

THE CHURCH AND THE STATE.

THE TWO "CITIES" IN THE PRESENT AGE.

Christianity and its Conflicts, Ancient and Modern. By E. E. Marcy, A.M.
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Essays on Catholicism, Liberalism, and Socialism. By John Donoso Cortes. Translated from the Spanish by Rev. William McDonald, S.Th.L. Dublin: William B. Kelly, 1874.

ALL the States of Europe have, in a greater or less degree, broken loose from the Church, and it seems to many that the Church is a great loser—nay, the only loser—by this deplorable fact. They imagine that in the separation that has taken place all the power, greatness, prosperity has remained with the States, and that the Church has been reduced to insignificant inferiority. This is undoubtedly the idea many men of our age have formed of her actual situation. Was it with this conviction that our previous papers on the subject were penned? Was it ever granted in them that the Church's influence has so far dwindled away that it is now almost a cipher? Did we concede that the European States acquired, by separating themselves from her, such an independent and superior standing that they have become at last masters of themselves and of the world, and reached the acme of prosperity and grandeur? God forbid that this should have been the result of our previous considerations. Nothing, certainly, was further from our mind.

To correct, however, any misapprehension of the kind, it is proper to place, face to face, the Church on the one side and the European States on the other, and see which of the two possesses more real power and true pre-eminence. A more just estimate of the actual situation of the Church will undoubtedly be the consequence of such a comparison, and the loud boasts of her enemies may be considerably lowered in tone. In the title of this paper the Church and the State are called "the two cities"—an evident allusion to the work of St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*. In order to speak correctly from the outset of what we shall say, and to have exact ideas all through this discussion, the reader must understand that the "States" are placed in antagonism to the "Church," not absolutely, not in the sense that they are already the incarnation of Antichrist, but because they are in a great degree ruled over by really anti-Christian ideas, and thus form a City opposed to

the City of God. This last assertion needs no proof. The historical facts of anterior ages, and the present bias of civil rulers in Europe, as portrayed in previous articles, are sufficient evidences of the unpleasant truth that Christian countries, so called, are ruled by men who have in fact repudiated Christianity.

Have their schemes thus far attained complete success? Have they reduced their antagonist to the position of a suppliant or a slave? Far from it, thank God! Both parties being represented under the figure of a City, it will not be difficult to prove that the Church is yet, (1) the City of God; (2) a universal City; (3) a fast increasing and prosperous City; (4) a harmonious and happy City. The European States, as at present constituted, can lay no claim to any of these characteristics, but just the reverse, and it is chiefly in these four particulars that their pretensions to having become superior to the Church will appear preposterous. In this discussion declamation must be avoided, and it is believed that none of the facts that we shall place before our readers can be contradicted or gainsaid. Warmth, however, is not declamation, and when the case is clear, proved, demonstrated, an exhibition of feeling from the heart is not a fault.

I. THE CHURCH.

1. What is, what must be the City of God? A reflex of His great attributes. Two of them particularly must shine in it—His unchangeableness and His holiness. Built by the Almighty on "eternal hills," it must be like God himself, ever ancient and ever young, and, moreover, it must be holy and perfect in its interior essence. God is absolutely unchangeable in His eternity; He is also holiness itself. The Church evidently possesses both these prerogatives, and consequently she is called His City. First, therefore, ancient and hoary as the world, young and blooming as a bride, the Church is now what she ever was. Innumerable eons, interminable ages may pass over her without leaving on her the imprint of time. As nature every spring is as young and fresh as on the first day of creation, so the City of God is ever the same which St. John announced would come down from heaven on the last day, "prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." And the reason is given by the Prophet of the Apocalypse reporting to us the words of God: "Behold I make all things new." How can the "daughter of the King," the "betrothed of the Almighty," she whom God holds constantly in His loving hands, whom the creative breath from His lips ever permeates and vivifies, ever become old and decrepit, senile and obsolete, though ever so ancient?

Yet many lying lips have uttered the words: "The time of the Church has gone; she is now too old; she will soon be dead and

buried out of sight." Who are you that give the lie to God, and pretend that what He once said can ever become untrue? Are you so blind as not to see that the Bride of Christ is yet a virgin, as sweet, and pure, and young, and fresh as on the day when she was born from the side of the Saviour hanging on the cross? Are not the words she daily pronounces over every child brought to the fount in this nineteenth century the words of a young mother with smiles on her lips and perfume in her breath: *Ephpheta, adaperire, in odorem suavitatis?* It requires a great deal of unconscious ignorance or wilful blindness not to know that this, her spell, is as powerful now to open the ears of a babe to the doctrine of Christ, by infusing faith through them, as it was when it fell on the ears of infants in the very age of the Apostles. Does she not thus renew the world by her breathing and touch? Is not every new generation of Christian children a proof that she is as young as she was eighteen hundred years ago? Go and inquire in all the great cities of this country how many thousands are thus regenerated by her every year. Judge by it how many millions you would find if you could compass the whole globe in your search. And bear in mind that most of these babes will grow up to manhood, and many of them will devote their life to God and His Church not less now than three, and four, and five hundred years ago.

But she is not satisfied with filling the atmosphere with her youthful breath, and spreading faith as a cloud charged with dew to refresh the earth. Besides the silent operation of grace which God gave to her keeping, she dispenses her blessings by her sweet voice, and her infallible teaching is as powerful now as it ever was—another proof of her perpetual youth. For it is the Church that inspires so many of her servants to devote their lives to the instruction of their brethren. It is in fact the word of the Church which issues from the lips of those innumerable instructors. Can any one imagine that their utterances convey only an effete doctrine, which was listened to, it is true, by our priest-ridden ancestors, but which everybody in this age of light laughs at and rejects? Any one who imagines this is greatly mistaken. The Christian doctrine is never antiquated and time-worn, because it is the only doctrine really adapted to human nature and to human spiritual needs and aims, which is absolutely required by our highest aspirations, and cannot be replaced by anything else in the world. If you are not fully persuaded of this, go into one of our churches whenever the Word of God is preached, and see with what avidity it is received, with what open ears it is drank in, with what beaming eyes it is approved. As a famishing man, able at last to satisfy the cravings of hunger, shows his keen appetite for the food and

drink his body needs, so likewise the mind of every man, to whatever race he may belong, rejoices to have found what his soul absolutely requires, whenever the Church's teaching is imparted to him.

And yet in this age when the prodigious development of the Church, morally, intellectually, numerically, must astonish every impartial beholder, men pretend she is old, dead, or at least dying; and in countries where she is literally covering the soil with innumerable institutions of learning, of morality, of benevolence, she is accused of being effete and worn out. Has there ever been an age since Christ came, always excepting the apostolic period, when her activity was greater, her progress more triumphant? And this is the case not only on this continent of North America. Go to Europe whence the people of this country originally came, and inquire what the Church is doing in France in restoring what was destroyed a hundred years ago. Go to England, to Germany, to what are called the Protestant States of Europe, and ask if she now is buried there after having been pronounced dead fifty years ago. Pass on then to the antipodes, to Australia, to China, to the South Seas, and see if she is not giving signs, in those immense countries sitting in the shadow of death, of all the freshness of youth and the strength of maturity. Like Christ she is evidently *heri et hodie et in sæcula sæculorum*.

Has the apostasy of rulers in this age injured her prospects and left her without hope because without earthly support? No, no; the world will finally be obliged to acknowledge that she still is young. Happy if it would learn the true reason of this, namely, that she has a spouse who constantly renews her youth by His tender embrace. That spouse is Christ Himself, who "abides with her," as he promised; who does not leave her children "orphans" but ever "comes to them," as he announced by the lips of St. John.

There is, no doubt, in this age, a great activity displayed by the world for the material welfare of mankind. The earth seems to be on the point of being renovated; but the description of this would carry us beyond the limits necessarily imposed upon us. An analogous development of facts would show that the energy manifested by the Church for the salvation of souls, is at least equal to the prodigious worldly activity now so remarkable all over the earth.

The second characteristic of the Church, on account of which she can rightly be called the City of God, is holiness. Her children know this thoroughly, as they are fully conscious that if they desire to be holy they must place themselves entirely under the gentle guidance of the Church. But men who in fact can have no idea of sanctity, since they seem to have entirely forgotten, or at least

never reflect upon, the commandments of God, on which alone true morality reposes, declare that instead of being holy she is the "mother of abominations." Men who can scarcely be said to have a conscience, because owing to their utter abjuration of the supernatural they admit of no sanction whatever for it, have pretended and still pretend that holiness does not belong to the Church, and that in point of fact her best children are no better than pagans. There even are people who have not forgotten the commandments of God, and who therefore may really have a conscience, who yet, carried away by extraordinary sophisms, assert that the sum of morality or immorality has always been about the same on earth, about the same in modern times that it was in the ante-Christian period.

But the voice of mankind, the verdict of history, innumerable testimonies rendered in all ages by the very adversaries of the Church, prove that all these assertions are either one-sided statements or absolute falsehoods. There is no need of a long discussion. A simple remark will be sufficient to settle the question beyond dispute. It is the simple incontrovertible fact that, Christ being the acknowledged exemplar of all holiness (very few persons, indeed, daring to carry profanity to the extent of impugning His sanctity) the Church continually holds up to her children Christ crucified as the pattern for them to imitate in the cultivation of every virtue. How many millions have loved Christ to the shedding of their blood, because they were so taught by their mother, the Church? How many millions, placing themselves altogether under her gentle control, in this age of cold apathy, love Christ above any human love? Yet, who can love Him without being pure, holy, a true copy of the great original? Who can imagine that in the old pagan world, or that in modern times outside of the Christian pale, there could be, or can be, anything approaching to the perfection of His sanctity?

It is true the world does not know these humble lovers of the Son of Mary. They, like the Pharisees of old, do not publish their sanctity with a trumpet. Nay, should you question them, particularly when in the secret of Christian confidence they pour the anxiety of their soul into the ear of a spiritual friend, they will tell you that they are great sinners; they will express vividly their fear of the judgments of God. The world may smile at this and pretend that it is pure hypocrisy, but they are truly in earnest, and often it is a difficult task to quiet their apprehensions and enable them to repose sweetly on the mercy of God. Now when saintly men thus tremble at the thought of the unapproachable holiness of God, will any one dare say that the holiness of the Christian is not above that of the pagan?

I put it to you, men of the world, whose intellect is undoubtedly powerful, and who are able to judge of what is true and sincere, can there be a stronger proof that holiness exists in the Church than these anxious fears of the Christian? If the pattern of sanctity placed by the Church before the eyes of her children were not the highest, do you think that the human conscience could be so sensitive and so much afraid of evil, when evil is only a shadow, as is often the case for these pure souls? Only for this reason those who never offend seriously against the commands of God can imagine and think in all sincerity that they do not deserve that God should press them to His bosom. It is certainly strange, and there is a difficulty to explain these groundless fears. But Eliphaz, in the Book of Job, has done it in our opinion when he exclaimed that "in His angels God hath found depravity"—*In angelis suis reperivit pravitatem*. Even angelic purity compared to that of God is depravity; and on this account the purest and holiest souls feel more keenly their unworthiness in the eyes of God.

Independently of this consideration, which of itself would settle the question we discuss, every candid man must admit that in the Christian Church alone a thorough moral training is gone through by all human souls subjected to her control. What was the moral training of the pagans? What is the moral training of those whose parents have altogether rejected the authority of the Church? Do they ever examine their conscience? Do they put any restraint on their passions, except so far as the maxims of the world compel them? But no one is unaware of the extreme care taken by Christian parents under the Church's advice to mould the souls of their children from the very start, so as to make them moral and pious. No one can deny that God's ministers in the Catholic Church embrace zealously every opportunity of training the young in the practice of virtue. And this priestly oversight and zeal is not confined to the young; but people of every age, every rank in society, every disposition of mind and heart, are the objects of it in season, and also occasionally perhaps out of season. But this very occasional excess so much resented by the worldly is a proof that it is active and energetic. Now, who can believe that the pagan system of leaving every one to his own guidance, and never attempting to train men morally, can produce as abundant fruits of holiness as the Christian system?

But I hear from some an absolute dissent as to my conclusion. "Whatever, it is said, may be the means taken to insure holiness in the Church, the fact is that Christians are often as bad and occasionally worse than other people. St. Paul himself found it out among the Corinthian Christians (1 Cor. v. 1), *tuiis fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes*. In every age since his time the world's history

has been the record of many crimes and a few virtues." Many other statements of a like character might be made. These few will suffice.

It is not true that the world's history has always been the same in this respect. All intelligent men recognize an immense difference between the long period which preceded our Saviour's advent and the eighteen centuries which have followed. Many books have been written on this very subject, and the demonstration furnished by them is unanswerable. But, besides this general remark, it is a fact which cannot be separated from the subject we are discussing, that whatever crimes have been committed by Christians, the Church has always reprobated them, whilst in paganism they were never publicly rebuked. When St. Paul, addressing the Corinthians, wrote the words which have just been quoted, he made the charge against one individual, but reprovved the whole community for not having sufficiently punished the guilty person. In this he established a custom which forever provided in the Church a remedy against excessive corruption. There is among us, since that time, a public authority to denounce guilt and bring it under censure, which never existed and could not, in fact, exist before.

The consequence of this is very remarkable, namely, that Christian nations when they become corrupt are reclaimable. This was not the case anteriorly. Reformation is a word which has become common since that time, but which the Latin world previously never used in the sense in which it is now employed. As to the extraordinary simplicity of those good souls who believed that Luther was the first to speak of and bring on reformation among Christians, it is more to be pitied than blamed, owing to the atmosphere of cant in the midst of which they have been brought up. Even a very superficial knowledge of ecclesiastical history proves that nothing has been so common as the reclaiming of cities, tribes, and even nations, from vice and loose habits of life by zealous apostolic men, as St. Paul was. All ages of the Church, without exception, have witnessed remarkable examples of it; and the same process will continue to the end of time.

This has never happened among pagans, except when true prophets of God were sent to some of those people, on a particular reformatory mission, as Jonas to the Ninevites and Elias to the schismatic people of Israel. The reformation of pagan peoples, by their own moral efforts or under the guidance of their own pagan priests or philosophers, is a Utopia which is yet to be discovered in ancient history. Mr. Franz de Champagny thought he had found an example of it in the Antonine dynasty among the Roman Cæsars; but it can be easily proved that there was no real reformation in Rome at the time; that the few stoic philosophers of the epoch

cannot be called reformers of the nation ; that the little which they did among an insignificant number of the upper classes soon evaporated under the infamous reigns of Commodus and Elagabalus ; and, finally, that a great part of the change effected for the better through philosophical maxims, which came then into vigor, was the result of Christian doctrine, which was already spreading itself through the city from the catacombs. In the old pagan world the decline was constant and apparently irremediable. Holiness did not belong to it. The student of history has to go up through the ages towards the very origin of mankind to find pure morality. Morality once lost could never be recovered except through divine intervention, which did not take place for the ancients until Christ came. In the Christian Church that supreme intervention is always at hand. The Holy Ghost "has filled the universe," *replevit orbem terrarum*, and henceforth cannot be driven away. This is the source of the Church's holiness, and of the possibility at all times of her renovation. On this account there is always in the Church *regnum sanctorum cum Christo*, "the reign of the Saints with Christ," as St. Augustine said, and because of this she is to-day the "City of God."

2. For this reason likewise the Church is a *Universal City*. Her name alone proves it, for she is, and always has been, and always shall be, the Catholic Church. The meaning of this word is apparently well understood ; still men do not conceive thoroughly enough its whole purport. By the strength of her Catholicity she not only exists everywhere, which is usually the only thing considered in the meaning of the vocable—Catholic ; but she has the right and the duty to address all nations ; she has a claim upon them all, and when she has once established herself among any of them, she keeps her place and refuses to be driven away. Less than a hundred years after the death of the Apostles it already was so ; it has continued to be so ever since ; it will continue to be so to the end of the world. Doubts may exist in the minds of some as to whether what we have said holds good of so early a period of the Church's history. But apart from many details which cannot be mentioned here, there is a celebrated text of Tertullian, which conclusively settles the question (*Adv. Judæos*, cap. vii.). We copy from the translation of the Edinburgh edition of 1870 :

"Upon whom else have the universal nations believed, but upon the Christ who is already come? For whom have the nations believed, Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and they who inhabit Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and they who dwell in Pontus, and Asia, and Pamphylia, sojourners in Egypt, and inhabitants of the region of Africa which is beyond Cyrene, Romans and sojourners, yes, and in Jerusalem Jews, and all other nations ; as for instance, *by this time*, the varied races of the Gætulians, and manifold confines of the Moors, all the limits of the Spains, and the diverse nations of the Gauls, and the haunts of the Britons inaccessible to the Romans, but sub-

jugated to Christ; and of the Sarmatians, and Dacians, and Germans, and Scythians, and of many remote nations, and of provinces and islands many, to us unknown and which we can scarcely enumerate? In all which places the name of Christ who is already come reigns, as of Him before whom the gates of all cities have been opened, and to whom none are closed, before whom iron bars have crumbled, and brazen doors been opened. . . . All these prophecies (of Isaias) have been evidently fulfilled, inasmuch as in all these places dwells the 'people' of the name of Christ. For who *could* have reigned *over all nations* but Christ, God's Son, who was ever announced as destined to rule eternally over all nations."

This passage and many others of like import have been impugned by modern critics as full of vague exaggeration. But to our mind the meaning of the passage is well defined, and Tertullian could very well have had positive information of the spread of Christianity among all the nations he names; the others are only intimated in general terms, as was proper. He is, indeed, very guarded—certainly more than usual with him—in stating openly, not that in those various countries all were Christians, but that "in all those places dwelt the people of the name of Christ."

The Church was, therefore, already actually Catholic when Tertullian wrote. Do people generally reflect sufficiently on this prerogative which is as perfectly her own to-day as it ever was? Her influence may have declined in Europe, but not an inch of her possessions has she lost. Is it not a wonderful fact that, after all the victories her enemies boast of having achieved against her, she yet is everywhere on earth, claims every human child as her own, proclaims her intention of making all nations one family, and, when driven away by force from a country, does not give up the idea of conquering it, but returns to the attack at the first opportunity, and invariably succeeds in the end?

See, too, how compact and homogeneous is this universal city, though composed of so many jarring elements. Within its folds all the races of man are comprised, and what no human ruler could do, she does with perfect ease. The supernatural dogmas of her belief and the strict code of her morality are adopted by peoples who are supposed by many philosophers to have naturally and essentially discordant principles of ethics. Montesquieu has pretended that morality changes with the latitude, and that what suits admirably northern nations cannot possibly rule those of the south. The Catholic Church proves every day that she is entirely above such a pretended discordant rule; and it is well known that what she obliges her children to believe and to do is the same for all, and she would refuse to acknowledge as her own any people who would ask the most trifling exemption in essentials. Thus her subjects are the same everywhere. The most eastern Asiatics as well as the western Europeans, the nomad Tartar as well as the scientific Frenchman, when once they are Catholics, have precisely

the same ideas on God, on the human soul, on a future life, on the conditions required to insure happiness in heaven, on everything which pertains to religion and the higher world. Is this possible, humanly speaking? Has any conqueror ever attempted it? In the whole history of mankind three or four heroes, as they are called, have conceived the thought of subduing the world and establishing a universal empire; but not one of them was ever so out of his senses as to suppose that he could impose the same belief and the same morality on all nations. Rome herself, in her dream of a perpetual and universal dominion, took good care not to attempt to establish a universal religion. Still the Catholic Church has this precisely as her great, almost only, object,—to spread the doctrine of Christ to the utmost bounds of the earth, and she does it in the most simple and natural manner. She merely places in the hands of her missionaries a catechism which they have to teach to the converted nations. Look into those apparently insignificant little books, and you will remark that the doctrine is absolutely the same, whether they are designed for the most distant tribes along the Mackenzie River, or for those who live in tropical countries along the Amazon and the Ganges.

Has this universal proselytism and absolute sway been curtailed in the least, in modern times, by the otherwise successful efforts of the enemies of the Church to weaken her influence? By no means; the reverse rather must be acknowledged as the truth. Her missions are every day expanding; new districts are constantly added to the administrative system of her hierarchy; hundreds of churches are built every year; and territories which had never before been embraced by her loving grasp are gradually invaded by her mild proselytism. Thus the Church, notwithstanding the vexations of the State, encircles the whole globe, and extends evermore her peaceful conquests. We shall soon see what figure the State makes in comparison with her.

3. This leads us naturally to consider the continual increase of the Church, at a time, too, when she is said by many to be on the point of disappearing. This will require but a few words. It would be curious, indeed, to look into this matter, had exact statistics of the number of the children of the Church been kept all through her career. It would then be possible to ascertain if there have ever been in her life periods of decrease as well as of increase. It is quite possible, for instance, that at the outburst of Protestantism, when the majority of people in the north of Europe apostatized from the faith, there may have been a sudden and considerable falling off in the number of Catholics. This is, however, doubtful, because it happened at the precise epoch when the discoveries of the Portuguese in the East, and of the Spaniards in the West,

opened the doors of the Church to a very considerable number of far distant nations who for the first time heard and received the good tidings of the Gospel. It is, indeed, very likely that, instead of a falling off, there may have been a large addition to the number of the faithful. If an impartial study of the question were made, by examining carefully its elements as found in the Christian annals, especially, say, for every fifty years during the last five centuries, we would not be surprised if the law should be found to be that of constant increase. It is certain that at this moment the children of the Church are increasing in number all over the world at a remarkable rate. That this is the case everywhere out of Europe will not be denied, when the present labors of Catholic apostles in foreign missions are strictly inquired into.

But in Europe it may be said "that the apostasy of States as States—that is, the refusal of the rulers of nations to consider the Catholic Church as a social element, except in a very subordinate capacity—must have greatly diminished the number of the faithful." We think thus far it has had very little influence. The Catholic Church never depended much on the State. Had she been like Anglicanism as regards the sources of her strength, a bill of Parliament in each of the various States would have sealed the fate of religion. But Catholicity has a Head and a foundation different from the State. When the State abjures its moral subordination to the Church, it becomes a mere *abstraction* for her. But all the units composing the religious Society of Christ are *concrete*, and know that they have a Head distinct from that of the State. Their number, therefore, cannot be seriously diminished by the State's action.

A more precise analysis of the chief elements of this question will make the true state of the case still more evident. In the strict union between Church and State, such as it was formerly, the religious body enjoyed two advantages which it has now very nearly lost. The first was the wealth, the pomp, the exterior display attendant on the honors bestowed by the State; the second was the enforcement of the ecclesiastical rule by the civil power. The average class of mankind is strongly acted upon by each of these, and it is possible that in the present *status* a number of people neglect the practice of their religion, because almost all exterior motives to it have been taken away. But have these men actually apostatized, though they are lukewarm and thoughtless? By no means. Most of them are Christians still, and remember it, at least at the hour of death. Nay, on many occasions during their lives they wake up, and religion makes the more impression on account of her exclusively heavenly character. This awakening was particularly remarkable in Paris on Easter Sunday, the 1st of

April last. A daily paper, *La France*, expressed it to perfection by saying: "Had a stranger suddenly found himself in Paris for the first time in his life on that day, at the sight of so many magnificent and vast religious edifices crowded with people from morning to night, he would have been ready to swear that the French capital was the most Catholic city in the world." Let the government in France, therefore, become yet more anti-Christian than it is, let the radical party succeed and break asunder entirely the connection of the State with Catholicity, the French people and the Parisians among them, many of them at least, will continue to be Catholic, and show it, too, as they did last Easter-day.

4. A fourth and last consideration in regard to this branch of our subject is the harmony existing among all the faithful members of the Church. Admirable spectacle offered by the Catholic religion! Whoever believes in it and practices it is in perfect communion of mind and heart with hundreds of millions of fellow-beings, among whom there is a perfect unity in necessary things—*In necessariis unitas*, as St. Augustine says.

This seems but *natural* to many good people unacquainted with the world. For is it not true that the souls of men have all been endowed with an intellect whose first principles clearly must be the same, as every sound philosophy proves? The same is true of the will of man, which has received from God the same unerring principles of morality going to form the human conscience. St. John, at the very beginning of his Gospel, states it with his usual majesty and clearness when he says that the Eternal Word is "the light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world." Yet, strange to say, every-day experience shows that the intellect of man, now at least, is exceedingly obscure, and does not unite in admitting the same first principles, and the human conscience is far from acting as if moral principles were the same for all. In the Catholic Church alone does this take place, and the consequence is evident that the Catholic Church alone enjoys the prerogative of restoring man to the right use of his natural faculties. This must be examined somewhat more in detail.

Where will you find at this day harmony of belief among men in matters of pure intellect? Donoso Cortes has admirably said in his *Essays on Catholicism*:

"You, who aspire to subjugate peoples, to domineer over nations, and exercise authority over human reason, do not declare yourselves the depositaries of clear and evident truths; above all do not produce your proofs, if you have any, for the world will not recognize you as masters, but will rebel against the brutal yoke of your evidence. Announce, on the contrary, that you have an argument which upsets a mathematical truth; that you are going to prove that two and two do not make four, but five; that God does not exist, or that man is God; . . . that the beautiful is ugly and the ugly beautiful; that good is evil and evil good; that the devil is God and God is the devil.

. . . If to the good sense of which you have given such ample proofs, by announcing the demonstration of all these things, you afterwards add the good sense of not demonstrating them at all; or if, as the only demonstration of your blasphemies and your affirmations, you give your blasphemies and your affirmations themselves, then the human race will extol you to the stars! . . . I know not if there be anything under the sun more vile and despicable than the human race outside the Catholic lines."

This is strong language which we perhaps would not have dared to use as coming from ourselves. But it comes from a greater man than we are, and, moreover, it expresses the truth; "outside the Catholic Church there is at present a perfect anarchy of thought; but within her precincts there is unanimity of belief." This anarchy of mind is still more perfectly expressed by D. Cortes in another passage of his book, where he says in substance that the absurd seems to be made purposely to suit the great intellects of our day, and the more absurd a thing is, the more readily will it be adopted, announced, and proclaimed as *the* truth, precisely because it is absurd. The consequence is that in the impossibility of agreeing on anything whatsoever, men, to live at peace with each other, have finally adopted the *golden rule* to come to a compromise on every thing, and *agree to disagree*. Sublime adage, which makes of men a society of idiots, we presume from *ιδιώται* in Greek, for whom truth is an impossibility and common belief an intolerable burden!

But the Catholic Church has declared that three things are indispensable to man on earth, on his way to eternity. These are Faith, Hope, and Charity. The only one of these three essential requirements which is of importance at this moment is the first,—namely, Faith. By proclaiming, as revealed by Almighty God, a certain number of truths and supernatural facts which men must believe absolutely, the anarchy of the human mind is suddenly arrested, and a real society becomes possible; so that men have at last common principles and common aims. In this alone is the true source of harmony of belief in mankind. Take this away and there will remain only opinion; and opinions may justly differ, because none of them can impose absolute assent. Look around you and say if there is faith anywhere on earth except in the Catholic Church. You will not find it certainly in the Protestant sects which have all rejected the necessary dogma of infallibility, and are thus left entirely at the mercy of mere opinions. If you look for it in the Oriental churches, you will find it only in a fragmentary state, as their schism has deprived them of a continuation of the life in which they once fully participated. For they admit three or four general councils only, namely, all those held by the Church previous to their separation. Thus their very history indicates the precise time when faith became for them crystallized or rather fossilized. From that moment down there is not for them any means

of ascertaining what the Church believes. Besides, by rejecting the authority of the first pastor, they are deprived of the greatest privilege of supreme harmony, which consists in the impossibility of disunion. Any individual bishop among them can originate a sect, because they recognize above themselves only metropolitans and a national council, to whom unerrancy has not been given by our Saviour. In the Catholic Church, on the contrary, disunion is impossible as was just said, because, should any one dissent, he is by this very fact separated from the body in which the strictest union continues still to exist, and which thus cannot suffer from the apostasy of any individual. The Pope, therefore, is the keystone of the whole edifice, and as from him "unity finds its source," according to a beautiful thought of St. Cyprian, without him there can be no unity, and men remain in the condition just described by Donoso Cortes.

It is evident that the decline of the outside influence of the Church in this age cannot affect in the least the complete accord among her children secured by her constitution; and thus the Church remains the same powerful body that she has ever been. Any doubting inquirer has only to go through the various countries where Catholics are found, to convince himself of this wonderful agreement. The most remote from the centre are as firmly attached to every dogma and moral principle as those who live around the Pope himself. The doctrine taught to the most distant and rude tribes of America and Australia is absolutely the same as that which feeds the mind of the child of a refined European. And it has always been so, and it shall continue to be so to the end of time, because the Church is unchangeable, and the withdrawal of all possible worldly influence cannot deprive her of this high prerogative which God communicates to her out of His own unchangeableness. The violent outcry so prevalent in our days among men who cannot themselves have, nor even pretend to have; a permanent belief, namely, that the Church invents new dogmas, and increases constantly the number of her articles of faith, is absolutely preposterous. Whatever she defines was always believed before. She never decrees anything except when it is clearly contained in Holy Scripture or tradition. People speak as if the popes and bishops were so many politicians meeting occasionally in councils to debate among themselves what is the best in their opinion, and to declare as the truth the mere expression of a human policy! They actually imagine that the decree declaring the Pope infallible in certain contingencies is a new device of this age, to prop up the crumbling edifice of the Papacy, and replace by a bold spiritual pretension the loss of nearly everything earthly. When they are told that the doctrine of the infallibility of the Head of the Church

has always been held by the greatest number of theologians, and is clearly derived from some most striking texts of Scripture, they will not listen to you, and continue to assert that the Catholic Church is not what she pretends to be. Yet if Augustine, Ambrose, nay, Irenæus, and Clement of Rome came back on earth, they would undoubtedly recognize the Church of our day as their mother, perfectly identical with that of their own time. They all had the same idea of faith that we have; and, consequently, their belief was identical with our own. Is it not wonderful thus to see a society spread everywhere, having enjoyed so far an existence of nineteen centuries, yet animated with the same spirit, imbued with the same ideas, professing the same principles, believing the same truths, and united by the bonds of the same love? A society that is unchangeable, harmonious, powerful, and unassailable in its unity?

To appreciate more fully, however, all these high prerogatives of the Church, the City opposed to her must be examined and studied. What we call the "State" must be subjected to a thorough investigation in order to see what advantages it has derived from its supposed victories over the Church. By getting loose from her it pretends to have recovered its independence, and to be able to fulfil henceforth its destiny without interference and obstruction. It proclaims to the world the brilliant achievements that lay in store for it, and the supreme prosperity it is hastening to reach. It is as important as curious to examine these pretensions; and it will not be very difficult to uncover the nakedness of the idol, and show how empty are the boasts and how false the assertions of its deluded worshippers.

II. THE STATE.

I. In the ages of faith the State formed a part of the City of God, because it was united intimately to the Church, and made one of the elements of Christendom. But in breaking asunder those holy bonds, it has come at once to deny its subordination to God. This is a very remarkable fact. It might have apostatized from the Church, and yet remained *theist*. England appeared inclined to do so for two hundred years at least after its separation from Rome: She proclaimed herself a Christian State, and boasted even of a spirit of religion deeper and purer than could be found among "Papists." But England now, following the example of other European States, has entered upon a new path. It consists in thinking that complete indifference to any kind of religion whatever, absolute abstention from all dogmas, total forgetfulness of Christian morality as such, is the policy best adapted to secure the happiness of nations. But that this is really and in fact atheism, no one can deny; and indeed no one now even attempts to deny it. Either entire silence is main-

tained on the subject, or it is unhesitatingly admitted that the State must be godless. That this is not an exaggeration is proved by many facts, which unfortunately cannot be gainsaid, and which prove that European States are in the act at least of abjuring their former belief in God. As this is an extremely important point, it must be proved somewhat *in extenso*.

Any nation professing belief in God must admit that power comes from Him, and that subjects obey God in obeying the State. This is now spurned as a childish notion by all the statesmen of Europe, except in Russia. They all, with the exception mentioned, admit practically that power comes from the people, that human laws have no other source than the will of the majority, understood as politicians understand it, and that the citizens must obey because force obliges them to do so. This is emphatically modern atheism. Secondly, all nations which profess their belief in God necessarily attach some importance at least to divine worship. Sometimes they have a State religion which all must follow. Sometimes without going so far as this they forbid openly the avowed profession of total unbelief, and foster in all manner of ways the honor due to God by public worship assisted at by the State authorities, by contributing largely to the building of temples for public worship, to the celebration of religious festivals, to the bringing up of youth in the fear and love of God. But the States of Europe have openly discarded, or are in the act of discarding, all such proofs of their belief. There is no law anywhere proscribing atheism even as a doctrine dangerous to the State; and the controversy going on in the *Dublin Review* on that subject proves how far this is now the case. In scarcely any European State are there stated occasions for the authorities to show their faith in any manner soever. Religious ceremonies partaken in by the citizens are rather discouraged than the reverse. If the State still contributes in any way something for the expenses of worship, it is done very parsimoniously, and so as to indicate that the practice is not to continue long. As to the bringing up of youth in the fear and love of God, it is evident that this is one of the last concerns of the State in modern times. Again, a State professing to believe in God shows it invariably by its code of laws, by its prescriptions as regards births, marriages, and burials, by its preservation, as much as lays in it, of the great primitive traditions of mankind on which rests the security of society, as for instance the purity of women, the tender care of the family, the horror of atrocious crimes. All these things may seem to some not to have any connection with the profession of theism, but they are greatly mistaken. The ancient nations knew it well. They were persuaded that God must be the inspirer of good laws, that the three great epochs of human

life, its dawn, the period of sexual union, and after the body breathes its last, were to be most strictly cared for by the State, at least so far as to see that the prescriptions of religion were well observed at these three important moments of human existence, because of the peculiar rights the Creator has reserved to Himself in that regard. Finally the interests of woman and of the family, the preservation of society from crimes crying to heaven—so well guarded in primitive times—are certainly fostered by the State in proportion as it believes in God, and are, on the contrary, left to chance when God is forgotten or ignored. But every one must be fully aware that the least concern of the State in the present age is to provide that the laws respecting these matters bear the imprint of religion. The whole ceremony attending the birth, the marriage, the burial of human beings, consists in coldly registering their names. As to the family, woman, and the preservation of society from atrocious crimes—crying to heaven as the Bible says—the only prescriptions found on the subject in modern legislation regard merely unimportant material interests which have no reference to the deep views which true and sincere religion takes of these mighty subjects.

Practical atheism has, therefore, invaded the State. The invasion is not yet complete; but the decline in this direction is so rapid that if it is not soon arrested, men now living will see the day when European nations will be bowed under the yoke of entirely godless rulers. The reader is left to consider himself what will be the dreadful situation of Europe when this will have completely taken place. No one but a fool can imagine that the State will have acquired additional strength by having deliberately brought about this state of things. The State may one day require the help of the Church to repair its error. At present it spurns the Church.

But if the State is no longer one of the component elements of the City of God (having abjured Him), what can be said of holiness of life in the new state of society? The office of the State, certainly, is not to raise up the nations to a higher plane of sanctity; but a great part of that office is undoubtedly to see that society does not become entirely gangrened. And what must be the consequence of the godlessness we have just considered? Evidently, to inoculate the people with a like indifference to religious considerations in the actions of their daily life; to render them callous to the sense of duty; to take away from them the fear of God and of His judgments; to deaden their conscience, and in the end stifle entirely its voice; to leave them consequently at the mercy of their passions, and to the sole guidance of what they may imagine is their interest. When these baneful effects shall have been pro-

duced on a great mass of people it is easy to foresee the dreadful invasion of vices and crimes that will ensue. If among nations remaining to a great extent religious, and preserving the salutary fear of divine retribution, it has happened that luxury, wealth, and a great development of material prosperity have opened the flood-gates of corruption, and sped those nations on to destruction, what will it be when to all those causes of ruin, which undoubtedly exist in our day, is added the open denial of a hereafter, or at least of a strict judge and avenger of wrong? The wisdom of ages has taught us to believe that the fall of the most powerful empires of the world has invariably been due to the moral gangrene engendered by sensual indulgence and by unbelief. When both these causes of degeneracy come together the fall is always frightful and the destruction complete.

It is a patent fact that in Europe, in the present age, there is a universal aspiration for material enjoyment, and for the acquirement of wealth which procures it, together with a stolid indifference as regards the spiritual world, a sentiment becoming stronger every day; that duty is a humbug, conscience a bugbear, the fear of God a nursery tale. This deplorable accumulation of causes of ruin has certainly been fostered, if not produced, by the modern State doctrines. When the day shall arrive for the full development of the inevitable consequences, the crash will probably be one of the most terrible recorded in history.

Meanwhile, except the holiness of the "House of God," which is yet able to arrest His avenging hand, except the purity of many Christian souls unseen in the midst of corruption, wherever you turn your eyes you see the unblushing effrontery of men to whom nothing is sacred in heaven or on earth. You will find them in all stations of life, even the highest; in the *honorable* professions which formerly secured respect for those who held them; in the legislative halls where the laws of the nation are elaborated; in the mansions of those who administer public affairs, and the palaces of kings and emperors. The most pardonable of their offences are often reputed to be those which merely stop at the plundering of the people. They deserve the thanks of the community when they are satisfied with merely enriching themselves at the public expense, and do not take advantage of their high station to pervert entirely by their example public morality. Is this the road that leads to prosperity and happiness in a State? Is it thus that modern institutions merit the gratitude of mankind?

2. Perhaps, however, the State can boast of universal success in its recent undertakings, a success far more brilliant than the universality of its adversary, the Church. It is proper to examine this second point, and judge if this is not also an empty boast. At

first sight the exhibit on the part of modern governments and institutions appears to be a triumphant one. Observe in how short a time the modern doctrines have come to prevail, and how they have been adopted everywhere. The very phraseology of the system has become a universal language. They have been helped, moreover, by a multitude of investigations. Have not numerous scientists, collecting together all the newly discovered facts, endeavored to give to the whole Cosmos a meaning altogether favorable to the recent State measures? Yes, they now combine all their efforts to make people believe that God's action is to be seen neither in nature nor in man's history. They try, apparently with success, to explain by purely natural causes all that we see in the universe, even its first cause—their celebrated protoplasm—and all that has ever happened on earth from its first day. They thus justify the State in excluding God from politics, from legislation, from education, from the whole social world. We all can hear their boasts, witness their triumph, see the waves of "modern ideas" spreading farther and farther every day, so that they have attained a kind of universality which they boldly oppose to that of the Church. Not satisfied with Europe, where their cause seems to be on the point of a general acceptance, they look to the whole world beyond its limits. America, both North and South, has already caught up the cry. But America is practically European, and there would be little to wonder at if European delusions would invade the Western Continent. And go to Asia, Hindostan, for instance, and hear what the *Madras Mail* of October 6th, 1876, says on the subject of education in the *whole* peninsula:¹

"In the government schools a purely secular education is given, and no influence whatever is exerted on the religious opinions of the scholars, but the necessary consequence of a culture of the intellect, totally destitute of all moral and religious instruction, is the gradual uprooting of all religious belief in the children, and the substitution in its place of a deplorable skepticism. . . . 'Willing or unwilling,' says Sir Bartle Frere, 'we have sown the seed of a physical, intellectual, moral, and religious revolution, and who of us will dare to predict all its consequences before a new generation has passed away? . . . In India everything is in a revolutionary state. Happily for mankind this state of affairs is tranquil, often unperceived, but in spite of it it is revolution, more general, complete, rapid than the one which is now progressing in Europe,'"

Besides Hindostan, in Asia, Japan, it is well known, has been already inoculated with the godless spirit of advanced ideas. Oceania in its entirety is on the high road towards it, and the whole expanse of that ocean presents the spectacle of numberless islands whose natives are disappearing rapidly as if by magic, to be re-

¹ Taken from the *Missions Catholiques* of March 16th, 1877. The text consequently uses a different phraseology, but the thoughts are identical.

placed by a mongrel population from Europe or Eastern Asia. Even Africa is invaded by the new system of godlessness. Egypt in the northeast, Cape Colony in the south, and Algeria in the northwest, are examples.

These are facts which are often brought forward as proofs of the vitality of the new system, that it is spreading rapidly and being adopted almost universally. But this is only a superficial view, and proves nothing against the Church's real universality. The Catholic Church, in extending her empire, forms really "one family of all nations." When they have been baptized and instructed by her they have the same ideas on God, on the soul, on duty, on everything connected with the inner and higher world. They are homogeneous and harmonious. Man is moulded in his entirety. The new principles he imbibes do not foster his material interests alone by raising him up to a higher plane of exterior civilization, but develop likewise the necessary aspirations of his soul toward a happy hereafter. The new social state thus established among converted nations is favorable to their peace and happiness, and the principles inculcated by the Church form a solid basis for true virtue and a high morality.

Would it be so if the new measures introduced everywhere by modern statesmen and rulers were finally to prevail? It is evident that the civilization fostered by them is all materialistic, regards only the physical man, cannot touch his soul, and tends to an unchecked development of his passions. Can any one imagine that the whole universe will ever form "one family" under such a system as this? How can men unite in harmony when they are left entirely under the control of selfish passions? They will never regard each other as brothers. There is no brotherhood among wild beasts, and lion fights against lion when they meet by chance on a carcass to be devoured. When God is absent, when duty disappears, when conscience is dead, men are reduced to the state of wild animals, and there can be no fraternal union among them.

This is probably the reason why, in "modern thought," great respect is always paid to nationalities. The system, as it is in process of development, cannot go beyond nationalities. The Socialists alone seem in their aspirations to go beyond them. They proclaim the *universal godless republic*, which they place under the iron sceptre of an autocrat ruling over their monstrous organization. But Socialism cannot succeed in permanently comprehending the world in its monstrous embrace. Liberalism on this account seems to carry the day, and Liberalism is satisfied with nationalities, and declares itself impotent to neutralize race characteristics. The only absorption of society it proposes to itself is on the surface, regards exterior comfort and appliances, does not touch the

internal play of the passions. These will remain as wild as ever, nay, will grow wilder, by the removal, which Liberalism aims at, of the wholesome restraints of faith in those who are Christians, and of superstition in those who are not.

But, independently of these considerations, which alone would prove the deficient character of the universality which the new State measures claim, it is proper to say a few words on the help these are supposed to receive from modern discoveries in the field of science. They pretend, as we saw a few pages back, that natural causes are sufficient to explain everything in nature and in history without any intervention of God, and that politics, legislation, education, the whole social world must be constructed anew without any reference to God. "Final causes are exploded," they exclaim. This means that there is no design visible in anything, and that there is no need of a designer. With the greatest coolness they assume that this is a universal principle which has come to be accepted everywhere. Some of them, it is true, faintly protest that modern discoveries do not altogether forbid people from admitting a designer if they choose, and thus they pretend not to be atheists, or rather antitheists. (We find that this new word has just been coined.) They insist, however, that although in the abstract this is true, in a concrete sense, however, and practically, there is not anything known in nature and in history which cannot be naturally explained. Creation, therefore, according to them, is a word without meaning and should be expunged from the vocabulary; as to successive creative acts, there is nothing any longer to sustain them; and in history it may be assumed that man is and always has been the only factor. The Providence of God is no more needed. Why not, therefore, complete the system, and carry it out fully in legislation, etc., etc.? When this will have been effected, then indeed "modern thought" will have perfected its evolution, the State will be paramount in the world, and the Church may hide her diminished head.

Suppose these *agreeable* anticipations are realized, and that everything which is thus assumed as true is positively demonstrated, will it be a real boon to mankind? Every honest soul must shudder at the very idea of it. What in this case will be the rule of the State, the position of the citizen, the relations of man with man, the constitution of the family, the government of cities, the aspect of the moral world? Their development would be too horrible and shocking even to imagine. People may perhaps call this declamation. Yet the pen, though guided by the most holy indignation, would be incapable to do justice to the reality.

But, thank God, nothing of this is proved, and every word of it is false. Nature is not explicable without the intervention of God.

History supposes at its very beginning a Supreme Ruler, whose interposition is visible throughout its whole course. Politics are not left to the vagaries of man, but power comes from God in spite of popular theories. A tyrant is not allowed to do his worst without the fear of a supreme avenger of wrong. Man is not a machine, nor human society a herd of animals. Who dare say that everything is naturally explained, when everything in fact is still a mystery? The more the supernatural is attempted to be expelled, the more the sphere of mystery increases. For the admission of the supernatural is often the only way to reach an intelligible account of the most simple workings in the soul of man, as well as in the external world. Let any scientist tell us how the words of Ovid have always been considered as sublimely truthful: *Video meliora proboque; deteriora sequor*. After this, thousands of questions of the same kind offer themselves for solution without greater probability of success. But the limits assigned to this paper oblige us to speed on, since so many things remain yet to be said.

3. In speaking of the universality which the State boasts of with regard to the system of distrust and opposition it has adopted toward the Church, it is not so much the State *in abstracto* that has been considered, as the widespreading party on which it leans, and whose doctrines are a strong support to modern State measures. At this moment that party boasts loudly of its numerical strength and of the probability of its further increase. They think they have with them the intellectual world, and that the masses must follow. Their opponents are alarmed at the progress made by these doctrines during the last twenty years in Germany, England, and France. Are these fears well founded? Will the number of adherents to modern ideas of the State continue to increase until they silence all opposition, and sweep the last vestiges even of Christianity from the face of the earth?

The reflections indulged in a few pages back with regard to the remarkable increase in number of the children of the Church, during the last fifty years, forbid us to despond, or rather imperiously bid us to hope. But it is proper to examine coolly how far the hopes of the adverse party are well grounded; and in the first place it might easily be proved that there have been other periods during the last nineteen hundred years, when the apparent danger was as great, if not greater. Yet the peril passed away without impairing in the least the vitality of the Christian faith; and not unfrequently made it stronger. Like results will surely follow the storm which is now raging, and the fear will turn out to be a delusion. Mr. Mivart, in his recent *Lessons from Nature*, has depicted in the most gloomy colors the inroads of this frightful evil; and he has rendered by it a great service to truth; for previously he was thought to be

dallying with this pest. But at the end of his book he has greatly relieved the anxieties of his readers by repeated statements of the really small number of those who adhere thoroughly to these theories. Of the danger itself he is now fully aware. In his thirteenth chapter he passes in review the chief leaders of the new party in England, namely, Prof. Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, Prof. Huxley, Mr. Barratt, Winwood Reade, and others, and states pointedly the doctrines advocated by these "advanced thinkers." To give an example, the author of *Lessons from Nature* reduces the doctrine of Herbert Spencer, as expressed in the *Fortnightly Review*, for April, 1871, to the following plain and undisguised propositions:

Theism is false and absurd. Rewards and punishments in a future life are the delusions of superstition. Prayer is an absurdity, inasmuch as there is no God having any sympathy with us. There is no difference of kind, but only of degree, between the intellect of a sage, the emotions of a saint, and the psychical faculties of a mud-fish. There is no such thing as free-will; man having no more real option as to his thoughts and intentions than a leaf has to resist the action of the wind.

This is plain enough. It is well, however, to remark incidentally here that what in this paper is called the State has not yet reached the point of inscribing these articles of the new creed of atheists in its programme, and placing them openly at the head of its anti-religious catechism. But no State in Europe forbids these doctrines to be proclaimed; all of them allow its professors and endowed lecturers to teach them to the new generation, until they have come to be indorsed by State authority. They form in part the last and most radical conclusions of the principles advocated by the State itself; and all the modern axioms of politics and religion logically end in these monstrosities.

This certainly is frightful; and the reading of this work of Mr. Mivart is calculated to impress the reader with the thought that the actual position of the Church, face to face with such enemies, is perhaps worse than was the case at any previous period. But all this is greatly modified when the author comes to consider how far the evil has spread, and is destined to spread, in education, for instance. "Only a very small minority of people," he says, "will probably persist in advocating the education of children . . . in the tenets of one, as yet, very inconsiderable sect, that of the secularists, when once they fully understand that this is the result of secular or unsectarian education." Other expressions of the same author might be quoted of like effect; but we would go still further; for he speaks only of England, and we would say openly that the doctrines of the supporters of the new State measures being grounded in undisguised atheism and materialism cannot spread anywhere

to a great extent. For it is only at the end of the world, when Antichrist will inoculate the madness of his fanaticism into people deprived entirely of faith, that this may be the case. The world has not yet come to this; the great mass of mankind would certainly at this moment refuse to follow the lead of such a precious set of "advanced thinkers." How long this is to continue, and when the world will be entirely ready for the final apostasy, does not belong to the plan of this paper. It is sufficient for the purpose of our argument that the evil, in its excessive form, has not yet spread far enough to justify its boast of universality.

There is, it is true, the large array of doctrines, mainly denounced and opposed by Pius IX in his *Syllabus*, which undoubtedly the State has openly embraced, and which are doggedly sustained by a large number of men. These doctrines are embraced within the circle called by Donoso Cortes *liberal opinions*; and he has conclusively proved that they lead irresistibly to the extremest radical doctrines. It is by their help that the State has reduced the Church to the situation so often described in previous papers; and they are the arsenal out of which the most deadly weapons are procured for an unholy warfare. But these axioms of modern statecraft have been introduced surreptitiously. People have swallowed them blindly. When their purport is fully known and duly appreciated, multitudes will, it is certain, scornfully reject maxims which tend evidently to the curtailment, or rather absorption, of all liberty by an autocratic State. Those maxims have spread very extensively without being fully understood. The light of argumentation will certainly show them in their true colors; and as they lead evidently to the total denial of faith, an inexorable logic will necessarily render them at last odious to the majority of mankind.

It is to be remarked that the origin of these "advanced ideas" is of yesterday. Most of these axioms, if thus they may be styled, are not yet a hundred years old. They can scarcely be said to have acquired the right of citizenship among the friends of true liberty. They are very far from having reached the degree of universality which the maxims of the Church have enjoyed for eighteen centuries. In this respect, therefore, the State is far from competing with the Spouse of Christ. Let another hundred years roll by, and all those State maxims which seem now to have secured the assent of millions, may be despised and repudiated by the sons of their present advocates. In politics such revulsions as this are common enough to render this result far from impossible. It is, consequently, very evident that the peril which threatens the Church, from the open opposition of the State, is far from being as alarming as were many of those which the Church has lived through.

4. The harmony necessarily pertaining to the Church, owing to her divine constitution, and absolutely fostered by the spirit of faith, which makes her not only unchangeable, but likewise perfectly homogeneous, and places her out of the reach of internal strife, belonged formerly to the States of Europe in a certain degree, as forming Christendom. The common belief and identical principles of morality which prevailed everywhere, for the mere reason that they were Christian States, gave to the earthly society a semi-divine look, so that, as has been stated previously, it formed an element of the City of God. This homogeneousness is now entirely gone, and in its place discord, strife, and contention have been unfortunately introduced. At least the fatal germ of all those evils has been planted in the soil by the breaking down into fragments of the former common understanding in faith and morals. From this, that is to say from the domain of religion, the same want of harmony has passed into that of politics, philosophy, social aims, and nationalities. Into all these various aspects of the European commonwealth mental anarchy has penetrated, and to-day Europe presents to our view the unwelcome spectacle of a "City of Confusion," a real Babel, in common parlance "a bear garden." The expression is strong, but graphic, and, after the few pages which yet can be devoted to its consideration, no one, it is believed, will feel inclined to dispute its correctness. The subject is a very copious one, and we are compelled to select only a few points for presentation, and leave many others unmentioned. The first that presents itself is the political aspect of Europe; and, indeed, on this branch of the subject it will be easy to prove that the rather strong expressions which have just fallen from our pen are just and true to the letter.

To hear some people talk, it would seem that the "science" of politics had no existence in previous ages, and that during the last hundred years it has well-nigh reached perfection. It would be impossible to prove, in the very short space left us for discussion, that this is a delusion, or rather just the reverse of the truth. We must be satisfied with a short sketch of the actual state of the political world in Europe, and as there are exterior or international politics ruling the relations of various States, and interior politics having regard to the national affairs of each State, it is necessary to look into both these branches of the subject.

As to the first, Comte Franz de Champagny, somewhere in his *Césars*, has justly remarked that, since the Protestant Reformation, but chiefly in the last century, the rivalry of nationalities, that is, the hatred of peoples against peoples, has become a feature of modern society, and we are afraid that the international politics of Europe have not changed for the better since Mr de Champagny wrote.

Christendom, he remarked, had made one family, as it were, of all Europeans. It had softened down those angular asperities which generally distinguish nations from each other and place them in fierce antagonism. It is undeniable that religion alone formerly united all the nations of Europe, and formed of them a kind of commonwealth. It is the Catholic Church only that could thus induce races of so great a variety of character to coalesce in a friendly spirit, and if God had not imbued it with a pre-eminent aptitude to that effect, it would never have been called the Catholic Church. Catholicity or universality must smooth over, nay, eradicate what is antagonistic in each tribe to obtain the union of all, and this result had been clearly obtained for the whole of Europe.

But the spirit of division natural to ancient paganism has revived to a great degree, and now Europe, says De Champagny, is divided into three great antagonistic families, namely, *the Slave race* aspiring to place itself under a powerful chief—the autocrat of Russia—outside the Catholic communion, and to form a vast and threatening unity; *the German race* separating itself proudly and scornfully from its previous associations with the South of Europe like a feudal chieftain of past ages, and building its eagle's nest north of the Rhine; and, finally, *the Latin race* remaining isolated in the southern and western part of the Continent, gradually becoming disintegrated and broken up into smaller fragments, and forming itself into distinct and already opposite camps, as if the same blood did not run in their veins, as if the same civilization had not raised them up to their present position, and the same religion had not long united them and made them happy and prosperous.

It is surely on account of those divisions, which cannot but bring on universal strife, that Europe is preparing for a conflict such as the world has scarcely ever witnessed. The treasures of all those States are daily emptied, and have to be constantly replenished, in order to pay for maintaining armies comprising nearly the whole of the adult male population. Space and time prevent us from giving the exact statistics of those monstrous military agglomerations. It was recently calculated that six millions of soldiers were actually under arms, and at this moment, when a universal war is expected, the number must have been increased. Look around and see on the soil of Europe those countless legions of soldiers, numbering more than a million in each of the great States, hundreds of thousands in insignificant little kingdoms whose troops previously consisted of only a few thousand, perhaps even a few hundred men. Look likewise at the laws. Everywhere elaborate enactments are ingeniously contrived so that not a single individual under legislative control shall escape being trained up for war, and kept ready for any emergency—an emergency soon expected to

arrive. Should you continue incredulous, contemplate the material preparations actually made on all sides for the most effective and thorough destruction of life, improved arms of every description, rifles of every name and shape, enormous guns, and monstrous mortars. Count, if you can, the inventions of that kind which are patented every day. Reflect well on this, that the most scientific and thorough tests are applied to judge of their destructive efficiency. The inventors are ready to swear that nothing better can be imagined to kill the greatest number of men in the shortest possible time. Finally, look at the sea covered with ironclads, look at the land bristling with bayonets, look at the homes of citizens empty of youth, look at the numerous camps and barracks crammed with conscripts under training. You see nothing of this in this country. We had a glimpse of it a few years back, but, thank God, we see nothing of it here to-day. But at this very moment Germany, France, Italy, count nearly as many soldiers liable to be called to arms at any moment as they have men above eighteen and below fifty. And this has been going on for many years, to prepare for the fray which is now just beginning at both ends of the Black Sea.

Has the proud European mind in these days any object more worthy of its deep attention than the extirpation of the human race? Can you find in Europe any pursuit followed with more ardor, engaging a greater number of designers, inventors, perfectors, and artificers? Nobody can pretend that all this is for nothing, has no object whatever. For if this were the case the treasures of all those nations would be squandered, the majority of able-bodied citizens would be taken from their useful occupations, the activity of an immense number of men would be engaged uselessly in the pursuit of an *ignis fatuus*. Who can pretend it?

Turn now from the international to the interior politics of each European State, and we are confronted by a spectacle not less appalling, for, besides the antagonism of European nationalities, each one against all the others, there is a fierce opposition growing up in the very heart of each European nation between the State power and the subjects, the rulers and the ruled, the influential and rich classes and the poor. There is, consequently, threat of war outside, and threat of war inside. It is a terrible actualization of the Scripture text, *Foris gladius, intus pavor*. The chief cause of this last-mentioned symptom of internal strife is the spread of the doctrines which have formed the chief theme of this paper. They have reached the people in many countries; they have borne their baneful fruits among men who specially need the teachings of religion. Numerous sects of a pretended philosophy have been set on foot; innumerable books have been written to develop their dis-

organizing tenets; secret associations have been formed to give unity to those schemes. All this has been done to corrupt the people and take from them the restraints of religion. Every one has heard of the Socialists, the Communists, the Internationals, etc. For a long time Catholic writers were the only ones to fight against the threatening evil. At last others than Catholics have become aware of it. Mr. Disraeli, now Lord Beaconsfield, recently uttered a word or two on the subject, ominous enough, but far from sufficient; and, stranger still, Count Bismarck found those sectaries in his way, and acknowledged their power by the fear which he exhibited. It is known that the objects of those vast associations is for the most part to destroy society as it has existed since the establishment of Christianity, and build on its ruins a new edifice raised on atheistic and materialistic principles. To succeed in doing this war must be declared against every social institution now in existence. It is, therefore, the announcement of a universal civil strife when there are at the same time fearful international wars in immediate prospect. And the projects that are openly advocated by the new sectaries are of such a nature, that, if there were even only a partial application of them to society, it would involve a return to barbarism. The reader can form some idea of this by reading what Mr. Mivart has said in his recent book on *Contemporary Evolution*. There any one can see to what state Europe is reduced, at a time when it is generally supposed that she has reached the highest point of civilization.

The expression, "it is a return to barbarism," has been used, and this deserves a word or two of comment. It is known that the Roman empire was destroyed by barbarians in the fifth and following centuries. It may be useful and important to ask what difference there is between the dangers which now threaten society and those which then were impending over Rome? There is this, exactly: Rome, apparently so prosperous, was in fact unable to cope with the barbarians of the North. When these came they found only victims ready for immolation, a multitude of defenceless people offered to them for promiscuous slaughter. After having scourged the Roman dominions, those ferocious tribes, full of vigor and life, settled in their new country, and began a national existence on a basis very different from that from which any other previous race started. The Church was there on every spot they occupied, facing them boldly, and offering them the Cross and the Gospel. She purified them by baptism, opened the ears of their understanding by Christian doctrines, and their hearts by the sweet emotions of charity. We know what results followed, for all of us are the children of those barbarians.

But when war, interior and exterior, shall begin on the condi-

tions just summarily stated, all men will be found with arms in their hands, yea, with the most approved weapons and the most scientific processes of warfare, with an equal ferocity in the hearts of all, and a corresponding prospect of mutual and universal destruction. The Church will be there, no doubt, ready to bless whenever called upon, and in her alone will there be hope for society, exactly the same as was the case in the fifth century. But the dispositions of the new barbarians will be very different from those of fourteen hundred years ago. Mr. Mivart, who does not use this ugly word, *barbarian*, endeavors to describe the means which will be again used by the Church for the salvation of society. In this he seems to us less successful than in the other portions of his book. We would not ourselves attempt any prediction of the probable way in which society is to be restored again on a Christian basis. If we relied only on human means we would despair, and the social revolution which has now begun in earnest would seem to us destined to rush along with more and more fury, until it had accomplished its fell purpose by a universal devastation. When, for the great majority of men, revelation is a myth, the communion of earth with heaven a delusion, force is put into the place of right, paganism revived—as they already speak of doing—but in a much worse form than in ancient times, every one of the new social institutions based on the footing of perfect independence of any Superior Power, etc., etc., all human hope must be given up, and the only help which can be relied upon is that of heaven. But, fortunately, there is a passage of Holy Scripture which can restore the confidence of the most despondent, and in the eventual success of the party on which we have commented, a few phrases of the Book of Wisdom (i. 13, 59) suffice to furnish ground for the firmest hope. Here it is, from the Douai translation :

“God made not death, neither hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living. For He created all things that they might be; and He made the nations of the earth for health (*sanabiles*, curable); and there is no poison of destruction in them, nor kingdom of hell upon the earth.”

We must believe, therefore, that as far as God is concerned, and He is the master after all, His designs are all-merciful, and He will never suffer the existence of a “kingdom of hell upon the earth,” and consequently that those formerly Christian nations, now withered and decayed, can be healed and restored again to the possession of their pristine vigor.

This remarkable passage of the Book of Wisdom gives an adequate explanation of a most surprising characteristic of human history, which is also perceptible in every single nation, and in individuals to a certain extent. It consists in the singular fact that there is nearly always a *point d'arrêt* of corruption, to use a French

word for which there is no exact English equivalent. Gangrene once begun in the human body must necessarily go on until the whole is invaded by the virus, and death ensues. Not so in human history as a whole; not so in nations generally; not so even morally in most human individuals. The time comes when the process of decomposition is arrested and life returns. The evil is not worked out fatally to the end; but before this is reached there is a happy crisis which turns the life-stream again into its natural course.

It is on this account, we believe, that the fell doctrines of materialism, atheism, communism, and *id genus omne*, can never spread utterly and without limits. They are invariably rejected by the mass of mankind; and it is precisely when they appear to be on the point of corrupting all classes of society that they are, at that very moment, contemptuously and scornfully rejected by the good sense of all kinds of people. This is a safer ground of hope in our opinion than any philosophical system of moral weights and counterweights between the doctrines prevalent among men.

But, meanwhile, the truth must be now apparent to all readers, that if the State, as it is usually called in this paper, has any prospect of succeeding against the Church, it will not be for the good of society. These two great organisms—cities they were called at the beginning of this discussion—are evidently now arrayed against each other and engaged in a deadly conflict. The true characters of both have been portrayed as faithfully as was possible. There cannot be any doubt on which side is the promise of a long life in spite of present appearances. If any one still hesitates and doubts, he will not have to wait long before reaching a clearer conclusion. European armies will decide many most important questions besides that of Turkey; and the soundness of the basis on which the European States and their new theories rest, will soon be thoroughly tested, so that no possible doubt will be left in the minds of men.
