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## THE SOCIAL SENSE: ITS DECAY AND REVIVAL

ALEXANDER P. MOONEY, M.D.

[CATHOLIC SOCIAL GUILD PAMPHLETS, No. 14.]



NINTH THOUSAND

LONDON CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY 69 SOUTHWARK BRIDGE ROAD, S.E. I 15 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, W.C. 2 (RETAIL)

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CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY 69 SOUTHWARK BRIDGE ROAD, LONDON, S.E. 1

## THE SOCIAL SENSE: ITS DECAY AND ITS REVIVAL

#### BY ALEXANDER P. MOONEY, M.D.

WHAT do we mean by the Social Sense?

The expression is not so common or so generally understood as to allow me to take it for granted that in using it I can be sure that my readers will assign the meaning to it that I intend.

Something in the nature of a definition, therefore, will have at least this use, that in what I am going to say my readers will, whether they agree with me or not, know exactly what I wish to convey when I use the expression and when I endeavour to discuss what caused the decay of the Social Sense, and to what we owe its revival.

The Social Sense, as I understand it, is compounded of several elements. It is a consciousness of the needs of Society and of its members. It is a sense of responsibility to Society for the condition in which it finds itself; it is the recognition of an obligation on the part of the individual to contribute in whatever way he can to the well-being of Society. It is, in practice, the service by the individual of Society in its members. Urged by the possession of the Social Sense, a man looks not only to his own well-being, he looks to the well-being of others and makes that his aim.

It is quite obvious that this Social Sense is not a universal possession. Unfortunately there are only too many who never realize any sense of responsibility in regard to others, whose creed is like that maliciously assigned to the Yorkshireman—"Do nowt for nowt, or if tha does, do it

for thi sel"; who never, therefore, look beyond their own immediate interests; a great many more—and very good people, too—whose sense of obligation begins and ends with the alms they distribute, or the personal suffering or needs which they charitably relieve, whose attention is fastened on the fact of suffering, ignoring altogether its cause, who feel some responsibility for the individual, but none for the conditions that are so largely effective in making the individual what he is.

On the other hand, fortunately for the Commonwealth, people are to be found who are keenly conscious of the defects of Society, who devote themselves in many fields to the removal of these defects, who do not spare themselves and who try to influence others in order to secure the best conditions of life for all. In other words, there are people in whom the Social Sense is keen and works keenly, who realize that many social evils arise out of inefficient organization and are therefore preventable.

Now where does this "Social Sense" come from? How is it that some people seem to be without it, or are only feebly animated by it, whilst in others it seems so strong? Can we account for this—and if so, how do we account for its existence in some and for its decay or absence in others?

These are questions to which I want to call attention. It will simplify what I want to say, and it will make my meaning clearer, if I set out my principal conclusions before I attempt to establish them. As regards these conclusions, it must be remarked that because they depend to a large extent upon historical evidence, it will be impossible to do more than suggest the nature and sources of the facts which justify them. My contention is that the Social Sense as I have defined it is the direct product of Christianity, the direct outcome of Christian principles; that it came into being with Christian teaching, that it was embodied in Christian practice, that it was cultivated in the early Christian Church, that it grew and flourished with the spread of Christianity until it reached its highest development when the influence of undivided Christendom was at

its height. I say also that its comparative decay dates from the break-up of Christian unity by the movement known as the Reformation, and I urge that the 'modern revival of this sense, expressing itself in the effort for social betterment, is a legacy from Catholic Christendom; that the passion for justice and the compassion for the poor which find a modern outpouring in so many diverse forms have their origin in the Catholic spirit, even when they disguise themselves as Humanitarianism and indignantly repudiate a religious inspiration.

Lastly, and as a consequence, I maintain that the one body which has never lost the Social Sense, the one organization which has kept that sense alive through all the social and political mutations that the world has undergone during the growth and development of modern civilization, is the Catholic Church.

Now, there is a preliminary point to be settled before the main argument is reached. We must have clear notions about the mode of action of Christianity upon social life. The kingdom of Christ is not a political kingdom, the empire of Christ has no territorial limits. Christianity has not worked by merely political enterprise nor by means of revolution, nor with the power of armies behind it, nor like a parliamentary code forcing people to do certain things or to adopt a particular form of organization.

Christianity is a moral power, and though it does and must influence political and economic changes, it does so only because politics and economics have a moral side, because they raise problems which not unfrequently are in their ultimate analysis problems of morality.

Thus the Christian Church has always worked in whatever social medium it found itself; it has never sought to establish directly a new social origination. It brought Christian principles to bear upon things as it found them; and though this resulted in mighty changes, these changes grew, not out of any formal, preconceived design, but out of the new light and the new spirit which were introduced, rendering unsupportable whatever existing social relations were repugnant to Divine law or in express contradiction to it.

We see this fact illustrated in the first-fruits of Christian teaching as they affected Roman civilization. This civilization, I must content myself with reminding you, rested, until the Church of Christ came into being, almost completely upon a basis of slave-labour. The population of the great cities of the Empire divided themselves sharply into two classes—the slaves and their owners. Most of the labour was done by these slaves, and work was held in contempt as being the function of a degraded being—one whose nature differed from that of his master and belonged to an altogether lower order.

The idea of the essential dignity and equality of man, the recognition of inalienable human rights, did not, except in a narrow and limited sense, then exist. The nature of property was that of absolute ownership—all rights and no duties. It included not only the possession and use of that which was owned, but the absolute and unrestricted disposal of it. And from this conception of property even human beings were not excluded, and the huge numbers of slaves were chattels in just the same sense as the beasts of the field or the implements of domestic service. A slave was a being without rights, without a personality. The owner of a slave was not embarrassed by any duties to his property; the life of a slave was as completely at his master's disposal as his labour.

Now, an ideal of property such as this, a social organization of this kind, were entirely incompatible with the existence of a Social Sense. And, as a matter of fact, outside those political engagements which were necessary for the stability of Society, and those family arrangements which were suggested by the ties of kindred, the citizen of the Roman Empire neither felt nor showed any sense of obligation with regard  $\cdot$  to his fellow-citizens. At our Saviour's birth the Social Sense, as I have defined it, did not exist.

Into a world thus morally defective came the teachers of

a new religion with principles that were not only astoundingly novel, but also in direct contradiction to the most firmly established social beliefs. The opening words of the Lord's Prayer were the charter of liberty for the human race. The Our Father was the proclamation of the brotherhood of man. All men, Christianity taught, were born with an equal destiny. They were all creatures of God; the message of salvation was for all, without exception; for the slave as well as for the emperor; for the common man equally with the noble. The slave was born to the same high purpose as his master. His being was of a nobility equal to his owner's.

The most novel, and the most repugnant aspect of Christianity to the Roman pagan, as we can well imagine, was this exaltation of the miserable chattel to the level of his master. We can well understand how the Christians came to be regarded as the subverters of Society. They were so, indeed, for the brotherhood of man in Christ and the fatherhood of God was a doctrine that had of necessity to sweep away the very foundations upon which pagan Society rested.

Again, the founder of Christianity was "the son of a carpenter." Labour was dignified in the very fact of Christ's social position. His followers taught the necessity of labour as part of the scheme of human life. "He that will not work," wrote St. Paul, "neither let him eat." And St. Paul meant it. The Apostles were working-men; St. Paul practised the calling of a tent-maker, "labouring with the work of his hands." Cicero had written that the labour of artisans was ignoble. Christianity said that it was noble and necessary.

The pagan notion of property was, furthermore, profoundly assailed by the new teachings. Property ceased to be a matter of rights only, it became a matter also of duties and obligations. Property had not only a use, but a right use. Thus from the very outset two principles were taught by Christianity that were destined to revolutionize the organization of Society, and to lay the foundation of a 6

new civilization. These were the far-reaching doctrines of justice and charity, which introduced an entirely new conception of the relations between men in Society. They created a whole series of obligations, the sense of which was destined to saturate the social organism, to take shape in civil law, and to fructify in a universal machinery of social help, as totally foreign to the pagan conception as the ideals were which gave it birth. Thus was the soil prepared in which the Social Sense sank and grew. It was thus that the idea of social obligations entered into human thought, and became the source whence has sprung every effort at social betterment that the world has witnessed since.

There was, moreover, a second stimulus to its growth. Along with the slow permeation of Christian teachings in the minds of men, along with the gradual acceptance of Christian morality in theory, there grew up an astounding organization of Christian work. The principles of social responsibility took shape in practical effort. Christian Society from the start recognized the duty of coming to the help of the weak and distressed. From the earliest days of the Church, provision was made for the sharing of wealth, so that the superfluities of the well-to-do supplied the necessities of the poor. I need not recall the first beginning of this work, which is recounted with convincing simplicity in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul. And, as we follow the history of the infant Church, we are met at every step by this close alliance of practical application with the social principles established by our Lord's teachings. Even in the first century each separate Christian congregation had its organized machinery of social help, and a document of this date <sup>1</sup> is remarkable as showing not only the fact that this machinery was at work, but the common-sense spirit in which its functions were discharged. Speaking of the stranger coming to the local Church it says, "If he has no craft, according to your wisdom provide how he shall live as a Christian amongst you, but not in idleness. If he will not do this he is <sup>1</sup> The Didache of the Apostles.

trafficking in Christ. Beware of such men." Moreover. at this early period provision was made for the support of the clergy, for assistance to widows and orphans, to the destitute, the aged, the sick, and the imprisoned (often in those days a large number), and decent burial was given to the neglected dead.<sup>1</sup> Lecky, in his History of European Morals, bears witness to the same fact, saying, "A vast organization of charity, presided over by bishops, and actively directed by deacons, soon ramified over Christendom, till the bond of charity became the bond of unity, and the most distant sections of the Church corresponded by the interchange of mercy."<sup>2</sup> When Christianity became, under Constantine, the official religion of the Empire, the social problems facing the Church grew enormously in extent. It must not be imagined that a Christian emperor meant a Christian people; but it meant that the Church, being freed from the terror of persecution, could now advance to the full measure of its opportunities, and pursue its mission in some sort of peace : and so we find a rapid development, not only of its missionary enterprise and ecclesiastical organization, but also of its social effort. The care of the unfortunate became the occasion of a more elaborate and detailed system of charity. A definite portion of the Church's revenues were set aside for the relief of the needy. The bishop's house became a centre of charitable work; there was a special office for the work, an officer (*aconomus*), who was one of his priests, in charge ; there were deacons, subdeacons, and deaconesses to assist, and thus the poor, the aged, and the sick were known and Special institutions (xenodochia) came into cared for. being. Originally intended as hospitals for strangers, they gradually developed in usefulness and took upon themselves the care of the sick, the homeless poor, widows, abandoned children, and other helpless classes. By the time of Gregory the Great (c. A.D. 540-604) these institutions

<sup>1</sup> See Catholic Encyclopadia, vol. iii, p. 595: "Charity," by John A. Ryan.

<sup>2</sup> History of European Morals, vol. ii (3rd edit.), pp. 79-80.

were to be found in nearly every city of the Empire. Besides this there is evidence of the existence of maternity institutions, of special care of the blind and the dumb, the ransoming of prisoners of war, and even the provision of dowries for poor girls. At this period the writings and homilies of the Fathers of the Church furnish abundant evidence of the keen sense of social injustice which had long since become an integral part of Christian sentiment. "The bishops," says Professor Ryan,<sup>I</sup> "protested strongly against the excessive taxes and the harsh methods of collecting them, against the landowner's oppression of his tenants, and the extortion practised by the usurer ; against the forcible enslavement of freemen, the tyranny of civil officials, and the injustice of the courts, against the inhuman treatment of slaves, and in favour of emancipation."

A new factor in the social work of the Church came into being in these early centuries, with the spread of the monastic system in Europe and the foundation of monasteries (c. A.D. 500). These were destined to play a great part not only in the spiritual development of the Christian work, but also in its material progress. From their very beginning they were centres of labour as well as of piety. The monks set an example of Christian perfection in their lives and a model of Christian industry in their occupations. These occupations, at first mainly manual, grew with the necessities of the communities in which they lived so that very soon they "supplied physicians for the sick of the neighbourhood, maintained hospitals for all classes of the distressed, reared and educated the young, and during the fifth century were about the only places of refuge for persons whose homes lay in the track of the devastating barbarians."<sup>2</sup>

Cunningham, in his Western Civilization,<sup>3</sup> says of the monks that they "helped to diffuse a better appreciation of the duties and dignity of labour, their manual activity

- <sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., p. 596.
- 3 Vol. ii, p. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ryan, Catholic Encyclopadia, vol. iii, p. 597.

had great influence as an element in material progress, and they did not a little to disseminate the industrial arts, to improve agriculture, and to develop more regular commercial intercourse." "They preserved the knowledge of manual arts,"<sup>1</sup> often in danger of being lost in the wild and unsettled periods between the break-up of the Roman Empire and the comparative calm that followed the settlement of Charlemagne (*circa* A.D. 800).

The legislation of that monarch bears evidence of the Church's influence upon the social standards of the time. He re-established a regular machinery for the needs of the poor so that "every form of genuine distress was to be relieved; but idlers, vagabonds and beggars were to be turned away and compelled to work."<sup>2</sup>

At a later period the extent to which the sense of social obligation had imbued the mediæval mind is obvious upon the most superficial survey of the institutions to be seen in operation. It is seen in the work of the Church and its organizations, it is seen in municipal activities, it is seen in trade organization, it is seen in the form which economic discussion assumed.

Every country that had embraced Christianity had a wonderfully complete system of institutions for the relief of distress of all kinds—hospitals, almshouses, guesthouses, orphanages were everywhere to be found, whilst special communities of religious men and women devoted themselves to their administration. Every fresh need of the time was met by a special provision. Leprosy, for example, which was terribly common, occasioned, according to Matthew Paris, the erection throughout Europe of no less than 19,000 special hospitals.

Even road-making and bridge-building were made the care of a religious organization; whilst the ransoming of captives from the Moors gave occasion to many for the display of Christian charity amounting to heroism. But social endeavour was not confined to the religious. The municipalities of the free towns and cities took much

\* Page 38.

<sup>2</sup> Ryan, loc. cit., p. 597.

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charitable work upon themselves and built and maintained hospitals and other institutions for the help of those in need.

In their further and fuller development in the Middle Ages monasteries fulfilled many other social functions. They provided very largely for education—secular as well as religious; they reclaimed waste lands, they supplied the necessities of the poor, they were model landlords.

But perhaps the most striking evidence of how completely the sense of social responsibility had taken possession of the mediæval mind is to be found in the economic views and the economic organization of the trades in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The Trade Guilds were a really remarkable phenomenon. Their activities included provision for the sick, for widows and orphans, for disability, for old age; they did more for the help of their members in time of distress than the most successful and best-managed trade union in the twentieth century. But what I think is most significant in their work was the fact that they secured a living wage for their workers by fixing the prices of commodities. Of course, at this day, when the principle of competition has become such an ingrained element in commercial relations, it is the fashion to ridicule the methods of the Middle Ages. But as Cunningham observes, "the ethical standpoint which they took is well worth examination, and the practical measures which they recommended appear to have been highly beneficial in the circumstances with which they had to deal." I

The difference between the modern and mediæval method of determining the price of an article is just the difference between the modern and mediæval conception of human dignity. At this moment prices are settled by competition, and the workman receives that portion of the price which is left when the other elements in the cost of production are satisfied. But the masters of the mediæval guild took wages as the basis of productive cost. The man's needs were the prime element in cost of production,

and prices were based on the consideration that the labourer was entitled to a living wage for his work. He got his living wage in pursuance of a principle. Nowadays the workman gets it (when he does get it) more or less as the result of an accident. The principle of finding a just price for an article, such just price being determined by the "common estimation," may be open to the criticism of political economists, but it is a sound principle of morality. And this "common estimation," according to Professor Cunningham, "expressed itself in the deliberate opinion of the good men of the craft, who understood the conditions of production, the expenses of materials and the cost of labour, and who could thus calculate a reasonable price for one group of commodities." In short, it may be said that prices were determined by men who had a social sense as part of their moral equipment in the Middle Ages, just as it may be said that prices to-day are determined by the utterly unmoral and frequently immoral methods of competition.

The effect of the Church's teaching and example upon human thought and action in regard to social relations has been excellently summed up by a modern authority already frequently quoted, Professor Cunningham :—

"Mediæval Society was permeated with moral conceptions which had been entirely strange to the ancient world; the institutions of the Middle Ages had been gradually formed under the influence of religious principles which the old world would have explicitly denied. There was first of all a keen sense of personal responsibility in the employment of secular power of every kind; the responsibility of rulers to God for the exercise of their power over their subjects was strongly insisted upon, as well as the fact that the rich man must render account of the use he had made of his wealth; it had been entrusted to him by God and he must use it for God. There was an extraordinary contrast between the spirit of the Roman like Cato, whose only sense of duty was to become richer, and that of the mediæval proprietor who had learned that he was merely a trustee and responsible for the manner in which he used his money. . . . The main contribution of mediæval society to the economic progress of mankind lay in its success in moralizing industrial and commercial conceptions and institutions." I

<sup>1</sup> Western Civilization, p. 104, sqq.

The enormous and evil working change from the condition thus set forth by Professor Cunningham to the conditions which were to be found at the commencement of the new industrial organization that came into being from the end of the eighteenth century is worthy of some further reflection.

I have said that this change is the product of the socalled Reformation.

The Reformation did two definite things: it established the principle of Individualism in religion, "emancipating" the human conscience from what is called "bondage to authority" and starting the movement towards what is with unconscious humour styled "free thought," whilst by its doctrine of "justification by faith alone" it discouraged charitable activity. The corporate idea of social organization, which is the essence of the Catholic doctrine, the responsibility of one man for another, the solidarity of human interests where humanity is a family with God for the father and Christ for its king and elder brother, crumbled away in the selfish disruptive individualism of Protestantism.

Luther taught that good works were not only not necessary to salvation, they were not even useful to salvation. And as this doctrine gained ground works of charity diminished, whilst it afforded a convenient justification for many acts of plunder. In the countries where the reformed religion was established, the goods of the Church, the possessions of the monks, the charitable foundations of pious benefactors were confiscated by the State, and for the most part fell into the hands of greedy laymen to be turned to private uses. The history of the Poor Law in this country is very instructive upon this point. The patrimony of the poor having disappeared, with it disappeared for many a long day that sense of duty towards the poor that is characteristic of a Catholic civilization. Yet it is interesting to notice that during the centuries that followed the religious upheaval the old vigorous growth of charitable activity, however hampered by unfavourable

conditions, never ceased in the Catholic Church. The mediæval framework was shattered, but the spirit that gave it birth survived.

One after another fresh religious communities devoted to social work, appositely called the "Active" Orders, came into being and spread over the world their beneficent activities. The care of the sick, the upbringing of the orphan, the education of children, the care of the blind, the deaf, and the mentally deficient, the need of the aged were undertaken by the numerous religious organizations that had their origin in France, Spain, and other Catholic countries, some of them local in their activities, but others like the Sisters of Charity, the Brothers of the Christian Schools, the Little Sisters of the Poor exercising their mission of mercy in all parts of the world. Whilst the political economy that grew out of the materialism of the free-thinkers of the eighteenth century was establishing the pernicious idea of unrestricted freedom in commercial activity, and paving the way for the laissez-faire of the Manchester school, the Catholic mind worked in its unvarying spirit of social help and combated by an example of self-sacrifice and a recognition of social responsibility the cruel spirit of selfishness and avarice that disgraced the industrial organization of the early nineteenth century.

Evil brings in some degree its own remedy. There are limits even to what the natural man will stand, and the state of affairs at that period at last caused a reaction. The condition of the worker was so appalling that, partly by means of his own spasmodic revolting and partly owing to the promptings of humanitarian feelings not altogether deadened, efforts began to be made for the reform of conditions that had become intolerable. With the new power that political reorganization and education conferred upon the people, social organization became the work of democracy.

To that degree, then, there was a revival of the Social Sense. But this modern development differed in essential characters from its prototype. In the first place it had its

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origin in self-interest, and it expressed itself in legislative forms. The attempt to bring about more tolerable conditions of life for the masses that industry had herded together in huge communities was largely a response to the threatenings of a spirit of revolt. It no longer sprang spontaneously from the sense of Christian solidarity. It strove by the exercise of political influence to wrest from the privileged classes some share in the improved conditions of life. It was no longer the willing service of the whole community to those in need; it was the reconquering of a lost position by force, sometimes by physical force, by revolutionary violence, so strong was the entrenchment of wealth and power in its selfish isolation, and so oblivious of the claims of justice and charity. The Factory Acts, the right of workmen to associate, the regulation of the hours and conditions of labour-elementary concessions of this sort-were won only after long and arduous fighting. The principle of Individualism was dislodged only after many years and much suffering.

I think it is true to say that the only philosophy that underlay this struggle of the democracy was the philosophy of necessity. It was only later that definite principles of social organization-ideals to be worked for and led up to -made their appearance, and these ideals moved on two definite but widely diverging lines. One line was that of revolutionary change, with Marx and his fellow-workers as its spokesmen. The other was a return to Christian ideals, and was practically the work of Bishop Ketteler, of Mainz, and those who worked with him. To-day these two ideals are struggling for supremacy. Socialism, in many respects very much modified from the original teachings of its founders, seeks to re-establish relations of justice between the members of the community by establishing the communal ownership of the means of production. It would reorganize society upon an economic basis. The Catholic school also seeks a return to a corporate idea of social organization, but looks for its inspiration to the ideal of justice and charity which the Catholic Church has always

taught, and which had such a profound influence in shaping the organization and spirit of mediæval society. Socialism in its revolt against Individualism would impose fetters upon the individual that must subordinate him too greatly to the community. The Catholic ideal seeks to enlarge the privileges of the individual by making the organization of the community subservient to his legitimate needs and his natural dignity. Christianity says, "The State for the Man," because the man is immortal; Socialism says, "The Man for the State," for it ignores eternal life.

Both systems demand a large and widely diffused Social Sense for their success. But in an ultimate analysis it will be seen that Socialism has no higher motive to appeal to for the development of this Social Sense than self-interest, and no more compelling force behind it than a motiveless altruism. Catholicity, on the other hand, relies as ever upon the undeniable and effective motive of the will of God, the teachings of Christ, and the sanctions of reward and punishment made known by Revelation. It is unfortunately only too true that one of the worst social evils of the Reformation was the disastrous effect of its principles not only upon the economic ideas of the communities who adopted it, but also upon the Catholic mind in general, which, whilst it rejected it in theory, could not yet in practice escape its contagion. The poison of Individualism so permeated industrial life, its false morality was so generally accepted, that Catholics as well as others took its validity for granted. Nor could a keen sense of civic responsibility be easily developed in those who were long denied the status of citizens. It is thus we find in England, for example, that outside the definitely charitable social work undertaken by religious organizations, the social ideals of the Catholic community are almost as much in need of reconstruction as the ideals of non-Catholics.

The Social Sense of the Catholic, in spite of his right principles being checked by persecution and misled by example, also fell a victim to the decay that was prevalent in his non-Catholic environment. This variety of the Social Sense, therefore, in spite of all that has been done in the past few years, is very nearly as much in need of revival amongst Catholics as amongst others. But it is of special importance that Catholics should recognize the mode in which the Social Sense has been lost, for there is a special need that in its recovery Catholic ideals of social responsibility and duty should be brought and kept before the world. There is some danger that, owing to ignorance of history and ignorance of the traditional social teachings of the Church, many Catholics may be involved in the dangers and errors that beset the secular and humanitarian ideals so much in vogue.

It is our business to promote with enthusiasm the revival of the spirit of social responsibility, but it is also very much our duty to aim at basing that responsibility upon immovable Catholic principles. When all is said and done everything good in the social spirit takes its origin in the Christian virtues of justice and charity. To be really lastingly effective these virtues must work in a community of convinced Christians, must be expounded with authority, and obeyed and practised from a supernatural motive. Without such a motive all social reform is beating the air; it can lead to nothing better than a coercive effort to secure some sort of equality in conditions that from its very nature can only bring out more virulently the very vices it seeks to combat. For us Catholics the nature of social reconstruction is set forth with most absolute certainty in the great truth: "Unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain who build it."

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY, LONDON. U.-Jan., 1912. Wrapper, Crown 8vo, 2s. net.

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