

## RACE-PATRIOTISM FROM A CATHOLIC STANDPOINT.

ONE of the indirect results of the Spanish-American war, last year, was to call forth, on both sides of the Atlantic, a sudden display of enthusiasm for an alliance between England and America. It was even thought by many that the alliance was an accomplished fact, and that its influence would soon become predominant in the political world. As was to be expected, however, the feeling of enthusiasm was not long at its fever-point. When the first excitement was over, there came a period of reflection, with the result that the practical difficulties standing in the way of an alliance have been made clearer than they were before. At the same time there can be no doubt that the signs of mutual friendship exhibited by the two great English-speaking peoples were not the result of a mere passing sentiment. They sprang from a deeply rooted sense of kinship and community of aspirations, which has been revealed more than once during the present century, and which occasional jealousies have not been able to destroy. The memorable words uttered by a responsible statesman on the 2d of February, last year, are a recognition of the existence of this feeling. "There is no doubt," said Mr. Olney, speaking at Harvard University, "with what nations we should coöperate. England, our most formidable rival, is our most natural friend. There is such a thing as patriotism for race as well as for country. Though sometimes we may have such quarrels as only relations and intimate neighbors indulge in, yet it may be said that the near future will see in our closer friendship a power for good that will be felt by all mankind."

To some it may appear rather a contradiction in terms to speak of "race-patriotism," in the way that Mr. Olney did. Fatherland and race are in very many countries as widely separated as the poles. England herself, and more notably still, America, are living examples of variety in race as well as homogeneity in patriotism. But we may point to some striking examples of the idea sought to be conveyed by the sentence, "There is such a thing as patriotism for race as well as for country." In the Jewish people, scattered as they are to-day, we find it a living fact. The Mahomedan peoples also afford illustrations of it. It would be rash to say that Mr. Olney's words are altogether fanciful.

The kind of patriotism expressed in these words is quite in ac-

cordance with the mind of the Catholic Church since, without any loss of national spirit, it promotes the coöperation of kindred races for their mutual advancement and for the benefit of the world at large. But the patriotism of Catholics will involve something more than a desire for the spread of material civilization. It will include the conviction that the greatest blessings come to mankind through the medium of the true Faith, and that the noblest ambition they can entertain for their race is that it may become the means of spreading that Faith in the world.

It might seem at first that a union between two great Protestant nations, the very two, moreover, which chiefly embody the idea of material progress, would augur but little good for the spiritual empire of Christ upon earth. Yet men had somewhat similar thoughts at the time of the barbarian inroads upon the Roman Empire, and they did not foresee that the forces threatening to crush the Church would eventually be enlisted in her service. Then, as now, there was a Higher Statesmanship which overruled the workings of diplomacy and made good use of the very triumphs of injustice. It is by our faith in this directing Providence that we are ready to hope great things for the future of the Church, in spite of the many hard facts which rise up to discourage us at present. Catholics are greatly in the minority amongst us, it is true. It is also true that we are living like the victims of a great Babylonian captivity, in the midst of a civilization based upon principles many of which are quite contrary to our own. We are in close contact with our non-Catholic fellow-countrymen; we live their life, think their thoughts, and our daily conversation does not greatly differ from theirs. The sources of our inner spiritual life, hidden as they are from the world, are often unperceived even by earnest seekers after the truth, and their effect upon ourselves is largely hindered by influences from without. And yet, notwithstanding the causes which combine to weaken our distinctive spirit, we are bold enough to cherish hopes and aspirations very different from those of our fellow-citizens, and we hold, as the most cherished of truths that the Church to which we belong has a mission in the future which no other church can fulfil. For us the Catholic Church is the first object of our loyalty, and we know that the loyalty we owe to our country is most ennobled by conforming it with that which we pay to the Church. The same is true of the love we owe to our race. That love will become more disinterested and more sacred when, in due measure, it becomes identified with our love of our religion. The two will grow together; and that largeness of charity, which is called for in a member of the Universal Church, will promote a corresponding largeness in the meaning of our patriotism.

A characteristic, then, of our larger patriotism will be a strong and increasingly effective desire that the united forces of the two nations to which we belong may be used in the interests of Catholic truth. Our belief in the great future of the Church in the English-speaking world is based largely upon the knowledge that she is endowed with a vitality possessed by no other religion. She has the gift of perpetual youth. Her ideas, her principles, and her whole organization, are living things; and where they have to contend with moribund ideas and decaying organizations, these latter must necessarily succumb. Now all the varieties of sectarian Christianity are off-shoots of an organism which, under the name of Protestantism, has been losing force since the day it came into existence. All the great revivals which have taken place within it, the Puritan, Methodist, High Church and Salvationist movements, have been but readjustments and economic arrangements of a totality of forces which have been spending themselves for three centuries and a half.

Although Protestantism as a system has been weakened by disintegration, there has not been a corresponding loss of faith among its individual members. And herein we have ground for hope. The English-speaking nations are not irreligious. In spite of the havoc made by free thought and the continual narrowing away of dogmatic belief among the Protestant sects, there still remains amongst our non-Catholic brethren a sincere desire to know the truth and to serve God in the way that He wishes. As long as this spirit survives there is good hope for the future of the Church, and, as soon as sincerely religious Protestants have discovered the hollowness of the system in which they have trusted, the only course open to them, if they still wish to preserve God's truth, will be to consider the claims of Catholicity. It is true that **such an awakening to light is necessarily a matter of extremely slow progress, nor can we rely upon any clear sense of logic in the Protestant mind to see its own inconsistencies.** Over and over again, for instance, have those who are looked upon as authorities in the Anglican Church been placed in a manifestly false position, as in their recent declaration upon the Divorce question; and not a few observers of events have foretold secessions on a large scale from the ranks of Anglicanism. The seceders, however, have on no occasion, except at the time of the Oxford movement, been as numerous as they ought to have been, and the average Protestant's sense of logic will require many a rude shock before he sees how little the law of contradictions is recognized in his Church. After all, the main strength of Protestantism is in those unlearned worshippers who believe in the Bible and hate the Pope, while they have little concern about the questions which their pastors may choose to discuss among

themselves. Dogma is a luxury of the learned, and, as long as the wealthy middle classes go to church and subscribe handsomely to mission funds and bible societies, so long will Protestantism flourish.

The grace of God, however, is stronger than human inertia, and, though falsehood may hold sway for a long time, its ascendancy cannot last for ever. Every now and again some test case will arise, a question of ritual or final authority, in which, by all the rules of logic, the Anglican Church is called upon to define its position. But this is precisely what the authorities of the Anglican Church are anxious to avoid, for they can never do so without danger of a schism. Hence, when zealous but uninstructed laymen call for a clear pronouncement on some vexed situation, the responsible authorities temporise; there is a letting off of energy in the newspapers; a few innovating clergymen are mobbed, and a few church windows broken: the zealous laymen are satisfied that they have done something, and things seem to go on much as before. But it is only seeming. The Anglican Church comes forth weaker than she was before. Some of her more earnest thinkers have become Catholics; the indifferent and the scandalized have gone to swell the ranks of infidelity, while there still remains a sufficient mass of church-goers to carry on a certain nondescript unity for an indefinite number of years longer. Meanwhile Anglicanism continues to be a diminishing quantity with a strong desire for expansion and a notable impotency in effecting it.

What we have just said merely expresses the growing opinion that the great struggle for the Church of the future will be, not with heresy, but with infidelity, and that, before the struggle has reached its sharpest and most definite phase, the main forces of Protestantism will have ranged themselves along with one or other of the two camps. "There is a good deal of truth," said Dr. Jowett, "in the people who say that we are all becoming Atheists and Papists."\* If this re-arrangement of forces takes place, it will imply a complete and intimate change in the religious character of the Teutonic nations, but especially in the English-speaking portion of them. How that change will be brought about, and what will be the consequent increase to the Catholic fold no one can, with safety, foretell. The consideration of our present numbers does not furnish any great ground for hope. In America, Catholics form about a sixth part of the population, and in England one-twentieth. Yet so great is our belief in the vitality of the Church, in the supernatural vigor which history has proved her to possess, that we are bold enough to hope for the day when she will make a reconquest of the once Protestant nations on either side of the Atlantic.

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\**Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, v. ii, p. 165.

It would be unwise, as well as un-Catholic, to build our hopes of the reconversion of our race upon any qualities or prominent virtues which we may possess. The grace of conversion is gratuitous and, if ever the Church is benefited by an infusion of new blood into her body, it is only after she has made untold efforts to purify the elements which she has assimilated. The Church can do without any particular nation, but no nation can do without the Church. She is independent of those qualities of which nations are commonly proud. A newly converted people may cause her to exhibit new phases of life, not necessary to her perfection, and may thus, in a limited sense, set its mark upon the Church. But it is in a far more complete sense that she sets her mark upon her new-born children, whether individuals or races, for she transforms their whole being and causes them to live an entirely new life. She gives supernatural for natural, golden for brazen, and, though both are necessary, yet one is of far greater value than the other. To forget this truth is to misunderstand the spirit of the Catholic Church: to remember it is a special duty for such religious-minded men as are strongly patriotic, and cherish the noble desire to see all that is best in the character of their nation brought into the union of the true Faith. There are not wanting amongst us those whose Catholic spirit is tinged with a certain national exclusiveness, and a pride of race which looks forward to the time when Latin influences and Latin traditions in the Church shall give way to a new spirit coming from the reconverted Teutonic nations. At times, even ere now, impatience has been manifested at the arrangements of Providence, and whispers have been overheard about the advisability of electing an English-speaking Pope. No one doubts that, were England and America converted, many things would be proved consistent with orthodoxy and the truest loyalty to the Church which, hitherto, have hardly been supposed to be so. The change, we may well believe, will actually come about, and it has been foretold by men whose opinions have merited our respect. But there is a danger that our desires be not in accordance with wisdom. If our love of race and country and our praiseworthy desire for their increase in all good gifts become mixed up with any contempt or dislike of other nationalities and other races, or with any sense of triumph at the thoughts of supplanting them in the favors of heaven, it is time for us to examine the character of our patriotism and purge it of its objectionable elements.

The English-speaking race as a religious people has, for the last three or four centuries, from a Catholic point of view, had little to boast of. In all the good that it has done it has received large help from the Latin or Celtic races, and it will be largely dependent on

these sources in all the good it is likely to do for some time to come. Both in England and America the Catholic Church has expanded, not so much by inward development and by the number of conversions, as by Irish immigration. Unjust government in the remote, and blundering government in the nearer past have indeed reduced Ireland to a state of poverty and depopulation which no right mind can but bitterly deplore. But out of the evil much good has come. Ireland has suffered political shipwreck, but she has been called to something higher than political greatness. It is her mission to leaven the English-speaking world with a new spirit, the spirit of the Catholic Church, a spirit opposed to the two capital sins of materialism and pride which threaten to convert our English-speaking civilization into a new species of barbarism. In the Church and in the Army, the two professions where little gain is to be got, but where unselfish virtue is wont to show itself, Irishmen are conspicuous by their numbers. To prove this we have only to glance at the Catholic Directory, either English or American, and to read the history of Waterloo, the Crimea, the American Civil war and the recent Spanish-American war. The virtues of either profession, courage, learning and self-devotion are possessed in an eminent degree by the Irish in the New World and in the Old, and these qualities, together with their long attested faith and devotion to the Catholic Church, eminently fit them to take an important part in that religious revival for which we so ardently hope.

The present writer is an Englishman, and he deplores with the rest of English Catholics those causes, humiliating to think of, which have prevented any real union between England and Ireland, and made their so-called union a mockery; which have caused thousands of Irish families to desert the homes that were too poor to support them. But is there not reason to rejoice, on the other hand, at the spectacle of a prolific race, prolific because of its domestic virtues, and Catholic to the core, expanding amongst us as rapidly as Israel in Egypt? But unlike Israel in Egypt the Irish will make no new exodus from the English-speaking world. In America, in the English colonies and in England itself, they will remain and set their mark upon the soil. They will, in a few generations, make a union of blood, of character and of interests with the children of their adopted country; many hatreds, let us hope, will die out, and many burning political questions be forgotten; but there is one element that will not lose its original vigor, and that is the manly, active Catholicity of the Irish people. That will always remain and will become the great redeeming influence, and the one bond of union among the multitudes it shall gather beneath its sway.

There is a Greater Ireland as well as a Greater Britain; indeed,

the former has a still wider area than the latter, for it extends as far as the English language is spoken. The extent of territory over which the Irish people have spread is a measure of the greatness of their destiny. That destiny is to act as a Catholic leaven among Protestants and Infidels. This is the worthiest object of their ambition, and, if they are faithful in their pursuit of it, the virtues and gifts of their national character will survive and impress themselves upon their English-speaking fellow citizens. It has happened, ere now, that, when two nations have amalgamated under the care of the church, their former hatreds have been forgotten, their vices have diminished, while their virtues have blended together to form a new and nobler race. In the great fusion of nationalities which is now in process in America and in the British Empire, it is upon the survival of the better qualities of every race and the disappearance of the meaner that the future of civilization depends. Now, if Irishmen are conscious of their mission among their non-Catholic fellow citizens, they will feel that the principle of *noblesse oblige* has a special application in their case. They will feel that, as Catholics, they are called upon to contribute more than they receive. If they detect in their own character any unlovely and contentious elements which weaken the influence of their more genuine and nobler qualities, they will make every sacrifice necessary to remove such obstacles. They will do nothing inconsistent with the noble ambition of leavening and converting the English-speaking world. Now, this end will be better accomplished if it is pursued in the spirit of the church, which is the spirit of union. We do not speak of political union, but of that without which political unions and alliances are useless and dangerous, the union of charity and of worthy aspirations.

The union of England and America by the ties of a permanent alliance is looked upon by many as a chimera, and not without reason. For the interests of the two nations are not identical in many important respects, and, as the world stands at present, identity of interests is the only firm bond of alliance. As long as two kindred nations find that they stand in need of mutual help, they will easily recognize the fact that "blood is thicker than water." But when there is rivalry of interests, this consideration has not been strong enough in the past even to prevent civil war. It cannot be counted on as sufficient of itself to cause an alliance. At the same time, a brotherly feeling between two nations is a thing to be fostered by every possible means, and a heavy responsibility rests with those who try to prevent it. Where there is friendship interests will contrive to run together and, as long as the friendship lasts, there can be no quarrel.

In the Middle Ages the great aim of the Church was to establish a certain political union among the Christian nations by means of their religious union under one faith. The Holy Roman Empire was an incomplete realization of this ideal. Its incompleteness was due to the fact that the semi-barbarous peoples of Europe in those days were much too warlike to be kept under control. They loved fighting for its own sake, and to thousands of them peace meant the loss of occupation. But we, who live after generations of settled political life, have not inherited such warlike tendencies. With us war is not the rule, and we look upon it as an evil to be avoided by all honorable sacrifices. If we arm, it is to maintain the peace, and no wise statesman, however preponderating may be the forces at his disposal, will enter lightly upon a war. If the nations of Europe could only trust one another, disarmament would begin to-morrow. Such being the case, the Church's chances as peacemaker of the world would be far greater now than they were in the Middle Ages, if only she had the same spiritual influence which she had then. For, whatever losses she may have sustained since the Renaissance and the Reformation, her work as peacemaker has not been undone. It has been done for her by the natural growth of civilization. It is true that the grounds of peace are terribly insecure, and no man can say how much longer the world will last without a general and calamitous war. Yet an earnest desire for peace undoubtedly exists, and this desire has been so far realised that there are multitudes among us whose lives for long years have never been altered by war or the effects of war. If then some higher motive and more stable principle than self interest shall step in upon the world to maintain the peace, there will be a greater likelihood than ever before that the dream of universal peace will be realised. The beginnings of such a state of things are visible in the growing desire for arbitration, and in our Holy Father's efforts as a mediator between nations. Cynics, no doubt, will laugh at the thought of humanity attaining such a degree of self-restraint as to give up the argument of the stronger, or to intrust its destinies to a spiritual dictator with no army to give weight to his awards. Such reasoners, however, omit from their reckonings a factor which has changed the destiny of nations in the past, and which will continue to work political miracles in the future. That factor is the ever renewing life of the Catholic church. Philosophers who write about the decadence of nations, and foretell in how long a time a particular set of political conditions, or a particular set of national vices, will bring a people to its ruin, have made a useless calculation if they have not taken into account the renovating influence of the Catholic church. This influence, with

greater or less activity, has always been in operation. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, in Europe, society seemed to be entering upon a state of decomposition, when two reformers appeared in the persons of Saints Francis and Dominic, and the age in which they lived came to be looked upon as the most glorious one through which the Church has ever passed. The age of the Council of Trent witnessed a similar renovation in the Church, and our own nineteenth century has seen marvelous instances of the operation of the Holy Ghost in bringing about revivals of Catholic fervor. But the special kind of revival which we hope for would involve a greater revolution, and the conversion of a greater number of souls than in either the thirteenth or sixteenth centuries, for it means nothing less than a series of wholesale conversions among the various English-speaking peoples. The hope is a bold one, and the means to realise it seem, from a human point of view, wholly inadequate. Yet the hope was entertained last century by Blessed Paul of the Cross in spite of still greater improbabilities than those existing at present, and our reigning Pontiff, Pope Leo XIII, seems almost sanguine in his expectations of a speedy Catholic revival among the Protestant nations.

The history of a great revival, at least in its beginnings, means the biography of a great man. That is the experience of the world in secular matters, and still more so in religious. Just as the lives of William the Conqueror and George Washington record the foundations of a strong government, and of victories over anarchy in their respective countries, so the lives of St. Benedict, St. Francis, St. Ignatius and St. Philip Neri record the inception of great reforms which have checked the ebb-tide of decadence within the Church. Such saintly reformers are, perhaps, the most striking manifestation of the Church's supernatural powers of recuperation. They are the men of the moment, sent in answer to prayers and strong yearnings, at a time when average Christians, convinced of their own helplessness, are tempted to despair of the future of the world. If the course of divine Providence is to be the same in the future as it has been in the past, the conversion of the English-speaking world will be accomplished through the instrumentality of a few chosen souls whose lives will be a standing contradiction to the mass of wrong ideas and slavery to custom which are the result of three and a half centuries of Protestantism. The present century has seen an O'Connell struggling against a tyranny which deprived Catholics of many material advantages, but what we look for in the coming century is a greater O'Connell and a greater Catholic Emancipation, to free us from a spiritual tyranny, and from all the worldliness, pride and blindness of soul which are so bound up with all our efforts after what we call progress.

We are apt to look upon progress as a thing almost confined to Christian nations. Indeed, commercial activity, inventiveness, human learning and skill in the fine arts, qualities which mark a progressive people, have always been encouraged by the Church. Even colonial expansion, apart from the crying abuses which so frequently disgrace it, has had the strongest approval of Pope after Pope, for colonization by a Catholic power means the protection and development of Catholic missions. In fact a certain material progress is necessary for spiritual progress, just as spirit has need of matter. But it is possible for matter to outgrow the spirit, for material progressiveness to cause a spiritual retrogression, and there are probably few instructed Catholics who do not perceive that this very disease is threatening terrible evils, even destruction itself, to our latter-day civilisation.

The doctrine of progress has been called the creed of the nineteenth century and, although the faith of some of its adherents has somewhat fallen off of late years, it continues to be a belief actuating the whole practical life of most modern civilized nations. It has been reduced, to the satisfaction of its adherents, to a complete philosophical system in the shape of the theory of evolution. It has been applied in a practical way to the development of nations; and the world is looking forward, not without apprehension, to the grandiose spectacle of nature working out her laws in a great struggle for existence amongst the chief Christian peoples. That nation which is best fitted to survive will come best out of the struggle, and it is the happy consciousness of the English-speaking peoples that, given a few years more in which to hurry on their rapid development, the united world will no longer be able to stand against them; that they will be able to overwhelm and entirely assimilate the united world unto themselves, so that none but English ideas and English free institutions shall exist in the world henceforth and forever. Such a glorious consummation would, of course, be brought about all the more speedily by a great fighting alliance between England and America, and when once these two nations had subdued every other for the ultimate benefit of all parties concerned, they would maintain universal peace not only over the rest of the world, but also among themselves.

Such, in all seriousness, seems to be the dream of not a few Pan-Anglo-Americans, but Catholics, who are patriotic without being blind to their country's real good, cannot but see that, unless a great, and indeed a miraculous change is wrought upon us, an Anglo-American ascendancy would do more harm than good. For how can any Catholic suppose that a race of men which, more than any other since the Reformation, has been under the influence of

Protestant ideas, which moreover has been brought by Protestantism dangerously near the brink of infidelity, is in a fit condition to become the predominant people of the world? Yet no one can deny that our ascendancy is growing day by day. A large portion of the world's surface is occupied by English colonies, many of which, such as Canada, Australia and South Africa, are on their way to becoming great nations. America, to use the language of the day, is becoming conscious of her destiny as a great world-power, and throughout the whole of the English world there is a feeling of a common mission and of a consequent necessity of mutual sacrifice and union. This desire for union is a good thing in itself, quite apart from the motives which inspire it, and it will pave the way for a greater freedom of the Church's action amongst us. But the fact still remains that it has arisen without the Church having much to say in the matter, and Protestants are fond of asserting that we are a great people precisely because the Catholic Church has not been allowed to interfere with our progress. We, however, as Catholics, are inclined to see in this extraordinary expansion of the English nations a closer connection with the destinies of the Church than non-Catholics dream of. It may be that, if the Church is not the efficient cause of our rapid increase and of our temporal greatness, she is, in the designs of Providence, the final cause. Perhaps it is ordained that, just as the Pagan Roman empire prepared the way for the rapid spread of early Christianity, so the great material empire of trade and colonization, built up by English and American enterprise, may become, under the direction of Heaven, the means of spreading Catholic truth over the greater part of the world.

If this be so, it is important that English and American Catholics should become conscious of the common mission of their respective nations, and especially of their own mission as Catholics among their fellow countrymen. It is the consciousness of a great mission which often, ere now, has made that mission a reality, and this is especially the case in work of the spiritual order, for this consciousness produces a strong and confident desire for a great common spiritual good, which desire, if it be not already the selfsame un-failing form of prayer which God cannot resist, is, at least, but one step removed from it. But if our consciousness is to be such as to make us enthusiasts believing all things, hoping all things, and praying for what we know to be the highest good for the country which we love, it must not, at the same time, make us blind to the general failings of our time and our own shortcomings in particular. And indeed, it must be confessed, that these failings are so great, that for the fulfilment of our hopes in the future we must mainly rely upon miracles of grace.

The Catholic Church is the only force upon earth which can save England and America from ruin and from the results of that very energy and spirit of enterprise of which we are so proud. It will help us little to have opened up unknown continents, to have brought distant shores together with our swift steamers and to have united half the world by the bond of a common tongue, if we have done all this for no other end than to gratify our own selfishness and pander to our own lusts. Our accumulated wealth will be an unmixed evil if its only result is to raise the standard of bodily comfort, and to multiply our wants in a greater degree than it provides the means of satisfying them. Our unions and imperial federations will not save us from civil war and from internal decadence if our laws relax the bonds of virtuous family life and refuse to recognize the sacredness of the union between husband and wife. If we are hated for our pride and feared for our tyranny, nations will band together against us and subject races will chafe beneath our rule. Yet all these evils are threatening to overwhelm us, and there are many non-Catholics who perceive that, if religion can save society, the only religion that can do so is that of the Catholic Church.

This glance at our vicious tendencies is not a mere pessimist view of the situation; indeed, if the present writer did not entertain great hopes of the future, he would not be offering these pages to Catholic readers. It is the characteristic of a great nation to survive great internal evils, just as it is the mark of a man of strong character to know and master his own defects. It will be a glorious day for the English-speaking peoples when they have recognized and overcome their national vices of materialism and pride. They may then without fear take the lead among nations, for, in their leading, they will find willing followers. We sometimes hear of a prophecy that England will some day be converted, but that the conversion will not take place until she has been humiliated. Such a condition of conversion is a bitter one for a true Catholic who loves his country, though he would not hesitate to set her spiritual welfare before any degree of merely temporal prosperity. But, after all, the condition contained in the prophecy sounds almost like a truism, and it must apply to every nation which bows beneath the yoke of Christ, America among the rest. The Romans were humbled before they became Christians, but their humiliation came from no foreign enemy. It was the self-humiliation of individuals beneath the hand of God, and, if it had been more complete and more permanent, civilization would not have known the long interruption caused by the barbarian inroads. Of all kinds of humiliation self-humiliation is the most spiritually profitable besides being,

in the long run, the easiest for flesh and blood. Yet it will not readily be accepted by the English peoples so long as they make industrial pre-eminence their one aim and their glory. For the spirit of materialism will blind them to their own shortcomings and to the duties which they owe to God and to mankind. Now history has proved that no other religion than that of the Catholic Church has ever kept these duties before the minds of princes and peoples, or even in its own mind made any clear distinction between the spiritual and the temporal goods at which a nation should aim. Protestantism has confused the two to a surprising degree, and in England the confusion is admirably illustrated by the national monuments to be found in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. Most of the heroes there commemorated are not such as have bettered humanity by an extraordinary example of the Christian virtues, but statesmen, poets, scientists, writers and soldiers, whose work for their country was, for the most part, far from disinterested. If success in life is religion, then, truly, does the spirit of religion breathe in St. Paul's and in the Protestant additions to Westminster Abbey.

Modern Protestants often boast of making light of dogma and of fine theological distinctions. A result of this large-minded comprehensiveness is that they have, to a perilous extent, lost sight of the distinction between nature and grace, between success and right intention, between the service of God and the service of one's country. With them the theological virtues are often either mistaught as in the case of faith, or almost ignored as in that of the true nature of divine charity. They have little or no provision for the cure of hidden sins, and certain forms of pride are looked upon by them as legitimate self-respect.

Our pride of race is likely to work us great mischief in the near future, unless it is largely tempered by Christian charity and humility. In the United States, and still more in the British Empire, a large part of our fellow-citizens are of the colored races. The color problem is causing serious apprehension in America and, ere long, it may be a cause of even greater difficulty in several of the English colonies. The difficulty was unknown in ancient times, for the two great conquering peoples of Greece and Rome had to deal with subjects who, individually, were their equals, and with whom they had no difficulty in amalgamating. But, in our days, the white and black races are brought into closer contact than ever before, and the former show the utmost repugnance to settling down on an equal and friendly footing with men who are, in many respects, their inferiors. A white man in the States will refuse to travel in the same railway car with a negro, and a colonist in South

Africa will have the same dislike of associating with a Kaffir. A black is welcome to the privilege of fighting for the country of his adoption or of earning his bread by his labor, so long, at least, as he does not, by his competition, arouse the jealousy of his white fellow-laborers. But, if he aspires to social equality with the predominant race, he soon finds himself regarded as a being of an inferior order. The question is further complicated by the fact that the members of a race which has been savage for centuries often show themselves manifestly unfit to enter upon the conditions of modern civilisation. Without being previously christianised they are placed in a set of circumstances requiring a circumspection and self-control which they have never been taught to exercise, and amid temptations which they are unaccustomed to resist. Hence they frequently display a peculiar cunning, treachery and depravity which makes them still more odious to those among whom they mingle, but which a suitable previous training would either mitigate or entirely root out. As it is, they have no other training than that of living the external life of modern civilisation and of joining in the rush of modern progress. Who knows in how many cases their ultimate fate will resemble that of the Red Indians and of the aboriginal Australians, who have gradually dwindled away to their present miserable remnant? Such a settlement of the question would be quite in accordance with the approved teaching of evolution, but entirely contrary to the charity of the Gospel. However, it is not at all likely that the greater part of the colored races will dwindle away as some of them have done. They are numerous enough and warlike enough to hold their own. Their power for mischief will always be great if they are not treated as friends, for many of them are already trained soldiers in our own armies and with modern weapons, they are in no way inferior, individually, to their civilised comrades. Some day, perhaps, they will learn to know their power and the strength that comes of organisation, and then the selfishness and greed of civilised nations will cause their science and their inventions to be used for their own destruction. At best, when we consider the natural antipathies between the white and the black races and the vast latent power of the latter, it seems extremely unlikely that the two will live together without coming into a long and deadly conflict, unless the unitive influence of the Catholic Church exerts itself to a greater degree than it has ever done before. The church did a great work in Europe after the barbarian inroads when, by means of a common religion, she brought about the amalgamation, in so many countries, of conqueror and conquered. But a harder task lies before her now that she is called upon to temper some of the most potent tendencies

of modern civilisation, in order to produce fraternity and peace between races of different color and strong mutual antipathies, most of whom, moreover, have yet to be gathered within her fold.

It is within the English-speaking dominions more than in any other part of the globe that the color question and many other social problems will call for solution. Whether they are to be solved for good or for evil, so as to bring peace and true progress, or dissolution and decadence, will depend upon the rapidity with which the Catholic Church is able to spread amongst us. In order that it may spread with rapidity we must make it clear to our fellow countrymen that the Catholic system is the only one capable of adequately providing against the evils with which society is threatened. In other words the Catholic Church must be much better known, and known for the conspicuous practice among her children of those virtues which are opposed to our national vices. Now race hatred between black and white, a result of our national pride, is a mischievous fault which Catholics should be the last to tolerate among themselves.

Materialism, a vice no less dangerous to ourselves than our pride of race, and a special characteristic of the English-speaking nations, is partly the cause and partly the result of our extraordinary commercial prosperity. It is connected with qualities of which any nation possessing them has good reason to be proud; for straightforwardness, energy and self-reliance, if they are the virtues which build up an empire, are also, after the proper transformation, a suitable ground-work for Christian heroism. They are signs that our race, as a whole, has not fallen into decadence; that, though decomposition may have set in in places, the evil is still curable, and that the body itself is sound. A decadent race, moreover, will lose its patriotism, as was the case with the Athenians, the Romans and the Byzantines, but patriotism has not grown cold among the English peoples. Though England and America, from the necessities of their commerce, are peace-loving nations, yet no one has any doubt that their national spirit is a force which may be counted on in times of necessity. Now, the Church has always had freer scope for her action in a vigorous than in a decadent nation, and she knows how to make use of energies which are being misdirected. In her eyes energies that run wild are better than no energy at all.

A great evil of the Middle Ages was the existence of a vast amount of warlike energy not kept under control. The Church found a useful outlet for it in the crusades, and satisfied the fighting instincts of her children without danger to their souls. A threatening evil of another order in our own day, a result of materialism, is the accumulation of great wealth into a few private hands. The

existence in a state of a number of millionaires with little or no sense of responsibility for their riches, is destructive of real wealth, and is a cause of great social discontent. Even when he has the good will to use his wealth for the common good, a millionaire often has not the ability to spend his riches judiciously, and he finds that the results of his donations bear no proportion to the amount he has expended. Everyone knows what vast sums of money have been spent upon bible-societies and Protestant missions, and with what little result, while money bequeathed to the poor is sometimes administered so indiscreetly as actually to promote pauperism. The active orders of charity and the various social organizations which are springing up amongst Catholics in various countries show that the Church knows how to cope with the evils of the time, and to provide a security that the alms of her wealthier children are not wasted. Her active charity promises to become more and more developed in the future, and the coming age may see a crusade of wealth, bearing analogies to the crusades of arms in the Middle Ages. If this be so the dollars and pounds sterling in which the English peoples are wont to trust will be made to acknowledge a power in this world higher than themselves, and, instead of being the cause of speculation, economic depressions, over-strained activity and forgetfulness of God, they will become the means of salvation to their possessors and a support to the social and missionary work of the Church.

We thus see that our qualities of energy and industry are matters for congratulation only in so far as they help us to become better Catholics and to form a society more and more in accordance with the ideas of the Church.

We will here consider another characteristic of the English-speaking world, which we claim as our own in an especial manner and of which we are prouder, perhaps, than of any other quality. This is our love of liberty. Other nations talk of liberty, and make all kinds of efforts to attain it, but we have it, and it has been the possession of our sires and ourselves for quite a respectable number of years. We enjoy free institutions and we pity other nations whose efforts after a similar freedom only result in shifting tyranny from one side of the state to another. We know that liberty is an enviable possession for individuals, and that the Church absolutely requires it for her proper development. Liberty has been commended by many writers. St. Paul\* says that all Christians are called to it. It was much eulogised by the authors of the French Revolution as well as by Goethe, the chief apostle of the modern

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\*Gal. v. 13.

spirit. With Saint Paul liberty implied room for the development of the supernatural man, with Goethe room for development of the natural man. St. Paul taught that Christian liberty is not inconsistent with actual slavery, though it is true that the Church has always considered that corporal liberty is the more fitting accompaniment of spiritual: modern apostles of liberty, on the contrary, dislike slavery and despotism, not so much because they are likely to hinder spiritual good, but because they stand in the way of merely temporal advantages. In short, liberty as understood by the Church, and liberty as understood by modern secularists, though they have some things in common, are yet essentially different, and inconsistent with one another. The one is freedom to do what is right, the other is freedom to do what you like. They are essentially different because they depend upon essentially different principles. The principle of one is the authority of God, that of the other is the supposed independence of man. Christian liberty assumes that this world is a preparation for the next, secular liberty makes this world its paradise. Hence Catholics and secularists both desire political liberty, but for different reasons. Catholics desire it, primarily, that they may not be interfered with in the practice of their religion, and only secondarily because of its temporal advantages: secularists desire it solely because of its temporal advantages. With secularists tyrannicide is consistently regarded as a virtue, because despotism stands in the way of their *summum bonum*, the happiness that comes of freedom from restraint. With Catholics, on the contrary, tyrannicide is a crime, because the evil of tyranny is *per accidens* and does not necessarily stand in the way of their *summum bonum*, which is the possession of God. As a matter of fact, however, the Church has, over and over again, stood up as the opponent of despotism and the champion of political liberty, not because she objected on principle to despotism in itself, but because, on the occasions on which she interfered, it happened to stand in the way of the spiritual or even the temporal good of her children. The early Norman kings of England, and Henry II, the first of the Plantagenets, were strong despotic rulers at a time when strong despotic rule was precisely the form of government required by the country. These kings, who had saved England from anarchy, were often in conflict with the Church upon one question or another, and, but for the Church, their government would gradually have degenerated into pure tyranny. As it was, the Church was victorious in the struggle, and was the chief power that secured civic liberty from their successors.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century the feudal system prevailed in Italy as in the rest of Europe. The Church had never

loved the feudal system, though she had, to some extent, to conform to it and change her organisation to suit it. Bishops were but too often feudal lords first and shepherds of their flocks afterwards: the idea of evangelical poverty had almost died out, and the independence of the Church in dealing with her clergy was largely curtailed. It was by a stroke of pious strategy that this state of things was suddenly put an end to in Italy. In 1227 Pope Gregory IX ascended the papal throne. He had formerly, as Cardinal Ugolino, been protector of the Franciscan order, and it is known that he helped St. Francis to draw up the rules of the Third Order. The rule enacted, among other things, that no tertiary was to bind himself by oath, or to bear arms except in defence of his country or of religion. These two enactments, simple as they may appear, were destructive of the feudal system upon which society was organized. For, according to that system, the vassal bound himself by oath to follow the fortunes of his lord in the field, and to take part in all his private wars. The feudal lords of the time, besides maintaining continual warfare among themselves, were unjust and tyrannical in their treatment of their vassals, and these latter were eager to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the Third Order of St. Francis. They accordingly had themselves enrolled and, in virtue of obedience to their rule, refused to take the oath of allegiance to their feudal lords or to bear arms in their service. In their resistance they had the strength of numbers and were backed by the powerful moral support of Gregory IX, who declared that the members of the Third Order were truly religious, and were not to be interfered with in their devout way of life. Eventually they won the day. Feudalism in Italy received its death-blow, and men used to say that the world was transformed into a monastery.

It is from such historical examples that we gather what the Church understands by liberty, and how far she prizes it as a condition of the life of her children. It will now be well to consider how far those Catholics who live under free institutions are at an advantage as compared with those who do not: for our conclusions may throw some light upon the question to what extent the Catholic spirit, which is ever the same in essentials, would be modified as regards accidentals in its acceptance by the English-speaking nations. Now the character of a people is modified by its institutions, and that character in turn reacts upon the people's religious spirit. Thus the people of England under the Tudor dynasty were accustomed to pay blind obedience to their sovereigns, and this spirit of undue submissiveness cost them their faith. The descendants of those who held firm to their religion, living under a govern-

ment which was for them a tyranny, gradually dwindled away to a small remnant, and it was only after greater freedom was secured for English Catholics by the Emancipation, that they received a fresh addition to their numbers at the time of the Oxford movement.

Here we have an instance in which a despotic government so acted upon the character of the English people as to unfit them to be good Catholics. Of course there were other causes at work besides a mere form of government, but there can be no doubt that the habit which the nation had acquired of regarding the will of its sovereign as law, was the immediate cause of its falling into schism and heresy. The contrary effects of political freedom are seen in the history of the thirteenth century. That century, often regarded as the Golden Age of the Church, was also an age of great political freedom. In England it saw the rise of the parliament which still lives on, the same in substance though naturally changed in character, and which has been transplanted in another form to America. The thirteenth century was also the age of St. Louis when France, then the greatest nation in the world, enjoyed a greater measure of civic freedom than she has ever had since. Lastly, we have already seen how, in the same century, the emancipation of society in Italy was effected by the Third Order of St. Francis. The age of the despots had not yet come, and the Italian republics were enjoying that political liberty which had been secured for them by the Popes.

In this present century the Catholic Church has derived undoubted advantages from the freedom of English-speaking institutions. Nowhere, we often hear it said, has the Church greater freedom than in America, and English Catholics have hardly more to complain of on the score of civil disabilities than their American brethren. Yet the position of Catholics in both countries is not without its drawbacks. In either country, for instance, it is no uncommon thing for a young man to find that his religion is an obstacle from a commercial or a social point of view, or to be taxed more heavily than his fellow citizens for the education of his children. It is true that such conditions are, or should be, a wholesome test of a Catholic's steadfastness in his principles, but they are hardly a proof of unrestricted liberty. The wording of the law may make for liberty, but the spirit of those who live under the law may have its thin veins of tyranny which, on occasions, will develop into something more unmistakable. Free institutions are like free trade, everybody gains something from them, but the chief gain goes to the predominant power. Our countrymen, at present, do not think they have much to fear from Catholics, who are greatly in the minority, but it may happen, and probably will happen, in the future, that when England and America become more Catholic,

non-Catholics will become more anti-Catholic, and the freedom of our national institutions may be restricted for our especial disadvantage, after the example set by the liberators of the French Revolution. In short, our institutions, if their freedom is to be a living and permanent thing, stand in need of the spirit of the Catholic Church; for the Church is the only body upon earth which takes a true and comprehensive view of the whole of human life, and knows how to adjust its various relations. With her, liberty exists for the sake of the law, and the law maintains liberty as its best safeguard; with secularists the law exists for the sake of liberty, and liberty for self. Now as long as the law is based upon mere human expediency, and not upon the divine law as taught by the Church, it stands upon shifting ground, and liberty is not secure. It is because of their persuasion of this truth that English-speaking Catholics, whose love for their country is wedded to their love for their religion, are looking forward to a fuller harmony between Church and state, between the spirit of their Church and the spirit of their nation, so that the latter, in the height of its human vigor, before the downward current of degeneration begins to set in, may be purified and preserved by contact with the former. Wherever there is liberty there are always tendencies at work to convert it into license. Examples of such tendencies are not wanting in our own times, though we still maintain our character for being a law-abiding people, but our virtues, being human, must perish like all other human things, unless they are united to the supernatural virtues of the Catholic Church. The Church is necessary to a democracy. She keeps alive the virtue of reverence for authority which a democracy, left to itself, is only too apt to lose, and when reverence is gone, the qualities that evoke it are apt to go too.

Our spirit of liberty, as it exists to-day, is composed of elements many of which are entirely admirable and worthy of forming a part in the spirit of the Catholic Church. For our liberty is founded upon self-restraint and obedience to law. There is a healthy conservatism amongst us which prevents us from giving up what is best among the good things which our fathers have bequeathed to us. It is true that democracy is gaining ground amongst us, and that we have in our communities men who are advocates of the very worst forms of democracy. It is true that we have, at times, been ruled, for a moment, by the shouts of noisy minorities, but, in the end, the better judgment and the truly representative opinion of our people has prevailed. The evil tendencies of our liberty are strong, but its better tendencies are stronger still, and in them lies the safety of our country. But, ere long, without the advent of a great moral revolution, this aspect of affairs will change for the

worse. The good will be overbalanced by the evil. For all the good that is in us beyond what we possess in common with the lowest barbarians, comes to us indirectly from the Catholic Church. Three and a half centuries ago the English-speaking people, then identical with the English nation, cut itself away from the Church. During these three centuries and a half there have been amongst us Puritans, Quakers, Methodists and Anglicans with variously distorted versions of Catholic truth. It is to them that our race as a whole, during the time of its most rapid development, has owed what it possesses of revealed truth and moral observance. But the deposit of revealed truth outside the Catholic minority is now a rapidly diminishing quantity, and it must follow that, when truth has disappeared, the practice of the moral virtues will disappear too. Our liberty will then become license, and our democracy, though still capable of great things, will end in political decomposition and anarchy. This must be so from the nature of things and history has proved it. There is no force but the Catholic Church which can stem the current of degeneration.

The ultimate victory of the Catholic Church will be hastened on by a renovation of spirit among her own children. Catholics will be a great determining power for good if they are thoroughly Catholic and thoroughly patriotic. They should be patriotic with that larger patriotism which goes beyond its own nation, and the absence of which hinders the peaceful and unitive mission of the Church. Their patriotism too should be enlightened and its enlightenment should come from the one divinely appointed source of all true enlightenment.

There can be no doubt that the Catholic spirit as it exists amongst us has had much to suffer from the more unspiritual influences of our surroundings. Our faith in the truths of religion is tintured to some extent with the prevailing faith in the power of dollars and pounds sterling. Our unwholesome business activity, too, inclines us to forget the force that lives in the life of contemplation and union with God. Our age is one of newly discovered forces: we are intoxicated with the thought of the power which we suppose them to confer upon us, and we glory in the thought that we have seen wonders of which our forefathers never dreamed. Yet the world has not changed very much as regards matters of vital consequence. The balance of good and evil has not been materially altered for the better. If God has made use of the Atlantic cables to spread his truth, the devil too has found in them a ready means for the more rapid diffusion of his falsehoods, and it would be hard to prove that the latter has not been the more paying customer. The coming age, if the Church is destined to conquer our English-speaking

materialism, will see current amongst us an entirely new set of ideas as regards our relations to the blind forces which we have made to be our slaves. The twentieth century, too, will be an age of newly discovered forces such as will make us think little of those which astonish us now. These forces will be in the moral order. There will be a new light, brighter than our electricity: a new motive power more wonderful than all the inventions of our engineers. There will be a new love centering in the Cross and ten times stronger than that which forms the burden of our modern fiction. Men will be organized in great combinations for objects which the world at present does not take into account, but which will be held as of greater consequence than all the blessings which philanthropists or socialists yearn for in their dreams. The apostleship of science will yield its right place to the apostleship of prayer.

There is a notion not uncommon among Catholics that the day of the contemplative religious orders is all but past, and that in the future the great servants of God will be men and women leading an active life. Now the active life recommends itself to Englishmen and Americans much more than the contemplative, and the members of the working orders among us far outnumber those who live in retirement from the world. Yet it may well be doubted if this state of things is destined to continue. At present it is a necessity of the times, for so great is the disproportion between the number of pastors in the Church and the work they have to do, that a solitary who serves God in retirement almost makes us imagine that, while he is increasing his own measure of salvation, he is allowing many other souls to perish. We know moreover that in times of necessity the Church has called her great contemplatives from their solitudes to save mankind from impending evils. Indeed it is the common doctrine of theologians that, if the contemplative light be higher than the active, the combination of the two, as exhibited in such saints as Bernard, Francis of Assisi, Ignatius and numerous others, is in the highest grade of all. Yet it is none the less true than the purely contemplative life has been sought after by many of the most active of the missionary saints, and it was only at the call of obedience that they consented to leave their solitudes. The union of the two lives, moreover, is exceedingly difficult to practice in its perfection. To be in the world and not of the world requires the kind of self-restraint which must be practised by one who fasts while sitting at a banquet. Hence it is a common thing for such as aim at the perfect life to shrink from the dangers that attend active work for souls unless they are well persuaded that God wills otherwise.

It is always a good thing for the world to have cloistered in the  
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midst of it a number of men who despise the world. Such was the belief of the various corporations of the Spanish cities which gave their support to the new foundations of St. Teresa, and such has always been the belief of those nations in which the true Catholic spirit has flourished. When Catholic princes founded monasteries for Carthusians and Cistercians, they recognised a principle of division of labor between layman and monk, between those who work in the world and those who pray apart from it; and they held that the contamination of the world would be counterbalanced by the trebly guarded purity of the cloister. Now, worldliness is not less a danger in our own day than it was in the Middle Ages, and where there exists a model Catholic community the same division of duties will be necessary, for it is always the desire of the Church that the various ideals contained in the Gospel should all of them be realised by some at least of the faithful. One of these ideals is that of the contemplative Mary who chose "the better part." It follows then that in the great Catholic Revival, which we look for in the English-speaking world, we may expect to see a renewal of that same spirit which led the anchorites of old to seek the solitude of the Thebaid and which still continues to exist among the Trappists, the Carthusians and other enclosed orders.

It may happen in the future that there will be other causes at work to make necessary an increase of the religious and contemplative life in the Church. If the Church is destined to have a wide and effective influence as peacemaker, it will follow that population must tend to increase at a far greater rate than it does at present. Hitherto pestilence, famine and war have been the great remedies against over-population in the world. The action of the two first of these scourges has been to some extent limited by modern science and modern facilities of transport, and there is reason to believe that the danger of them will continue to grow less and less. If then the Church, by securing permanent peace in the world, enables mankind to battle still more successfully against starvation and disease, the population of the world will grow more quickly than its means of support, and the only check to its increase will be the practice of evangelical celibacy by vast multitudes of men and women. Whether this remedy will ever actually become a necessity no one can venture to predict, but, supposing the complete ascendancy of the Church in the world, it is hard to see how it could be avoided. At all events it is interesting to note that the Catholic Church has against over-population a remedy which is not a scourge but a blessing, and that the Protestant system has made no such provision.

An objection will naturally suggest itself to some of our readers

that this kind of speculation as to the remote future is extremely unpractical and that Catholics will use their philosophy to a better purpose if they bring it to bear upon the more immediate wants of their fellow men. At the same time it must be remembered that secularist thinkers are making their own forecasts as to the probable evolution of man as a social and political being, and our labour will not be wasted if it can be shown that our generalisations have a greater measure of reasonableness than theirs. Much too will have been done if we bring well home to ourselves, and are able to convince others, that the supernatural idea is of paramount importance even for the material well-being of mankind. We have to show the world that, if human nature is left to itself, it will fall under the law of devolution rather than of evolution; for, unless it receives force from without, it has not sufficient strength to withstand the inroads of decay. Just as a soul, after losing sanctifying grace, cannot reinstate itself by its own unaided efforts, so a nation, once fallen, cannot lift itself up, unless by help from without. There may be in it the semblance of life, and men may think its actions worth recording; there may be excitement and feverish energy, but of true life there is none. Its history is no more worthy of record than a dance of dead leaves. It is only by an influx of supernatural life that it can be saved from this degradation, and it is only from the Catholic Church that this influx can be received. The Church, in virtue of its supernatural powers, is the constituted channel of new potencies and of new force from without to elevate the life of nations from the abyss towards which they are continually tending.

It is with such great principles as these in our mind that we must regulate and super-naturalise our patriotism. If we form great and worthy hopes of the future of our race, we shall, by a natural consequence, pray earnestly that these hopes may be realised, and all Catholics believe with Pope Leo XIII, that united prayer is the greatest force which men have at their disposal. The hopes of our fellow countrymen, in which we heartily join, are that the whole English-speaking world, the subjects of "King Shakespeare," will unite together as the great promoting influence for peace and civilisation. We, as Catholics, further hope and pray that our race may receive its necessary purgation by self-humiliation rather than from the fiery scourges of God, and that we may become a mighty power for spreading the true faith among mankind.

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