policy and you think great thoughts, the opportunity to actually implement things was just very exciting.

R&L: Many social analysts and social thinkers speak of a permanent underclass in American society. From your experience at HHS, is it true that America has developed a permanent underclass?

James: I don't believe that there is such a thing as a *permanent* underclass. I really do believe that given the opportunities this country affords, there need not be anything called a permanent underclass. We just have too many examples of individuals who accept personal responsibility for their lives, who see themselves as survivors rather than victims, and who are determined to take charge of their destiny. If you were going to be poor anywhere in the world, the best place to do it is in America. You have the opportunity to break through those class distinctions to achieve and to accomplish—and there are just too many examples of that having happened to buy into the notion that there is

RELIGION & LIBERTY

A Publication of the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty

Volume 6 • Number 1

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The Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty was founded in 1990 to promote Classical Liberal ideas among clergy and individuals who can best effect positive change in the moral climate of our time. The Institute is a nonpartisan, nonprofit, charitable, educational, and literary center. It is supported by donations from foundations, corporations, and individuals and maintains a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt status.

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something called a "permanent" underclass. I do believe, however, that we today have a battered underclass.

R&L: What are some of the distinctive features of the battered underclass, and what, therefore, are their greatest needs?

James: What we are experiencing in America today is the unintended consequences of our misguided compassion of the last thirty years. Through government programs and policies, as well as through some very well-meaning people involved in social and charitable organizations, and with a paternalistic view toward the poor, what we have done—and this is the phrase that Secretary Sullivan used to use—is instead of blaming the victim, we have actually lamed the victims. We, through our own misguided compassion, have set up a scenario in America whereby individuals have been robbed of their personal dignity, robbed of their hope, robbed of their self-esteem—and more importantly—robbed of a strong belief that they can accomplish and achieve.

People rise or sink to their level of expectation, and I think that many who have this misguided compassion have really lowered the bar to the point that many poor people in America really don't believe that can accomplish anything. They simply have been robbed of their initiative by people lowering the bar and not having high levels of expectations.

In The Liberal Tradition

Anne Robert Jacques Turgot (1727 - 1781)

"...each individual is the only competent judge of the most advantageous use of his lands and of his labor."

It was 1774, and decades of expensive and ill-advised government ventures left the regime of Louis the XVI fiscally overstretched and teetering, once again, on the edge of bankruptcy. Thus was the situation when Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, the baron de l' Aulne, was appointed France's Minister of Finance.

A.R.J. Turgot was born in Paris to a distinguished Norman family which had long served as important royal officials. He earned honors first at the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, and then at the great theological faculty of the University of Paris, the Sorbonne. He was expected to enter the clergy, but instead felt he was called to government service. And although he had wide-ranging intellectual interests in history, theology, literature, philology, and the natural sciences, he is now best known for his brief but brilliant career in economics.

Turgot's free-market approach was firmly rooted in his theological education and flowed from his faith in God. He initiated reforms intended to deregulate agriculture and industry, encourage free trade and open borders, and establish fairer labor practices. He thought that eliminating such restrictions on the economy would usher in an era of such unprecedented prosperity that the regime's fiscal problems would evaporate.

Turgot's finance revolution failed. In spite of his political and economic liberalism, he ended up implementing his reforms too hastily and too harshly, which evoked cries of dissent from the aristocracy. He was advised to implement his reforms more slowly and carefully, but a sense of impending doom for both the regime and his own life—"In our family we die at fifty," he had said—had spurred him on to reckless, and in some cases despotic, policy-making. Turgot was dismissed by the king in 1776. His forebodings were fulfilled; he died in 1781 at fifty-four years of age nearly on the eve of that most illiberal revolution that would consume the regime he tried so hard to rescue. *A*

Sources: *Economic Thought Before Adam Smith* by Murray N. Rothbard (Edward Elgar, 1995), and *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* by Simon Schama (Vintage Books, 1989).

It's amazing when you set the bar high how people can achieve.

R&L: Your book* Transforming America *upset some people because of its claim that racism is still among the most significant problems facing the church and society. What does American society have to do to eliminate racism?

James: I don't see how you could be black in America today and not deal with the reality that racism exists. I experience it on a daily basis and no one can really refute my own experience. Having said that, I really do disagree with how most people within the liberal black community would deal with racism in America. I think racism on an individual basis needs to be dealt with swiftly on an individual basis. I don't believe in retribution or somehow holding all light-complexioned people in America accountable for individual acts of racism that have occurred in my own life or in the lives of other African-Americans.

I don't see racism as an excuse for not accomplishing or achieving. Racism has existed in America since day one, and—in light of the fact that I am raising children and trying to motivate young African-Americans—the name of the game is trying to figure out how in the world we're going to win this thing in spite of racism, poverty, poor schools, and a lack of economic opportunities. The real challenge is to say "Okay, if this is what exists, what is my responsibility in dealing with this real scenario?" And I accept no excuses, including racism. So I think that while I acknowledge that racism exists, I may have a very different strategy of how to deal with it.

R&L: You have argued that the loss of principled morality is at the root of America's economic and social crisis. Is moral renewal the only remedy for this crisis?

James: I think it will take a moral revival, but it will also take good sound public policy—and the two are not mutually exclusive. Very often people somehow see a dilemma: "Should I be involved in the moral renewal of America, or is the real key changing government and public policy?" It's not an either/or situation, it's a both/and. I happen to be a Presbyterian and believe both that God is sovereign and that man is responsible; both things can be true at the same time. I have no problem with accepting what some people see as apparent dilemmas.

I really do believe that cultural change actually happens outside of the government sector. It happens more slowly, but that is where you really advance the ball for cultural change.

R&L: America is grasping for a common moral agenda, and as part of that moral agenda, certain virtues will be encouraged. What virtues does America most need now?

James: Perhaps the one who has captured that the best is Bill Bennett in his *Book of Virtues*. While we are a pluralistic society and we differ in many ways in what we believe to be moral and religious truths, there are virtues that are common to all cultures, and need to be incorporated into the fabric of America. For example, patriotism ought not be debatable or negotiable. Loyalty, a work ethic, honesty, integrity—these are the kinds of virtues that make individuals and communities strong, and that makes for a strong nation. I really don't believe that virtue is something that you can simply read about in Bennett's book. What makes that book so excellent is that it's a useful tool to be used by families as they talk about virtues, identify them, live them out, point them out, and affirm them in each other's lives. Anybody who thinks they are going to buy that book and give it to their children in the hope that they "catch" those virtues is confused.

R&L: What do you think it will take in this nation for that kind of moral and religious revival?

James: As I go to communities and talk to people who are struggling at a subsistence level everyday, what I find is that they don't want a sort of feel-good religion. They don't want pat answers and Bible verses with smiley faces that tell them that everything is okay. What they want is real, gutsy truth; they want to know that theology is practical and real and can have an impact on their lives. They need to know that the God of the universe is a very personal God who cares about the details of their lives.

If God doesn't have real answers for pregnant teenage fourteen-year old girls, if there are not real answers for a father for who is struggling with chemical addiction and wants to change but feels powerless to do that, if there aren't real answers within our sphere of faith for these people, then they reject it. And very often we want to go in and scratch the surface, and not deal with the real, strong, life-changing faith that has relevance to the lives of the people we are trying to touch. *A*

The Necessity of Moral Absolutes in a Free Society

Justice Clarence Thomas

[EDITORS NOTE: The following remarks were delivered by Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas at the Acton Institute's Fourth Anniversary Dinner at the Amway Grand Plaza Hotel in Grand Rapids, Michigan, May 5, 1994.]

I am truly honored to be with each of you this evening. And, the honor is magnified because I can be here with my wife and best friend. I thank Father Sirico for his patience and persistence. He was kind enough to invite me during my first term on the Court and he certainly made sure that his invitation was not overlooked or forgotten. I have enjoyed both our correspondence and the opportunities we have had to talk. From my vantage point, our exchanges have been enlightening, inspirational, and encouraging.

I am now approaching the end of my third term of the Court. Though the first term was difficult, the subsequent challenges have all been positive and work related. My brief tenure has been most rewarding and peaceful. I am profoundly grateful to have been blessed with an opportunity to be of service to my fellow citizens as a member of the Court. Though I was convinced at different points in my life that first my vocation, then ambitions, were elsewhere, I have come to know that I am where I belong.

Father Sirico had on any number of occasions asked me what topics I proposed to speak on. Unfortunately, I did not know what I would talk about, since I do not have a stump speech and time simply did not permit me to put pencil to paper until this date drew near. One lesson that I have learned at the Court is that the work of the Court is voracious in its consumption of time and energies. I had no idea that it would be so demanding. Between now and the end of the term, the pace will reach somewhat of a frenzy as we work to complete the Court's business. But, I have found it useful and rewarding to pilfer what time I can to get away from the confines of the work and the Court to be with some of the wonderful people who have been so kind to invite me.

I would like to say just a few more words about the Court from my perspective. Prior to going on the Court, I had not given it much thought as a working institution. Of course, like all of you, I had thought about some of the decisions that affected my life and our country. However, I was not what one could call a Court watcher or a student of the Court. I had visited a few times, but I had never attended an oral argument. And what I had read suggested that there were different and apparently warring camps among the Justices. And, judging from the tone of some of the opinions, there seemed to be some tension. Nothing I had read or heard prior to actually joining the Court suggested otherwise. But all of this is so far from the truth. I have never had the occasion to be a part of an institution that is so civil, so respectful, and dedicated to doing its best as does the Court. I do not say this lightly; nor do I say it for ulterior motives, no matter how obsequious it sounds. The work is hard, the cases are most difficult, and the pace can border on the impossible; but my colleagues and those who work at the Court make it all enjoyable. I am honored to know that I will spend virtually all, if not all, of the rest of my life there.

Often when I sit down to prepare a talk, I catch myself thinking that I can't say this or that—not so much because it would conflict with my duties as a member of the Court but because it may not be the kind of thing that will be understood or the kind of thing that is said these days. That is not to say that there are not significant limitations. Believe me, there are. But even though there is much that I cannot appropriately discuss, I consider this added reluctance to be spineless. It seems to me that I had far more courage at the age of sixteen, when I would patiently defy conventional attitudes in a still *de facto* segregated environment by waiting patiently to be delivered my books in a legally desegregated library by a reluctant librarian or when I would be followed or watched intently as I browsed in the unfamiliar wonderland of a bookstore.

Why is it that many, if not all, of us think twice before we say what we really think or believe. Have we been silenced by the popular hecklers? Are we afraid? Is there a cultural inquisitor who stalks us all? Then, why is it that so many of us who know better about so much that we see around us cower and speak in hushed, mousy voices?

Almost a decade ago I heard a minister say that we were money-poor and values-rich in our youth. That is certainly true of my youth,

though I did not know that we were money-poor until I was told so during my college years. Indeed, as long as we had food on the table, a roof over our heads, and clothes on our backs, we were money-rich. In all those years, I never heard a single complaint about what we didn't have. Sure, we were told as kids that we couldn't have this or that toy, because there was no money for it. But, this was not offered as a complaint, but rather as a realistic assessment of our financial position as a family. Not getting what we wanted when we wanted it (or at all) didn't mean that we were money-poor.

Much of what I hear about the environment in which I grew up is cast in the civil rights context. I can understand this since, without that monumental effort, life would have been considerably different for all of us—and not for the better. I continue to admire the courage and conviction of those who were willing to stand against an obvious moral wrong. Just as in the abolitionist movement , the immediate solution may have been civil in nature, but the momentum of the movement had morality as its source. And, bigotry and racism, in all their forms, are immoral. But with that said, life in those years is depleted of so much of its meaning when, as is customary today, it is reduced so facilely to just civil rights.

Last May, I returned to my hometown for the first time since becoming a member of the Court. It was a most satisfying visit. Of course, I had a chance to visit with family, friends, and so many well wishers. It was wonderful. At St. Paul C.M.E. Church I was called upon to say a few words. I think a "few words" is different from a speech. I asked the mostly Black congregation a few questions. Now that we technically had civil rights, were their daily lives better? Could they now live their lives in peace; send their children to school with no fears; leave their doors open to catch an evening breeze? The answers, judging from the many nodding heads, were all a resounding "no". Certainly, they did not think that obtaining their civil rights was a waste of time. That would be ridiculous. No, they were simply asserting that something crucial was missing. What was it? What got thrown out or lost?

Today, it seems that those among us who are skilled at rejecting our culture or criticizing the status quo are exalted over those who just do the best they can with what they have. That is not to say that those who challenge wrongs in our society should not be recognized or credited for doing so; but it is ironic that those who go on constructively in spite of obstacles are ignored or criticized.

I have often wondered about those good people who are the heart and soul of any community, and indeed our country. They have somehow accepted the notion that although our society affords them the freedom to go about their affairs without interference they must find some way to order their lives and live in harmony with others. Certainly, they cannot be completely autonomous and unaccepting of all rules.

With chaos swirling about and with little or no education, I often wondered how it was that there seemed to be a common understanding of right and wrong—of good and bad. At least during the years of my youth, there was no debate that I can think of about the absolutes. Some things were just wrong and generally accepted to be wrong. It was hard enough to do good and avoid doing wrong without engaging in an endless debate about what constituted either.

I can still remember the frustration on my grandfather's face when I returned home from college, and constantly questioned whether there was anything such as right and wrong. Armed with a little knowledge of moral relativism and a desire to challenge what I thought to be overly restrictive rules that burdened my exercise of freedom without guilt, I argued pointlessly with him. He seemed totally unmoved and undaunted by my citations of philosophers and professors; he knew that one's primary focus could not be on doing one's own thing. There had to be something within each of us to order our lives and society. Merely perceiving society as the enemy was inadequate. And merely rejecting the absolutes because they got in my way was not a substitute for principle. Indeed, my whole approach depended on the existence of a dominant culture or way of thinking. He knew far better than me that this would get me nowhere, and confidently, if angrily, ignored me.

Because those in our neighborhood conducted themselves in much the same way, under the same set of rules, all of us were free to come and go in safety. Though our freedoms were impeded by Jim Crow laws and segregation, they were not additionally impeded by disorder. Indeed, it appeared that the obstacles from without demanded that there be order within—at least we had our neighborhood. Somehow it was understood that disorder was the en-

My grandfather knew that one's primary focus could not be on doing one's own thing. There had to be something within each of us to order our lives and society.

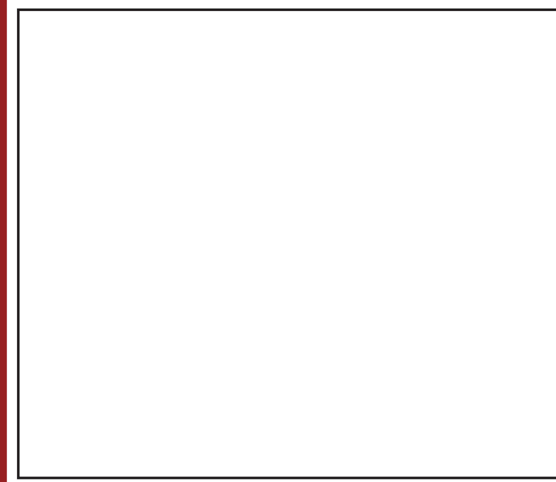
emy of freedom—everyone could not conduct himself or herself under *ad hoc* rules and expect to get anything done.

One simple example. It was simply not disputed that one did not engage in disruptive behavior—especially around another person's house. In turn, they did not disrupt us, and we all were free to rest undisturbed. Similarly, you did not get into another's house uninvited. Consequently, we could all leave our doors and windows open without fear on those hot summer evenings. Perhaps this does not rise to the level of right and wrong, but it makes the case even more clearly because the sense of right and wrong seeped to the less important level of propriety.

As we gained our freedoms, the emphasis seemed to be on just how do we use that freedom. Some things were right and others wrong. Even if the individual situations presented gray areas, the rules for judging them are black and white. A job worth doing was worth doing right. There was a right way to polish your shoes, a right way to say good morning to our elders, a right way to walk down the street. Always walk like you are going someplace; don't wander aimlessly or you will wind up on the chain gang or, even worse, my grandfather might catch you.

There were also clear notions of good and bad. Stealing and dishonesty were clearly bad, no matter what the reason. Idleness was the devil's workshop. I always wondered exactly what it was that the devil built in that workshop. I have now ceased to wonder. The guidelines were countless, but clear. They made life predictable and orderly. Within them, we were safe, free, and happy. I know that sounds odd, since the outside walls of segregation and bigotry persisted. Yet, it is true. We lived together in my community in peace, even as other problems persisted.

"…an understanding of right and wrong; of good and bad; of obligations; of responsibilities. These, among others provide the inner compass to navigate the vast oceans of a free society."



Ironically today, that same neighborhood, some 40 years since I first visited it, is not so peaceful. The tradition of segregation is gone. But so is the security of that wonderful little world. On one visit some years ago, while trying to go to sleep one night, we could hear gunshots and drug dealers plying their trade. The pleasant sound of kids running up and down the street was not to be heard. The corner that we frequented for snow cones, ice cream and an assortment of candies and gum seems moribund, and I believe, is occupied by a solitary liquor store. By no means do I think that my little neighborhood is the only place where this has happened. I am certain that there are many in my age group who look back nostalgically on their old communities and see much the same thing.

There was so much that was wrong; but so very much that was good and right. We hear so often about the former, but what happened to the later? What was there that has been changed or eliminated? We know today that something is very, very wrong.

I do not presume to have all the answers. God knows I have enough difficulty deciding the discrete matters that come before the Court to be sufficiently humbled when confronting more broad-based ones.

I am sure that most of us have looked back on the so-called "good old days". My grandfather used to talk about his "good old days" and I would simply brace myself for a lecture about how terrible rock and roll and rhythm and blues were. He would actually go so far as to take the fuse out of the car so we couldn't play that awful radio and run his battery down. Of course, I grew tired of hearing these lectures about the good old days. And, I am sure that there are many who would react to me in much the same way as I reacted to my grandfather. But, I have come to realize in so many ways that he was right; I was wrong. Perhaps some few will say in the distant future that I was right. Perhaps not.

So much of life seemed aimed toward building the conscience that is so necessary in a free society. As I noted earlier, freedom did not mean that one could do exactly what one wanted. There had to be an understanding of right and wrong; of good and bad; of obligations; of responsibilities. These, among others were to

provide the inner compass to navigate the vast oceans of a free society.

But where did these unlettered people get there knowledge of our needs? How did they know from the moment we set foot in their house that we were to attend parochial schools; be altar boys. For the most part, I believe it was because they already had compasses; they had faith. And, as unpopular as it is to say this today, they indeed walked by faith, not by sight. They were sightless because of lack of education; sightless because of a denial of rights. But, they had faith and they had conscience. And they knew, with unshakable confidence, that we needed both to survive in a free country—even as so many freedoms were being denied us.

You know, I have listened to those who, armed with degrees, honorary and earned, have pooh-poohed those two unlettered people. But what is their alternative to conscience? What is their workable substitute for faith? How do they propose that we all learn how to use freedom properly?

I have found it odd over the years that we are ridiculed for trying to learn how to do good, trying to learn how to use freedom in a way that gives it positive content. I would have thought as I was growing up that this was to be praised. Rather, it is ridiculed in much the same way that we were teased as kids for dressing in uniforms and being required to go to church on Sundays. It was said then that the strictures of religion interfered with fun. I guess some things just don't change.

I wonder how the critics would have gotten us through those years. What would we have done instead of being altar boys? How would we have learned the discipline of studying and working when there seemed to be no apparent reason to do so? How would we have learned to try to be good if it had not been reinforced by our beliefs? How would they have assured us of our inherent equality when all around seemed to deny it? How would they have kept us from getting killed or going to jail? How would they have kept us from being destroyed by anger, hatred, and animosity? How would we have learned personal responsibility without an overwhelming sense of ultimate responsibility for the whole of our lives? For those of us who were raised Catholic, there was nothing so frightening as going to confession on Saturdays to ask God's forgiveness for what we had done—not what the devil made us do. We had free will and could choose between good and bad—right and wrong. And when we chose to sin, we had to confront our Maker, having once again fallen out of grace.

But there was so much more than merely not doing wrong. It became so very clear that we were to use our God given talents fully. They were not to be buried. I can remember in the eighth grade after we had taken the entrance examination for high school and I had done quite well compared to the other students, Sister Mary Virgilius expressed nothing but displeasure at me. I had more ability than that according to her. My feeling was that I had done well enough. But in my heart I knew she was right; I had buried much of my abilities under laziness and excuses.

At home I saw people who with so little demanded of themselves that they maximize the use of the little they had without complaint. With this attitude, there always seemed to be enough. Perhaps this is called frugality, but it is also using fully all the talents that were given them.

I know just saying what I have said is not popular anymore. I know just saying it opens me up to criticism. It is not sufficiently sophisticated; it's impractical; and you can't bring back that approach. Well, I don't know all that. What I do know is that when I put my homemade compass down to explore some of those other experiments, they did not work. They merely substituted aimless autonomy of the individual for true freedom.

In one of the essays in her new book, *On Looking into the Abyss*, Gertrude Himmelfarb reaches much the same conclusion as those around me had reached, though most of them were unlettered.

"Liberals have always known that absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely. [We] are now discovering that absolute liberty also tends to corrupt absolutely. A liberty that is divorced from tradition and convention, from morality and religion, that makes the individual the sole repository and arbiter of all values and puts him in an adversarial relationship to society and the state—such a liberty is a grave peril to liberalism itself."

And as Tocqueville put it:

"Despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot. Religion…is more needed in democratic republics than in any other. How is it possible that society should escape destruction if the moral tie is not strengthened in proportion as the political tie is relaxed? And what can be done with a people who are their own masters if they are not submissive to the Deity."

I, like many of my generation, flirted with those who were not content to decide between right and wrong, but rather decide right and wrong. But, in the end, there is no doubt in my mind who had the better approach to the use of freedom. The people who raised me did.

Thank you all, and may God bless each and every one of you. *A*

Thoughts on the Education of Lord Acton

James C. Holland

Of the various influences that shaped Lord Acton's distinctive understanding of history, none was as decisive as his education. His intellectual formation was in fact unique, the product of social position, conditions within English and Continental Catholicism, revolutionary ideas in the Germanic world pertaining to the study and methods of history, and the epic debate in North America over the nature and future of the Union of the States. All of these developments converged in Acton's life during the decade of 1848-1858, at the end of which he entered an aggressive public life in journalism and scholarship that established his name in the pantheon of the great minds of the Western tradition.

Born into a cosmopolitan family which was prominent in English, German and Italian life, a Catholic with easy access to the highest levels of Whig society by virtue of his mother's second marriage, the young Acton began life with all the blessings of privilege both complicated and enriched by his religious legacy. At his mother's insistence, his early schooling occurred in a seminary setting, initially in Paris, then at Oscott, near Birmingham. Oscott had become an English Catholic entrepót for a steady stream of prominent converts to Catholicism, including John Henry Newman. In 1848 Lord Granville, Acton's step-father, insisted that the boy receive two years intensive study in Edinburgh under private tutors in preparation for Cambridge or Oxford. Granville, a major Whig leader in Parliament (who served as foreign minister under Lord John Russell, 1851-2, and William E. Gladstone, 1870-4, and 1880-5), was also concerned that Acton's education not be devoid of respectable familiarity with the foundations of the Whig Ascendancy. It was during this "polar exile", as Acton later called it, that his interest in America was sparked by reading extensively in Burke's writings, notably the "Speech on American Taxation", the "Speech on Moving Resolutions for Conciliation with America", and the "Letter to the Hon. Charles James Fox, on the American War". In addition he immersed himself in Macaulay's books, including the recently published first two volumes of the *History of England*. After being refused by the English universities because he was Catholic, Acton left Edinburgh for Munich in 1850, where other family contacts found an eminent scholar, Ignaz von Döllinger, to oversee his university studies. Acton departed from Scotland a thorough Whig—temporarily at least—which is to say that, however imperfectly, his mind was set on the theme of liberty.

> …a fervent belief in the existence of objective historical truth that can be known through free intellectual inquiry… became the hallmark of his intellectual life.

Intellectually, the Munich of Professor Döllinger was an exciting place in 1850, part of the larger nineteenth century cultural exhilaration of the Germanic world. With regard to the study of history, new canons of "scientific" methodology in testing and weighing evidence, coupled with the opening of Europe's archival collections, created among scholars high expectations and an acute sense that the secrets of the ages were about to be divulged. Döllinger, ever after "the Professor" to Acton, had gained esteem for his church history; in addition he enjoyed renown as University Librarian and bibliographer to Munich's Royal Library. Acton had access to all this and more, notably a celebrated faculty, several of whom—especially Peter Ernest von Lasaulx—showed him new vistas in historical understanding. The net result was a fervent belief in the existence of objective historical truth that can be known through free intellectual inquiry. This unshakable conviction became the hallmark of his intellectual life.

What was most remarkable about Acton as a student was the extraordinary energy of his efforts and his dauntless ambition. As a child he once wrote to his mother from Oscott, "I am going to write a sort of compendium of the chief facts, in history, for my own occasional reference." An earlier letter was signed, "Caesar Agamemnon John Dalberg Acton." Already a serious reader, at Munich he became a prodigious one, achieving a life-long habit of reading a book a day, and demonstrating extraordinary powers of retention. He was an aggressive book

buyer, eventually assembling a personal library of 60,000 volumes. He accompanied Döllinger to the homes and work places of the famous—clergy, intellectuals, politicians—from whom he gained much in specific knowledge, and even more in understanding the workings of power and the course of history. He came away from Munich with the belief that one must "get behind" the historian, that the history of history—including the history of archives—is the key that unlocks the secrets of the past.

Acton's university education was tutorial in nature. Though he attended the lecture hall on numerous occasions, the crux of his academic work involved direct, close, and frequent dealings with his respective professors. There were seemingly endless lists of books to be read in several languages, frequent papers to be written and defended in person, and, above all, countless hours of questions and answers exploring the smallest corner of a subject. Acton mastered the colloquy quite early, becoming a formidable conversationalist. He attracted special attention from all of his teachers. He made a memorable presence and was soon thought of as the greatest student of the venerable Döllinger, the man to whom he would remain bound in affection, if not intellect, the rest of his life.

Midway through his Munich years Acton interrupted his studies to visit the United States. Again it was Granville who made the decision in 1853. Acton was to accompany the British delegation to the New York Exhibition, itself a consequence of the great Crystal Palace Exhibition in London two years prior. Elaborate plans were made for Acton, then nineteen, to travel extensively in North and South, but an outbreak of malaria forced cancellation of plans to visit a South Carolina plantation. This was especially disappointing to Acton who had developed intense interest in the great sectional conflict in America; he was quite familiar with the complex issues and multiple compromises fashioned to preserve the nation. Since it was the specter of slavery that threatened to ruin the republic, Acton wanted to examine it firsthand but the southernmost point reached was Emmitsburg, Maryland, barely south of Mason's and Dixon's Line.

What he did experience in some depth was life and culture in the Northeast, between New York and Boston, where he conversed with many lights of the intellectual and political establishment: Orestes Brownson, Richard Henry Dana, Horace Greeley, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, William H. Prescott, Charles Sumner, George Ticknor, and James Walker, among others. He was not at all impressed with the condition of learning at Harvard College, where he sat in on oral examinations and visited with several professors. On June 25th he sat with Dana in a session of the Massachusetts constitutional convention and found the proceedings uninspiring. Interestingly, he wrote to the Professor that he worshipped John C. Calhoun above all Americans, no doubt reflecting the depth of his interest in the sectional crisis and his admiration for the originality of Calhoun's political philosophy.

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Acton returned to his studies in Munich where he continued to engage in activities vitally important in defining his intellectual outlook. He and the Professor resumed their travels to universities, libraries, and the homes of noted scholars and others in high ecclesiastical and political circles; through discussions with scholars and archivists, together with extensive work in major archival collections, they made dramatic discoveries, some of them quite sobering. One of the most disturbing revelations came at Rome, in 1857, where they were shocked to discover a deplorable state of learning regarding the use and care of archives. Among the happiest times was when he and Döllinger visited with Newman at Birmingham in the spring of 1851. *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* was already five years old, and Newman was now quite preoccupied with his idea of a university for Ireland. One can imagine with much delight the range of that three-way conversation.

When, finally, the time came for Acton to return to England to prepare for a public life in journalism, his mind was filled to the brim with enthusiasm for the new learning. Excited by the promise and prospect that he could impart to his contemporaries the vast treasure built up in his mind during his years of formal education, he set out to accomplish his ends in the pages of *The Rambler*. That story is the stuff of greatness. *A*

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The Language of Liberty, 1660 - 1832: Political discourse and social dynamics in the Anglo-American world
by J.C.D. Clark

Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. xviii, 404. Cloth: $59.95

Review by William B. Allen

Large sympathy must inform a reading of *The Language of Liberty*, for its heterodox reading of the *substance* of the American Revolution strains against its very helpful survey of the *rhetoric* of the Revolution. That the American revolutionaries were, in the main, a religious and not a secular people is obvious and beyond cavil, despite the impression conveyed by secular historians of later eras. Clark conveys this suitably and accurately, justifying throughout the book his conclusion that "democracy—in the sense of debates over the franchise, the distribution of seats, or the representative machinery in general—was not central to the conflict which rent the English-speaking world in the early-modern period, and was not at the heart of the self-image of any of the societies which made up that world. Its key term had been not 'democracy' but 'liberty,' and liberty was a term which had its ramifications chiefly in the vast intellectual territories then occupied by law and religion." This largely accurate (leaving aside the inappropriate separation of law and politics), general view of the Anglo-American socio-political development veers off course, however, when Clark seeks to localize it in the United States. His argument presupposes Americans who could not think around more than one important question at a time. Thus, he jettisons their legitimate interests in constitutional reform in order to arrive at the view that the Revolution was centered in "utopian millennial expectations."

About this conclusion two things must be said. First, abundant evidence exists that the Americans were *independently* energized around the broad constitutional questions and the broad religious questions, however much the two came to be assimilated to a single set of contingent references once the need for social construction—as opposed to preservation—became unavoidable. Second, "utopian millennial expectations" were rooted in the "New Israel" wholly independent of the eventual political solution which addressed social contradictions that were evident—but not resolved or even systematically addressed—as early as the Massachusetts "Body of Liberties" (1648).

Nothing illustrates the first consideration so tangibly as the broadside found in Ezra Stiles's papers, and which announced the formation of the "American Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, in the British Colonies." This advertisement, declaiming against the "prevalence and increase of vice among us," was published between 1772 and 1775, on the very eve of the Revolution. The names of leading members, those designated to receive subscriptions, include such revolutionary activists as William Smith, Elias Boudinot, and John Lathrop, as well as the evangelist, Jonathan Edwards and the lawyer, Tapping Reeves. No evidence exists that the society ever functioned, and I presume that its good work was swamped by the rising tide of Revolution. Thus, the constitutional question did not co-opt the religious question. Rather, the constitutional event displaced attention from the religious project, suggesting that "liberty" was far from a code word for religious awakening.

This argument may be sustained, I believe, even when Stiles resurfaces in his election sermon of 1783, "The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor," and charts a millennial, providentially inspired course for the new polity. The millennial end, however, is nothing other than the triumph of religion on grounds of constitutional liberty much like those addressed to Charles II by Massachusetts in 1662. That is, the earlier view of the *need* for moral regeneration (under the old constitution) has been reformulated as an *expectation* of moral regeneration under a new constitution ("we have realized the capital ideas of Harrington's *Oceana*"). Stiles discussed the equal franchise and an equable distribution of property as conditions of this unique opportunity: "Religion may here receive its last, most liberal, and impartial examination. Religious liberty is peculiarly friendly to fair and generous disquisition. Here Deism will have its full chance; nor need libertines more to complain of being overcome by any weapons but the gentle, the powerful ones of argument and truth. Revelation will be found to stand the test..." Thus, far from being ignorant of the war between secular constitutional principles and evangelical faith, it would be fairer to say that Stiles reveled in that war as an opportunity for faith (Sidney Mead to the contrary notwithstanding).

Much less need be written concern-

ing the older—indeed original—roots of "utopian millennial expectations." Pastor John Robinson in 1620 addressed the Pilgrims departing Delft Haven with an injunction to keep peace with God and man and a promise of God's ordinances to sustain human innovations. Similarly, the General Court of Massachusetts answered Robert Child that "we account all our countrymen brethren by nation, and such as in charity we may judge to be beleevers are accounted also brethren in Christ," doing which under "the rules of God's word, the civill prudence of all nations, and our owne observation of the fruite of other mens follies" the General Court anticipated a "peace, unity, prosperity, &c." Of course, this was also the case in which the General Court heralded the superiority of Massachusetts's constitution to the English constitution after a detailed, side-by-side comparison of the two. Finally, none can read Mather's *Christi Magnalia Americana* (his imitation of Plutarch), and its rich praise of religious devotion *and* secular knowledge (as in the life of William Bradford) without discerning the powerful belief among Americans that God's grace would conduct their affairs, as a people, in this world as well as in the next.

Accordingly, it is fair to say that Clark has exaggerated the transformation of American evangelism into political utopianism through the American Revolution. Unlike the French Revolution (however philosophically consanguine) the American Revolution *never* hazarded the Gnostic presumption. Human nature was relied upon rather than jettisoned in the United States.

This reckoning raises the interesting question, therefore, of exactly what bearing should inform the reading of Clark's book. In a word, I believe its true bearing is to reconstruct the seriousness of the language of faith and what I call voiced differences, not as some Golden Age myth but as a continuing if infrequently resorted to resonance in Anglo-American social reflection. To understand this one must rather review the demonstrations than the conclusions of this book.

Perhaps one can account for Clark's misreading of the nature of the American identification with England by the opening observation of the work, which relies on David Fischer's *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. There Clark recounted the ritual, religious, and political celebrations the colonists shared with their cousins, including "the birthday of the reigning monarch." Clark omitted the significance, however, of New England's celebration of "Fore-fathers Day" each December 22. These forbears were not ritually shared with Englishmen, and the rite emphasized the pre-existing sense of difference between Americans and Englishmen. Still more importantly, that combined religious and political holiday was replaced, most prominently, by "Independence Day," the celebration of the "Declaration of Independence." Thus, the colonists-turned-citizens of the United States symbolically provide witness of both the true nature and extent of their prior identification with their cousins and of their self-conscious political separation.

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Clark's belief that the two shared one history led him to ignore the most fundamental reason for the divergence of American and English common law (a point which William Nelson's *Americanization of the Common Law* misses for different reasons). Though Blackstone spoke but briefly on the subject, the area in which he spoke directly addresses a central constitutional dilemma. English law did not "unify" the colonies for the sufficient reason that English law itself created the exception to the reach of English law in proportion as a colony was considered "conquered" or "discovered" (1 Blackstone, p. 46). The difference often served, in the colonies, to place the monarch in the room the common law would have occupied. The same problem, in a far more intensified degree, informed the trial of Warren Hastings twenty years after the American Revolution. The legal separation of Americans and Englishmen was an accomplished requirement of English legal practice long before the political separation of the American Revolution. It constituted the heart of Thomas Jefferson's *Summary View of the Rights of British America*, in which Jefferson rejected Blackstone's conquest theory for a discovery theory. Ironically, had the American constitutional theory been prevalent in Britain, Clark's analysis would now be correct. Unfortunately, it did not prevail. Moreover, it serves to demonstrate precisely why Lord Bryce's observation that "natural rights" was a "mass" of political dynamite in France (as Clark cites it) cannot be applied to the Constitution the same Lord Bryce celebrated as the "greatest work ever struck off by the mind of man."

In a word: the political history of the United States unavoidably shapes the rhetorical context in which the "language of liberty" must be weighed, not the reverse. Clark's survey, therefore, is the survey of a single set of meanings and symbols in the employ of two different people. Only the illusion of a single English-speaking political universe (which Churchill knew himself to be using when he spoke thus) permits the view that an inadvertent rupture resulted from little more than rhetorical excess.

Now, this political account does not militate heavily against Clark's claim: "In this study the American Revolution is analysed theologically as a rebellion by groups within Protestant

Dissent against an Anglican hegemony... A rebellion of natural law against common law and a rebellion of Dissent against hegemonies Anglicanism were the same rebellion, since their target was the unified sovereign created by England's unique constitutional and ecclesiastical" blend. For the truth is that evangelical religion plays a large role, such as he recounts, in advancing modern principles on both sides of the Atlantic. That very observation minimizes, for the Americans, the role of the monarch, since the ecclesiastical authority of the monarch was rejected in the colonies from the outset. Nothing highlights this so well as the appeal of the General Court of Massachusetts to Charles II that "we might enjoy divine worship without humane mixtures." For the same reason it minimizes the claim that this was a revolt of natural law against common law, inasmuch as the monarch sought to maintain an authority in America based on a right of conquest. That leaves us with only the serious claim that we may analyze the public opinion of the Revolution in terms of the concerns of Protestant Dissent, and that those are similar for America and England.

The dimension of Clark's analysis that benefits from his patient, if somewhat disorderly excavation appears in chapter one, "The Conflict of Laws." He argues that "The sovereignty of the people, under God, was an idea which led away from the ancient constitution or from English liberties as a set of positive privileges and immunities, and towards a unified society whose fundamental laws ... mirrored and expressed the eternal principles of natural law." The centuries-long religious war, then, became the pre-condition for the separation of "liberty" out of the merely contextual, blood-bound concept of nationality and into the status of a truth of nature and nature's God. By this account one conceives of an American Revolution growing "naturally" from the soil of piety—perhaps even on account of the historical accident of internal British political disorder—and assimilating to such philosophical or Enlightenment concepts as strengthen the intrinsic tendency of the movement. This view contrasts sharply with the notion of a pious people upon whom steals unperceived a godless faith to create a new secular state.

Clark succeeds in drawing this picture rather more because he succeeds in revealing how extensive was the disorder and the extent of religious contest in England, which in turn enables the reader to imagine how far evangelical principles might advance in the absence of the Revolution. The answer is, "quite far indeed." In fact, one may plausibly derive the democratic revolution in Britain, slow and incoherent as it has been, from the religious struggles chronicled here. Thus, when a people similarly engaged found themselves imbued with the ideas but liberated from the systems of political control (well before the military victory!), it brings no surprise that they concretize liberty, popular sovereignty, equality, and all such fundamental principles as came to find permanent residence in the Constitution of 1787.

> By the end of the eighteenth century, notions of 'liberty' and 'self-government' had prevailed powerfully over public opinion

The great mystery of *The Language of Liberty* is that Clark fails to realize that this is the story he has presented. He believes, for example, that the Constitution of 1787 "in a fundamental sense reversed the verdict of 1776." One suspects that he is rather uncritically reading Wood's *Creation of the American Republic* (which even Wood no longer reads uncritically). Clark seems to conceive that generative political discourse should be judged by the speed with which it generates clichés (hence the erroneous discussion of the first relevant uses of "socialism," "capitalism," "individualism," "Americans," etc.), when one should rather look to the speed with which generative political discourse changes or introduces ideas. Nothing can be clearer than, by the end of the eighteenth century, notions of "liberty" and "self-government" had prevailed powerfully over public opinion in the United States. The fact that such movement was advanced by evangelical dissent in company with enlightenment rationalism reveals well the sources and powers of political change. Indeed, to judge by the measure of religious establishment, the cardinal index for Clark, the change was wholly worked in the United States before even the political clichés associated with it came into general usage; for 1832 witnessed the end of establishment in the American states (though Clark is silent about this fact, it greatly amplifies his argument). The book is far less about the "language" of liberty than it is about liberty's overthrow of establishment once liberty itself was emancipated from mere custom, or what Washington called in 1783 the "gloomy age of ignorance and superstition. "

Britain existed within the context of a species of political irony: its constitution was rooted in an Anglicanism to which relatively few adhered and which displayed little capacity for independent existence. "Even within England, the position of the Church was hegemonic not consensual..." (p. 203) As dissenting faiths challenged Anglicanism, having already (in company with Anglicanism) dislodged Catholicism, they served not only to undermine meaningful establishment. They also exposed ill-defined and ill-defended constitutional foundations. Thus Clark turns our attention away from the reification, "Revolution," and towards the social condition, "the contingent features," that invited funda-

mental change. This very framework makes it unnecessary to lean on such intellectual placebos as "paranoia" (p. 222) in order to explain these large events. Where there is room to dispute Clark's fairly idiosyncratic reading of the 'contingent features,' it ought not to be denied that his recovery of the seriousness of voiced differences—the arguments people actually had—goes a long way to re-invest the period of "movement toward revolution" with historical significance.

In order that the judgment of Clark's reading of historical contingencies as idiosyncratic should not be seen as an *ad hominem*, a postscript example should suffice. That is his rather quirky view that the term "America" had only a geographical meaning until the King conceded it a national meaning in the 1783 Treaty of Paris. William Gordon's history urged a different construction before mid-century. Nathaniel Ames's 1758 Almanac connected "utopian millennial expectations" with the term. George Washington's first official address to the troops of the Revolutionary Army, not to mention his dramatic correspondence with General Gage (among many other and still more emphatic examples) sets forth a clearly national—if incomplete—meaning. Not only did various usages among Americans explicitly urge such meanings, but even speeches in Parliament sometimes made use of the separately cognizable political existence (and what else can he mean by a "national sense"?) of America. Clark's ill-advised vendetta threatens, then, to undermine otherwise able scholarship. As Ames opened his paean to the growing America of the next two centuries in the 1758 Almanac, "America is a subject which daily becomes more and more interesting." *A*

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Book News

Lord Acton
A Study in Conscience and Politics
Gertrude Himmelfarb
ICS Press, 1993
259 pp. Paper

The Reign of Conscience: Individual, Church, and State in Lord Acton's History of Liberty
John Nurser
Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987
220 pp. Cloth

Recently, the Institute for Contemporary Studies decided to re-issue Gertrude Himmelfarb's classic study of Lord Acton. So after 30 years out of print, *Lord Acton: A Study in Conscience and Politics* has returned, this time in paperback. The new edition could not have come at a better time for those interested in the life and thought of one of the English-speaking world's most learned and frequently quoted historians. For as Professor Himmelfarb demonstrates, Lord Acton saw and grappled with the fundamental questions that still define the issues facing us 100 years later.

Lord Acton is that rare work of intellectual history which successfully combines an analysis of the private and intellectual life of its subject with a deep understanding of the historical period in question. We simultaneously see Lord Acton as a private citizen, a scion of one of Europe's great families, a scholarly historian, and a churchman engaged in the great controversies of the Victorian Era.

In a day in which it is fashionable to deny the moral and educational value of historical studies, Professor Himmelfarb's exposition of Lord Acton's way of "doing history" is refreshing. It shows us more than just "ideas have consequences"; it illustrates the truth that good practice requires good theory.

John Nurser's study of Lord Acton explicitly takes its bearings from Gertrude Himmelfarb's *Lord Acton*. In the Preface, Nurser states that his book is not so much a biography as an exposition of Acton's thought on the question of church and state.

This book may have an intimidating title, but it is must reading for anyone who wants to understand the centrality for Acton of religious freedom. It is also indispensable for those who desire a deeper knowledge of the principle of freedom of religion itself.

While Lord Acton never completed his long-planned universal history, Nurser maintains that Acton's thoughts on conscience offer a key to what would have been in that work. Nurser understands Acton to say that conscience is humanity's sanctuary; it is the place where a person can be most free and yet most obedient to God and His laws.

Nurser maintains that Acton's understanding of conscience is both "unusually rational" and "unusually biblical"; it does not shy away from the belief that there are real standards of right and wrong which must govern our individual and collective lives. That idea is just as embattled today as it was in Acton's time. But by illuminating Lord Acton's view of conscience, John Nurser shows us why it is possible in our age to take up the fight and be both liberal and faithful to the truth that transcends history. *A*

— Jeffrey J. Sikkenga

Both of these fine works are available from the Acton Institute. Please call (616) 454-3080 for ordering information.

Robert A. Sirico, CSP

Everything Unto God

When Lord Acton set out in the late nineteenth century to write a comprehensive history of liberty, he planned to chronicle its growth from antiquity. It is a sad commentary on this century that an updating of his work would require the last chapter to chronicle liberty's decline.

There is afoot in the land a reassertion of what might be called the principle of fragmentation. This is seen in the excessive compartmentalization of personal life—the "either/or" mentality that separates one's work from one's family—or when the standards that govern public life are divided from those of private life. Living the illusion of this dualism breeds both an internal and an external tension which affects both personal integrity and social cohesion.

> What we have been doing in the past five years is to declare a new integration—to reassert God into the marketplace, and morality into public life.

My point is a simple one: All reality is a whole. Our universe owes its existence to the One Source who created all things *ex nihilo,* and who keeps them in existence. This means that all human virtues are interrelated, and all human vices are, likewise, connected to each other. What does this have to do with the vision and mission of the Acton Institute, whose sixth year of existence begins this month? The Acton Institute hopes, in one small, yet highly critical sphere, to assert the contention that the world of finance and business—the human actions of a commercial society—sometimes so apparently mundane, can nonetheless become the occasion for the discovery of the spiritual.

There is, I believe, a natural law encoded in the human heart and in our world which tends toward a natural harmony. The human community is oriented toward God because our origin is God. And it is this natural harmony which collectivist economic and political arrangements inhibit.

Marxism, the most systematized manifestation of such thinking, brought to intellectual and historical fruition the idea of a divided society in its theory of class struggle. This concept is at war with the natural harmony of human society. It is only a small comfort that orthodox Marxism has so colossally failed in recent years, because whilst the orthodox articulation of this error has been repudiated, the little heresies of class struggle have scattered and established new roots.

We see this every time a social change movement employs the ideology of division: Economic antagonisms: the rich against the poor, workers against management. Ethnic antagonisms: whites against blacks against Asians against Jews. Sexual antagonisms: male against female, homosexual against heterosexual. Generational antagonisms: young against old—on and on the divisions go until all the world is torn asunder, and to echo John Donne, "all coherence is gone."

It is against this balkanization that the Acton Institute has set its face. Our aim is to inoculate the religious community against the specious claims of the Left which seem to have such an appealing tug for the morally sensitive heart. That aim is to discover, from among all religious traditions, the future pastors, theologians, directors of social service agencies, the heads of denominations and the missionaries of the next millennium.

What we have been doing in the past five years is to declare a new integration—to reassert God into the marketplace, and morality into public life. To declare, with the philosopher Etienne Gilson, that "piety is never a substitute for technique, for technique is that without which the most fervent piety will be unable to make use of nature for God's sake."

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Rev. Robert A. Sirico, CSP, *is President of the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty.*

"Liberty enables us to do our duty unhindered by the state, by society, by ignorance and error. We are free in proportion as we are safe from these impediments to fight the battle of life and the conflict with temptation."

—Lord Acton—

RELIGION & LIBERTY
A Publication of the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty
161 Ottawa Ave., NW, Suite 301
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49503

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