

Ryan, John Augustine
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**CITIZEN
CHURCH
AND
STATE**

BY
RT. REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY SERIES No. 1

THE CITIZEN, THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

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RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.



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“Christian teaching alone, in its majestic integrity, can give full meaning and compelling motive to the demand for human rights and liberties because it alone gives worth and dignity to human personality.”—POPE PIUS XI, *Apostolic Letter on the Catholic University of America, at the opening of its Jubilee Year, October, 1938.*

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F O R E W O R D

For a real understanding of our democracy and our individual and social responsibilities to it as Catholics, a knowledge of the nature of human society and of the fundamental relations of the Church and Government seems important.

As an Average Citizen, we have put questions which interest us in this field to Monsignor Ryan. His answers form a sort of Preface to some of the facts and problems which the Christian Democracy Series will consider.

SOCIAL ACTION DEPARTMENT
NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE

THE CITIZEN, THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

By RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

1. MR. AVERAGE CITIZEN: *I hear a lot of talk these days about Society and my obligation toward it. Just what is "society" anyway?*

MSGR. RYAN: When we speak of Society we mean to include all human beings associating with one another. Society refers to men and women not as isolated individuals but as they participate in various forms of organized life; for example, in Government, the family, political parties, industrial corporations, labor unions, philanthropic societies, schools, clubs, etc. The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences says it may be regarded as "the most general term referring to the whole complex of the relations of man to his fellows."

2. A. C.: *How would you define a society then?*

MSGR. R.: A society is a group of persons organized for, and interdependent in the pursuit of, a common end or purpose. This definition applies to any society—groups like the Church and the State, as well as small and simple ones such as a sodality or a debating society. It would fit a world society. However, there are, of course, various classifications of societies—for instance, some are necessary, others are voluntary; some are perfect, others are imperfect.

3. A. C.: *What societies are necessary?*

MSGR. R.: There are three necessary societies. One, in the supernatural order, is the Church. The other two which are necessary, in the natural order, are the State and the family. Beyond these three are many other groups which are more or less useful. Some of them indeed are *morally* necessary but none of them is *absolutely* necessary.

4. A. C.: *You said some societies were "perfect." Did you mean that literally?*

MSGR. R.: The adjective "perfect" does not imply that the members of such societies are faultless or that the groups' actions are always wise. In a general way, it means "independent and complete." A "perfect" society is one which is neither a part of nor directly subordinate to any other society and which has within itself all the means necessary for its maintenance and for the attainment of its end.

5. A. C.: *There are not many "perfect" societies, are there?*

MSGR. R.: There are only two perfect societies in the world, the Church and the State. This excludes even the family, which, although its end is not directly subordinate to that of the State, is a part of the State and depends upon the State for some of the means necessary to attain its specific end. In a still greater degree, all other forms of association are excluded; for example, commercial, fraternal, educational and philanthropic organizations.

I. THE CHURCH

6. A. C.: *The Church is concerned with individuals as individuals, isn't it? What relation does it have to Society as a whole?*

MSGR. R.: While the Church deals primarily with the individual and seeks the salvation of the individual's soul, it carries on its work among men who take part in one or more of the forms of associated life. In other words, the Church is constantly brought into relation with social groups.

7. A. C.: *You said the Church is an independent and complete society. On what do you base this statement?*

MSGR. R.: That is evident from its origin and constitution. Pope Leo XIII expressed this in his Encyclical, "The Christian Constitution of States": "For the only-begotten Son of God established on earth a society which is called the Church, and to it He handed over the exalted and divine office which He had received from His Father, to be continued through the ages to come." The Scriptures give the basis for this statement; for instance, these words of Christ in St. John: "As the Father hath sent Me I also send you"; and these in St. Matthew: "And I say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth it shall be bound also in heaven, and what-

soever thou shalt loose on earth it shall be loosed also in heaven." Further on in St. Matthew there is this: "Going therefore, teach ye all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." And in St. Luke, "He that heareth you heareth Me and he that despiseth you despiseth Me; and he that despiseth Me despiseth Him that sent Me."

8. A. C.: *In other words?*

MSGR. R.: In other words, it is clear that Christ established a religious society whose *end* is the salvation of souls; that He promised to provide the Apostles with the *means* to attain this end; that He made the Apostles the *rulers* of this society; that He placed one of them, Peter, at the *head* of the group; that He intended their *successors* in the apostolic office to govern this society to the end of the world; and that He did not intend this society to be subordinate to any other society.

9. A. C.: *How is the society of the Church constituted?*

MSGR. R.: It is clear, too, that Christ designed the Church to be made up of two great elements: the teachers and the taught; the rulers and the ruled. The first consists of the Pope, the bishops and priests; the second, of all the other members of the Church. The Pope and the bishops have the

authority to govern and to make laws, the Pope for the Universal Church, and the bishops for their respective dioceses. The priests have the authority to administer the Sacraments by delegation from their respective bishops. Priests under the Pope and bishops have the right and the obligation to teach the truths of Christian doctrine and the principles of Christian morality.

10. A. C.: *There seems to be a sharp division between the two groups. Is there a common ground?*

MSGR. R.: All the members of the Church, teachers and taught, rulers and ruled, participate in the common life of prayer, grace and the Sacraments. These are the supernatural means whereby all Christians are enabled to reach their supernatural end, which is union with God in eternal blessedness. The obligations of obedience and loyalty resting upon members of the Church follow necessarily from the teaching and governing authority conferred upon the Church by her divine Founder.

11. A. C.: *Of course, we all know our obligations.*

MSGR. R.: Insofar as they concern the immediate personal relations between the believer and the Church, they *are* pretty well understood. These require us to keep the Commandments of God, of the Church and the moral law; to accept the interpretations and applications of the moral law that have been made by the Church, and to believe

all the truths of religion that the Church believes and teaches.

12. A. C.: *Doesn't that cover everything?*

MSGR. R.: Beyond these individual duties are what might be called the associated obligations resting upon all members of the Church. Frequently these are ignored or misunderstood. Yet they are quite as real and binding as the strictly individual obligations.

13. A. C.: *Please explain a little further!*

MSGR. R.: According to his abilities and opportunities, every Catholic must promote the welfare of the Church as a society in all its relations. All other members of the Church are his brothers in Christ. They are all organically united—members of a living body of which Christ is the Head. Therefore, the individual Catholic is obliged not merely to love his fellow Catholics as individuals but to further the welfare of the Christian brotherhood as such, as the supernatural body from which all derive their unity and spiritual goods and benefits. The Catholic who ignores this wider sphere of obligations shows himself ungrateful for his Christian heritage, unwilling to pay his Christian debts and desirous of reaping where he has not sown. This obligation of promoting the welfare of the Church and of religion is binding upon the laity as well as upon the clergy. Such is a central idea of Catholic Action, which the Holy Father calls “the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the Hierarchy.” In the United

States these obligations, individual and corporate, of Catholics seem to require special emphasis in relation to certain needs and rights of the Church at the present time.

14. A. C.: *Which rights of the Church require an emphasis of our obligation at the present time?*

MSGR. R.: For instance, the right to educate, to carry on religious worship and to perform religious services, publicly as well as privately, the right of a free press, the right to care for its poor and other needy members, and the right to preach the truths of religion and morality.

15. A. C.: *But aren't these rights safeguarded in this country?*

MSGR. R.: Certainly the last four are. In different ways and degrees they are not, however, safeguarded in other countries, such as Russia, Mexico and Germany. It is important that our citizens know how vital are these rights and their preservation. In all the States of our country the rights to carry on religious worship, to perform religious services and to preach the truths of religion and morality are fully guaranteed and enjoyed and there is no law, federal or State, to prevent Catholic papers or Catholic books from publishing what they like; our laws, too, fully protect the rights of the Church to care for its poor, orphans, and so forth. If any exceptions exist they are of minor importance and result from administrative officiousness—not unjust legislation.

16. A. C.: *What about the right to educate?*

MSGR. R.: Since the highest goods of life are spiritual and since the supreme duty of man is to save his soul, religious education is the most necessary kind of education. Only the Church can adequately and authoritatively impart it. Happily this right is recognized by the laws of the United States as regards instruction in churches and in parochial schools. If the State maintained no schools of its own; if it left all education to the voluntary action of individuals and private groups, the Church would have no reason to complain. She would be at no disadvantage as compared with non-Catholics. As a matter of fact, the State maintains a system of schools which is not completely satisfactory to Catholics, inasmuch as no place is given to morality and religion. Since the Church realizes that the teaching of religion and instruction in the secular branches cannot rightfully or successfully be separated one from the other, she is compelled to maintain her own system of schools for general education as well as for religious instruction.

17. A. C.: *But since the Church has its school system, what is there to worry about?*

MSGR. R.: Inasmuch as Catholic citizens are obliged to contribute on the same terms as all other citizens to the support of the State schools, they are thus required to bear a double burden under the head of education. This inconvenience could be justified, indeed, if State schools could

find no way to include religion in their curricula. There exists no such impossibility. It is practicable to make religion one of the regular subjects of instruction in State supported schools. Great Britain, Canada and other countries give financial support to schools which are under the immediate direction of the various religious denominations, and the members of each denomination receive the kind of religious training that they desire.

This should not be construed as a demand for a denominational public school system instead of the one we have in the United States. This matter is too difficult and complex to discuss adequately now. But it is necessary to point out that the right of the Church to educate her children is not realized in our system of public schools.

18. A. C.: *Suppose any of these rights were threatened by new laws. What could we do about it?*

MSGR. R.: All Catholic citizens would be morally obliged to resist such encroachment by all lawful means and to exert every lawful effort to obtain the repeal of the laws and the removal of the offending officials. Nor would this be "going into politics." Every citizen has both the right and the duty to bring about the repeal of unjust legislation. A Catholic citizen would have the right and the duty to oppose any unjust laws aimed at the rights of the Church or of individual Catholics. Catholic citizens may properly appeal to legislators and to candidates for office, may threaten to vote against and actually vote against

candidates who support legislation of this kind; but they do not need to organize themselves into a Catholic political party. Neither the Church as such nor the Catholic body as such should identify itself with or give its constant support to any partisan organization of a political character. This kind of political action the Holy Father has forbidden to Catholic Action. Nor should local Catholic bodies, such as a parish or a group of parishes, commit themselves to the general support of one political party rather than another. While such a course may sometimes seem to be beneficial, in the long run the advantages are more than offset by the disadvantages.

II. THE STATE

19. A. C.: *You were talking about the State awhile back. You said that also was a "perfect" society.*

MSGR. R.: Yes, it is not a part of nor directly subordinate to any other society, and it has within itself all the means necessary for self-preservation and the attainment of its end. It is not directly subordinate even to the Church. Pope Leo XIII shows this clearly in his "Christian Constitution of States":

"The Almighty, therefore, has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over Divine, the other over human things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the

nature and special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right."

20. A. C.: *What is the purpose of the State?*

MSGR. R.: The end of the State is the common temporal good of all its members. This means their welfare as a community, as members of families, as members of social classes and, so far as feasible, as individuals. In his encyclical on "The Condition of Labor," Pope Leo XIII said that the rulers of the State should "anxiously safeguard the community and all its members." In fact, the ultimate end of the State can only be described in terms of individual welfare; for the State does not exist for its own sake; it is not an end in itself.

21. A. C.: *What do you mean by the term "temporal good"—material things?*

MSGR. R.: No, not entirely—I used it in contradistinction to "spiritual." To provide the latter kind of good is, of course, the function of the Church. Temporal good means the things that are necessary and attainable in man's temporal life, his life on earth. These goods are partly material and partly non-material. They comprise all the external goods of soul and body: protection and promotion of the religious and moral welfare of the citizens; provision of a reasonable amount of facilities for education; protection of bodily integrity, of liberty and of property, and provision of reasonable economic opportunities.

22. A. C.: *How does the State go about attaining the common good of its members?*

MSGR. R.: The means are legislation, administration, the functions of the judiciary and the sanctions provided by the police and the military.

23. A. C.: *Since the State is a perfect society, it may do as it pleases, may it not?*

MSGR. R.: While the State is a perfect society, having its own sphere and its own functions, its power is not morally unlimited. It may not do what it pleases. It is not above nor independent of the moral law. Since it is an association of human beings, it is bound by the same rules of morality that apply to human individuals. To be sure, it may lawfully do some things that are not permitted to individuals, such as punishing criminals and making war, because these are necessary for its adequate functioning. In general, however, the actions of the State are completely subject to the rules and principles of morality.

24. A. C.: *What is the duty of the citizens of the State?*

MSGR. R.: All members of the State are morally bound to obey all just civil laws and to be faithful and constant in supporting the government of their country. These are moral obligations because the State is a divinely ordained society for the promotion of the common good. This recalls the words of St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans: "Let every soul be subject to higher powers, for there is no power but from God and those

that are, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist purchase to themselves damnation."

25. A. C.: *You pointed out that a Catholic has social as well as individual duties to the Church; that in addition to obedience and loyalty he should co-operate with his fellow Catholics in promoting the welfare of the Church as a society, as a supernatural organization. Does the citizen owe co-operation with his fellow citizens in promoting the common good as well as personal obedience and loyalty to the State?*

MSGR. R.: Indeed yes. This wider duty is enjoined by a special kind of justice, called legal justice; or social justice. Among the forms of the common good which at the present time demand particular attention from the American Catholic citizen are those which fall under the heads of morality, economics and politics.

26. A. C.: *Morality, did you say?*

MSGR. R.: Yes, and in this regard the Catholic citizen is in a better position and is charged with a greater responsibility than the majority of his non-Catholic fellow citizens, because of the guidance which he receives from the Church. The Church authoritatively teaches, interprets and applies the whole of the moral law. Obviously the common good will be furthered in proportion as the laws of the State are in agreement with the principles of morality. Therefore, the Catholic

citizen has a strict obligation to try to bring civil ordinances into harmony with Christian moral precepts.

27. A. C.: *Such as?*

MSGR. R.: One of the most important forms of civil legislation involved here is that which has to do with marital and sexual life. No Catholic legislator nor any Catholic private citizen is justified in promoting laws which facilitate divorce because divorce is contrary to the moral law. On the contrary, Catholic citizens are morally obliged to use every reasonable means to make our divorce laws stricter so that divorces will be reduced to a minimum. Since the Pope has condemned human sterilization as immoral, all Catholic citizens should oppose legislation which authorizes this abominable device and should strive for the repeal of the sterilization laws now upon the statute books of our States. For the same reason Catholic citizens are morally bound to oppose legislation which would make easier the diffusion of information concerning contraception, and to support legislation which prohibits this perversion of the marital relation.

28. A. C.: *But those are strictly religious duties, aren't they?*

MSGR. R.: In fulfilling such obligations, the Catholic citizen can be assured that he is not only doing his duty as a Catholic, but promoting the welfare of the State. In the United States, divorce has become one of the greatest injuries to

the common good; sterilization is one of the most superficial and ineffective remedies that has ever emerged from the halls of legislation; and birth control has already brought our country to the verge of a declining population.

29. A. C.: *You said that Catholics should have a particular interest in economics and the common good. Will you further explain this statement?*

MSGR. R.: Yes, Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI have both strongly emphasized the obligation of all Catholics, both the clergy and the laity, to study and to strive for the solution of economic problems and the establishment of social justice. In order to act intelligently or effectively in this field the Catholic citizen must obtain specific knowledge. Here are some passages from the Holy Father's encyclical on "Atheistic Communism":

If the manner of acting of some Catholics in the social-economic field has left much to be desired, this has often come about because they have not known and pondered sufficiently the teachings of the Sovereign Pontiffs on these questions.

. . . Catholic Action is in effect a *social* apostolate also, inasmuch as its object is to spread the Kingdom of Jesus Christ not only among individuals, but also in families and in society. It must, therefore, make it a chief aim to train its members with special care and to prepare them to fight the battles of the Lord. This task of formation, now more urgent

and indispensable than ever, which must always precede direct action in the field, will assuredly be served by study-circles, conferences, lecture-courses and the various other activities undertaken with a view to making known the Christian solution of the social problem.

30. A. C.: *Just how far does Catholic Action extend?*

MSGR. R.: The scope of Catholic Action is very comprehensive, indeed. It seeks to apply Catholic principles to all departments of life; for instance, to moral conditions, industrial relations, political relations, race relations, and international relations.

Pope Pius discusses the function of Catholic Action in this connection in his Encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno," when he is talking about the initiation of a better social order. This is the section: "We believe . . . that the end intended—[*i. e.*, a better social order]—will be the more certainly obtained, the greater the contribution furnished by men of technical, commercial and social competence, and, more still, by Catholic principles and their application. We look for this contribution, not to Catholic Action (which has no intention of displaying any strictly syndical [*i. e.*, characteristic of labor unions or employers' associations] or political activities) but to Our sons, whom Catholic Action imbues with these principles and trains for the Apostolate under the guidance and direction of the Church."

31. A. C.: *What is the relationship of government and of the obligation of Catholics to these eco-*

conomic problems and the better social order the Holy Father wants?

MSGR. R.: These problems, for instance, the right of labor to organize, the establishment of living wages, the abolition of unemployment, the repression of private economic domination, all require action by the State. Upon Catholic citizens, therefore, rests a solemn obligation to contribute intelligently, effectively, "loyally and generously" toward the enactment of the necessary legislation.

32. A. C.: *Such obligations seem simple enough.*

MSGR. R.: Unfortunately, it cannot be said that the majority of Catholic citizens in our country have fulfilled these duties to anything like the full extent of their powers and opportunities. All too frequently Catholic voters give their support to candidates for public office who are opposed to legislation favoring social justice, and they neglect to help candidates who have the desire and ability to bring about laws for the betterment of social and economic conditions. In legislative halls there are to be found some Catholics who are guilty of the same sins of commission and omission. However, these faults and failures in the case of both private citizens and public officials seem to be due more to ignorance, indifference and laziness than to a deliberate desire to perpetuate economic injustice. A large proportion of Catholic citizens do not perceive that the obligation of promoting social justice implies study and inquiry in order to know which legislative measures are conducive and which are not conducive to the common good.

33. A. C.: *We certainly need to know more about economic matters. There was one other field in which you said Catholics have special duties.*

MSGR. R.: The third field in which Catholic citizens have definite and important duties is that of politics, or political activities. In his encyclical on the "Christian Constitution of States," Pope Leo XIII emphasized "the duty of all Catholics worthy of the name . . . to make use of popular institutions, so far as can honestly be done, for the advancement of truth and righteousness . . ." Here again the basis of the duties is the common good. In a country which has a representative form of government, furtherance of the common good is effected mainly by elected officials, executive, legislative, and judicial. The responsibility of selecting honest and competent officials rests upon the voters. The obligation of the citizens as voters was stated very well a few years ago in a work approved by the cardinals and archbishops of France entitled, *Principes Catholiques d'Action Civique*. Here it is:

To the extent that the constitution of the state establishes the right of voting as a means of participating in the conduct of public affairs, the citizens, inasmuch as they are bound to use this right for the public good, should regard its exercise as a matter of conscience. Therefore, they are obliged, first, to make use of this constitutional right and, second, to use it for the common good.

34. A. C.: *Do not government officials have a special responsibility for the common good?*

MSGR. R.: Obviously, the responsibility and obligations of officials with regard to the common good are even greater than the responsibilities and obligations of private citizens. A very common form of anti-social conduct on the part of public officials is exhibited in the dishonest performances covered by the terms, bribery and graft. An official accepts from a private person or corporation something of value on condition that he will fail in the fulfillment of his public duties. Some examples: He lets a contract to a high bidder in return for personal gain; or he pays an unnecessarily high price for goods intended for public use and receives part of the payment, in return, as a kind of rebate; or he accepts gifts upon his promise to buy from Smith rather than from Jones; or he permits the law to be violated in return for gain to himself; or he gives advance information to a few of his friends in order that they may profit by the increase in the value of land that will follow the execution of public improvements.

35. A. C.: *Do you think all Catholics realize the grievousness of such actions? I know a few Catholics—*

MSGR. R.: I suppose you do. All such practices are forbidden by the moral law as well as the civil law and yet some of the most conspicuous offenders against these prohibitions in our cities have been Catholics. It is not pleasant to believe that they have realized their wrongdoing all of the time.

Their corrupt practices might, in some cases, result from the conscious or unconscious dissociation of morality from the political sphere. For that reason it seems vital that we should have more moral teaching and preaching from the pulpit and in the schools on the civic duties of Catholics, on the evils of graft and on the obligations of social justice, too.

36. A. C.: *What about the voters' duties in this connection?*

MSGR. R.: The Catholic citizen has several important duties as a voter. In the first place, he is morally bound to make use of the electoral franchise. From the performance of this duty he can be excused only by a correspondingly grave inconvenience. Since public officials possess great power either to harm or to benefit the community, those who select them are charged with grave responsibility.

The Catholic citizen is also obliged to vote intelligently and honestly. He does wrong when he casts his ballot for incompetent or corrupt candidates on the lazy assumption that their opponents are just as bad, or because he desires to put a friend or a fellow Catholic into office. Legal justice obliges the voter to exercise the franchise always for the common good, not for private advantage.

Finally, the Catholic citizen is morally bound to acquaint himself, so far as he reasonably can, with the merits of candidates and with the public policies which promote the common good. He should vote only for those candidates who understand and advocate the right policies in the halls

of the legislature. Lawmakers need to possess something more than elementary honesty. They must know the measures that are best for the common welfare and must have the ability to advocate and the courage to fight for them. Therefore, the voter is under obligation to pay specific attention to these qualifications in making his choice among legislative candidates.

37. A. C.: *Thank you, Monsignor Ryan, I feel clearer about the nature of my civic obligations now. Is there any final word which you would wish to have me keep in mind?*

MSGR. R.: Yes, I should like you to see an extract on politics and good citizenship from the Pastoral Letter of the Hierarchy of the United States issued in 1920.* Here it is.

In its primary meaning, politics has for its aim the administration of government in accordance with the express will of the people and for their best interests. This can be accomplished by the adoption of right principles, the choice of worthy candidates for office, the direction of partisan effort toward the nation's true welfare and the purity of elections; but not by dishonesty. The idea that politics is exempt from the requirements of morality, is both false and pernicious; it is practically equivalent to the notion that in government there is neither right nor wrong, and that the will of the people is simply an instrument to be used for private advantage. The expression or application of such views accounts for the

tendency, on the part of many of our citizens, to hold aloof from politics. But their abstention will not effect the needed reform, nor will it arouse from their apathy the still larger number who are so intent upon their own pursuits that they have no inclination for political duties. Each citizen should devote a reasonable amount of time and energy to the maintenance of right government by the exercise of his political rights and privileges. He should understand the issues that are brought before the people and co-operate with his fellow citizens in securing, by all legitimate means, the wisest solution.

* Published by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.

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APPENDIX

QUOTATIONS FROM THE ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII ON
"THE CHIEF DUTIES OF CHRISTIANS AS CITIZENS"
(January 10, 1890)

Necessity of Christian Principles. "From day to day it becomes more and more evident how needful it is that the principles of Christian wisdom should be ever borne in mind, and that the life, the morals, and the institutions of nations should be wholly conformed to them. From the fact of these principles having been disregarded, mischiefs so vast have accrued that no right-minded man can face the trials of the time being without grave solicitude, nor contemplate the future without serious alarm."

The State Should Uphold the Moral Law. "What applies to individual men applies equally to society—domestic alike and civil. Nature did not fashion society with intent that man should seek in it his last end, but that in it and through it he should find suitable aids whereby to attain to his own perfection. If, then, a civil government strives after external advantages merely, and the attainment of such objects as adorn life; if in administering public affairs it is wont to put God aside, and show no solicitude for the upholding of moral law; it deflects woefully from its right course and from the injunctions of nature."

Religion the Remedy of the Nations' Ills. "The present century has encountered notable disasters, nor is it clear that some equally terrible are not impending. The very times in which we live are warning us to seek remedies there where alone they are to be found—namely, by re-establishing in the family circle and throughout the whole range of society the doctrines and practices of Christian religion. In this lies the sole means of freeing us from the ills now weighing us down, of forestalling the dangers now threatening the world."

Love of Country and Love of Church Have Same Source. "Now, if the natural law enjoins us to love devotedly and to defend the country in which we had birth, and in which

we were brought up, so that every good citizen hesitates not to face death for his native land, very much more is it the urgent duty of Christians to be ever quickened by like feelings towards the Church. For the Church is the holy city of the living God. . . . Moreover, if we would judge aright, the supernatural love for the Church and the natural love of our own country proceed from the same eternal principle, since God Himself is their Author and originating Cause. Consequently it follows that between the duties they respectively enjoin, neither can come into collision with the other."

Authority Proceeds from God. "Law is of its very essence a mandate of right reason, proclaimed by a properly constituted authority for the common good. But true and legitimate authority is void of sanction, unless it proceed from God the supreme Ruler and Lord of all. The Almighty alone can commit power to a man over his fellow men; nor may that be accounted as right reason which is in disaccord with truth and with divine reason; nor that held to be true good which is repugnant to the supreme and unchangeable good, or that wrests aside and draws away the wills of men from the charity of God."

The Essential Duty of Christian Citizens. "Wherefore, to love both countries, that of earth below and that of heaven above, yet in such mode that the love of our heavenly surpass the love of our earthly home, and that human laws be never set above the divine law, is the essential duty of Christians, and the fountainhead, so to say, from which all other duties spring."

The Church Cannot Identify Herself with Politics. "A notable difference exists between every kind of civil rule and that of the kingdom of Christ. If this latter bear a certain likeness and character to a civil kingdom, it is distinguished from it by its origin, principle, and essence. The Church, therefore, possesses the right to exist and to protect herself by institutions and laws in accordance with her nature. And since she not only is a perfect society in herself, but superior to every other society of human growth,

she resolutely refuses, prompted alike by right and by duty, to link herself to any mere party and to subject herself to the fleeting exigencies of politics."

No Antagonism Between Church and State. "The Church alike and the State, doubtless, both possess individual sovereignty; hence, in the carrying out of public affairs, neither obeys the other within the limits to which each is restricted by its constitution. It does not hence follow, however, that Church and State are in any manner severed, and still less antagonistic. Nature, in fact, has given us not only physical existence, but moral life likewise. Hence, from the tranquillity of public order, whose immediate purpose is civil society, man expects that this may be able to secure all his needful well-being, and still more supply the sheltering care which perfects his moral life, which consists in the knowledge and practice of the true religion; . . ."

Duty of Lawmakers. "They who are engaged in framing constitutions and in enacting laws should bear in mind the moral and religious nature of man, and take care to help him, but in a right and orderly way, to gain perfection, neither enjoining nor forbidding anything save what is reasonably consistent with civil as well as with religious requirements. On this very account the Church cannot stand by, indifferent as to the import and significance of laws enacted by the State; not in so far indeed as they refer to the State, but in so far as, passing beyond their due limits they trench upon the rights of the Church."

N. C. W. C. STUDY CLUB OUTLINE

I

1. What is the difference between society and a society?
2. Distinguish between necessary societies and perfect societies.
3. What Scriptural foundation is there for the statement that the Church is an independent and complete society?
4. For what end was the Church instituted? How is it governed?
5. By what means are the members of the Church to attain their supernatural end?

Suggested paper: Review of Chapter IV in "Man and Society," F. J. Haas, D. Appleton-Century Co.

II

6. What are the obligations resting upon the members of the Church and how do they apply to the personal relations between individuals and the Church?
7. Why do these duties apply to social life?
8. How are the rights to religious worship, to perform religious services and preach the truths of religion and morality safeguarded in the United States? In other countries?
9. Why is religious education so important and how are the rights of the Church in this regard respected in the United States?
10. What means are open to Catholics to prevent or rectify encroachment by law on these rights of the Church?

Suggested paper: Review of Pope Pius XI's Encyclical, "The Church in Germany" (N. C. W. C., 10c).

III

11. Do the Church and State have conflicting jurisdictions?
12. Is the State an end in itself? What is its end?
13. What is comprised in the term "common temporal good" and by what means is it attained?

14. Why is not the State, as a "perfect" society, independent of the moral law?
15. Are the obligations of citizens to obey just laws and support the government moral ones? Why?
Suggested paper: Review of the Appendix.

IV

16. Give examples of types of legislation under the head of morality towards which Catholics as citizens have a social responsibility.
17. Why should Catholics obtain specific knowledge regarding economic problems and social justice?
18. What relation to a better social order do the following have: Catholic Action? The State? Catholic citizens?
Suggested paper: Review of Encyclical, "Atheistic Communism" (N. C. W. C., 10c).

V

19. How and why do Catholics often fail in their responsibility as voters? What are their obligations toward the common good?
20. What are some of the most common breaches committed by public officials, Catholics included, and what is suggested to help remedy them?
21. What responsibility do the voters have for these offenses.
22. What is the aim of true politics and how can it best be accomplished?
Suggested paper: Review of "Civic and Political Morality," by Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, *Catholic Action*, September, 1933.

