# INTERCREDAL CO-OPERATION IN THE PAPAL DOCUMENTS

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In Nearly all of his public utterances the present Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, has made some reference to those not of the Catholic faith and has expressed the belief or hope that many of these are "with him" in his gallant but desperate attempt to save human society. Particularly toward the end of his life, Pope Pius XI constantly made similar utterances. It is also known that in Great Britain the growing co-operation between Catholics on the one side and the Anglican and Free Churches on the other was initiated by Catholics, as one British writer put it, as the result of "accepting wholeheartedly the Pope's appeal for co-operation with 'all men of good will.'"

It may be useful, therefore, to examine the question of intercredal co-operation, already discussed in these pages,<sup>2</sup> from the point of view of papal utterances, and from these attempt to gather (1) what are the legitimate fields in which this co-operation may take place; and (2) what are the grounds for such co-operation.

Before examining the texts themselves, however, it will be helpful to recall the historical background. From the disastrous Peace of Westphalia (1648) up to our own times, the direct influence of the Papacy and, indeed, the Church on the temporal affairs of Europe and the world was reduced to almost nothing. What has been called the "secularization of politics," which was then made the official rule of European nations, brought, along with other unfortunate consequences, a universal acceptance of the exclusion of the Church from public affairs and a submissive spirit of isolationism on the part of Catholics.<sup>3</sup> This spirit, until very recently, has been accepted by most

<sup>1</sup>Barbara Ward, in an article on the Sword of the Spirit, N.C.W.C. News Service January 11, 1943. There may be a significance in Pius XII's words in a telegram to Cardinal Hinsley and the English episcopate dated June 29, 1942: "Your letter has also proved a thing of which We were already convinced—that you highly prize and deeply take to heart any admonitions and recommendations which are sent forth from this Apostolic See for the benefit of Christendom and of humanity" (as cited in the *Universe*, September 18, 1942).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Theological Studies, III (1942), 315-32; 413-31; 475-512; IV (1943), 100-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> C. C. Eckhardt, *The Papacy and World Affairs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 140 ff.

modern Catholics as the normal mode of being by which the Church shall henceforth live.

These three centuries of secularism, as far as the policy of the Papacy is concerned, can be considered in three periods. The first was marked by a series of protests, constantly decreasing in force, at the new state of affairs. This period of progressive defeat can be considered as having ended with the accession of Clement XIII (1758) and the almost universal triumph of the Enlightenment. The second period is one of eclipse, and lasted roughly a century. It was highlighted by the humiliation of the Papacy by Napoleon and the practically complete absence of any further attempt by the Popes to influence the universal course of events. It was the modern Dark Age of Christendom. This period ended and the third began with the accession of Leo XIII (1878).

It was Leo XIII, who, the first for a long time, reminded a startled world that the Catholic Church considers that temporal affairs also fall under the purview of her divine mission. Leo himself, however, did not immediately perceive that a changed world required a whole new set of concepts if this intervention was to be made valid. It was no longer, as his predecessor Pius IX seems to have imagined, a medieval synthesis which he faced, in which political unity and religious unity were the same unity, but a world of clashing nationalisms and religious dissensions. It is a kind of historical irony that, just as it was post-medieval France which pushed the Church back into the sacristy and then humiliated it, so it was modern France which first opened Leo's eyes to the new state of affairs and furnished him with the clue to what to do about it.

#### THE PAPAL TEXTS

The "inside" story of this transformation of the Church's policy has been told from Leo's private papers by Count Eduardo Soderini in his official Life of Leo, the relevant part of which appears in an English translation.<sup>4</sup> In a series of Encyclicals which began within a year after his accession, Leo began to unfold a philosophy of society which, beginning mostly as a condemnation of the modern State,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Eduardo Soderini, *Leo XIII*, *Italy and France*, trans. Barbara Barclay Carter (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1935), pp. 123-276.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Inscrutabili (1885), Quod Apostolici Muneris (1878), and Diuturnum Illud (1881).

gradually developed a positive reconciliation with it on a basis of Christian principles.<sup>6</sup>

Up to this point, however, the great Pope had restricted himself to the role of a philosophic teacher, being content merely with setting forth correct principles of government. In 1891, with *Rerum Novarum*, he emerged as a social reformer. This was a definite departure in papal practice, for this Encyclical clearly called for action as well as the acceptance of truth. Moreover, in this action he explicitly engaged the Church as a partner with secular society:

So far as the Church is concerned, her co-operation will never be found wanting, be the time or the occasion what it may. She will intervene with all the greater effect in proportion as her liberty of action is the more unfettered. Let this in particular be carefully noted by those whose office it is to provide for the public welfare.

It became clear immediately that the test of this new policy would take place in France. It was there that the ancient and the modern were most closely at grips. Leo's proclamation of social reform came right in the middle of the crucial debate between himself and the French Royalists over the question of allegiance to the Third French Republic. It was in the previous November that Cardinal Lavigerie had made his sensational toast to the Republic in Algiers and had launched the movement of the Ralliement.<sup>8</sup> After a year of furious disputes, Leo spoke a deciding word in his Letter to the French, Au milieu des sollicitudes, on February 16, 1892.

In this Letter the Pope told French Catholics that it was their duty to give their allegiance to the Republic. In it he made his famous distinction between the regime, which he declared legitimate, and its legislation, which he condemned and which he wished the Church in France, by co-operation with the regime, to change. Had his advice been fully taken, it is clear now that France and the faith of millions of Frenchmen would have been saved. But that is not my immediate point. What is remarkable about the Letter is the fact that Leo makes an appeal for joint action between Catholics and non-Catholics in the work of transforming French society:

<sup>§</sup> Immortale Dei (1885), Libertas Praestantissimum (1888), and Sapientiae Christianae (1890).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> ASS, XXIII (1891), 670; cf. Husslein, Social Wellsprings, Fourteen Epochal Documents by Pope Leo XIII (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1940), p. 204.

<sup>8</sup> Soderini, op. cit., pp. 202 ff.

...We believe it opportune, and even necessary, to raise Our voice again, and more urgently to exhort not only Catholics but also all Frenchmen of good will and good sense (tous les Français honnêtes et sensés) to put far from them every source of political dissension, in order that they may consecrate their energies solely to the pacification of their country. All are aware of the value of that pacification; all increasingly desire it. And We—who desire it more than anyone because We represent on earth the God of peace—We by this letter invite all upright minds and all generous hearts to assist Us in rendering it stable and fruitful.<sup>9</sup>

Later, speaking more directly to Catholics, he insists that "a great union is necessary" for effective social action in the interests of social harmony. But in two subsequent passages he makes it clear that this unity, insofar as it is directed to the purposes of the temporal order, is not exclusive or closed. After condemning "tendencies hostile to religion and consequently to the interests of the nation," which have become incorporated in legislation, he adds: "And here precisely is the field on which men of good will (*les gens de bien*), putting aside all political differences, ought to unite as one man, in order to combat by every legal and honest means the progressive abuses of such legislation." And he gives the reason: all such men should agree that in attacking religion the State has violated the limits of its competence, as marked out by reason itself; there is, therefore, a common moral duty to resist such encroachments.

Secondly, at the end of the Letter he returns again to the same point with equal definiteness:

In summary but clear fashion, Venerable Brethren, We have explained, if not all, at least the principal points on which French Catholics and all reasonable men (tous les hommes sensés) must achieve union and concord, in order to heal—insofar as it is still possible—the evils with which France is afflicted, and to restore her moral grandeur. These points are: religion and the nation, political powers and legislation, the conduct to be observed with regard to these powers and this legislation, the Concordat, the separation of Church and State.<sup>12</sup>

His evident supposition is that his doctrine on all these points should commend itself as reasonable to all those who, not professedly Catholic, still retain a natural rectitude of mind and heart.

The authentic commentary on these texts is furnished by Leo's Letter to the Bishop of Grenoble, written several months later, on June 22, 1892. Therein he writes the following passage, unmistakable in its clarity:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> ASS, XXIV (1891-92), 519-20. <sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 523.

...The progress of religious life among the peoples is an eminently social task, because of the close connection between the truths which are the soul of the religious life and those which govern civil life. Hence arises a practical rule which must not be lost from view and which gives to Catholics a characteristic broadmindedness. It is this: that while holding firm to our dogmatic position and avoiding all compromise with error, it is Christian prudence not to reject, but rather to win over to us, the collaboration of all men of good will in the pursuit of individual and especially of social welfare.

The great majority of France is Catholic, <sup>13</sup> but among those who are not so fortunate, many in spite of all still retain a basically sound sense and a certain uprightness which we may call the attitude of the naturally Christian soul. Now this lofty sensibility not only attracts them to the good but inclines them to adopt it, and frequently this inner inclination, this generous co-operation are a preparation for the appreciation and profession of the Christian truth. It is for this reason that in Our most recent statements We have not neglected to request the co-operation of these men in the triumph over the sectarian persecution, now unbridled and openly avowed, which is plotting the religious and moral ruin of France.<sup>14</sup>

Pope Leo then goes on to remark that when a grand alliance of men of good will (*les honnêtes gens*) has been formed, with their *sens juste* and their *coeur droit*, with young and old, with those of high and low condition, we can then expect to see the people itself put its powerful will in the balance to transform society and return to God.

In earlier utterances Leo had already urged Catholics (outside of Italy) to take their rightful place in civic matters: "It is in general fitting and salutary that Catholics should extend their efforts beyond this restricted sphere [municipal administration] and give their attention to national politics.... To take no part in public affairs would be equally as wrong (We speak in general) as not to have concern for, or not to bestow labor upon, the common good." And again: "Unless it be otherwise determined, by reason of some exceptional condition of things [that is, in Italy], it is expedient to take part in the administration of public affairs. The Church approves of everyone devoting his service to the common good, and doing all that he can for the defense, preservation, and prosperity of his country." 16

Statements like these, however, taken in themselves would have meant nothing more than the commonplace expression of civic obligation. They imply only a very general form of co-operation. Leo's advice to the French was very different. Once he had passed from the field of preaching general doctrine to that of urging civic and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> This was still substantially true in 1892. <sup>14</sup> ASS, XXV (1892–93), 69–70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Immortale Dei, ASS, XVIII (1885), 177; cf. Husslein, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Libertas Praestantissimum, ASS, XX (1888), 613; cf. Husslein, op. cit., p. 138.

political action in a specific field he was necessarily involving members of the Church in activities shared by others than Catholics. What he wanted from France was nothing less than a radical transformation of modern society, and this was also clearly implied in the social reform preached in *Rerum Novarum*. This was a reform which Catholics by themselves would be powerless to effect, since it involved the whole economic and social structure of the nations. He saw very clearly that unless they were able to win over the collaboration of men of good will, with their naturally Christian soul, in the pursuit of the common good, nothing very effective or concrete was ever going to be done. Moreover, he looked on this collaboration as an excellent means to dispose such men to the acceptance of the whole Catholic truth.

This also, however, must be made clear. Leo XIII never had any other idea than that the ultimate transformation of human society, for which he had drawn up the master plan, would be carried out within the framework of what may loosely be called Christian philosophy. This thought he repeated too many times to quote here. On the other hand, his concrete proposals, the planks of his platform, were not derived from the Christian revelation as such, but from the normal operation of human reason. What he hoped for from the Christian revelation was the virtue of charity, without which his politico-economic proposals would not be accepted in practice. The anima naturaliter christiana, he saw, with its sens juste and its coeur droit, even though it did not profess the whole Christian revelation, could be counted on as an ally with Catholics, for in his time and place he naturally assumed that the initiative in this would be taken by Catholics.

After the death of Leo XIII (1903), his grandiose conception of social regeneration, it must be admitted, fell somewhat into abeyance. The program of Pius X, "instaurare omnia in Christo," did indeed include, as he said himself, "not only that which properly belongs to the Church's divine mission of leading souls to God, but also that which, as We have explained, spontaneously flows from that divine mission—Christian civilization in the totality of all the elements which constitute it." Circumstances, however, as well as his own pastoral inclinations, turned his energies primarily to the strengthening of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Encyclical Letter on Catholic Action, *Il fermo proposito*, June 11, 1905, ASS, XXX-VII (1904-5), 747.

Church's own inner unity in doctrine, organization, and life. Nevertheless, it so happened that circumstances also drew from him the only papal document that is completely and explicitly devoted to a particular problem of interconfessional co-operation, the Encyclical Letter to the Bishops of Germany, Singulari Quadam, of September 24, 1912. By reason of its importance the document deserves fuller treatment than can be given it in this article; let me simply indicate its salient significance.

The point at issue was the organization of Catholic industrial workers in Germany: should strictly Catholic trade unions alone be encouraged? or should Catholics rather join the so-called "christliche Gewerkvereine," which were on principle "Christian," but interconfessional? In his reply, Pius X reveals an insight into the realities of Germany's economic life as exact as was Leo XIII's grasp of political realities in France. The Singulari Quadam clearly recognizes the necessity of organized co-operation between Catholics and non-Catholics in the economic field, in the interests of justice for the industrial worker. Under the circumstances, and given certain safeguards, such co-operation "can be tolerated and permitted" (tolerari posse et permitti),19 even, though not preferably, in the form of Catholic membership in interconfessional unions. The preferable form of co-operation would be through a federative union of confessional organizations, Catholic and non-Catholic. In either case, the fact emerges that the Church, while vigilantly guarding the integrity of her children's faith, was prepared to accept the co-operation of men of Christian principles, as the members of the "christliche Gewerkvereine" professed themselves to be, in the work of establishing justice in the economic order.

The reign of Benedict XV was overshadowed by the first World War. On the accession of Pius XI (1922), the question of whether society could be saved was once more acute, and the new Pope showed immediately that he was keenly aware of it. From the time that he appeared on St. Peter's balcony the day of his election he made it clear that he was determined to break the shell of Catholic isolation. He immediately began to preach the doctrine that the Church includes the temporal in its divine mission. It was he who most insistently called the laity to participation in the apostolate of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Cf. infra, Current Theology. <sup>19</sup> AAS, IV (1912), 660.

hierarchy through Catholic Action. By the time of his death nearly every country in the world had a diplomatic representative at his court. It was he to whom it was reserved to restore the temporal freedom of the papacy. And he revived the Leonine tradition by his memorable series of social Encyclicals, among which the outstanding one was a commentary and development of Leo's own *Rerum Novarum*.

As we look back on them, these documents show a definite pattern, a pattern, indeed, very like that followed by Leo XIII. For the first ten years Pius was most concerned with drawing tight the ranks of Catholics themselves. He launched the movement of Catholic Action (Ubi Arcano); he promulgated the devotion and feast of Christ the King (Quas Primas); he promoted spiritual retreats for laymen (Mens Nostra). He followed that with teachings on Christian education (Rappresentanti in Terra) and the Christian family (Casti Connubii). All this work furnishes an almost complete picture of the Christian religion girding itself for the trials to come.

In 1931, however, the whole tone of his thought undergoes a change; he likewise becomes the social reformer. In that year, the fortieth since Rerum Novarum, he came out with the greatest of his Encyclicals, Quadragesimo Anno. It was a searching analysis of the whole temporal social order, and an urgent call to substitute for it a new and more just one before it was too late. By its very nature, this was a call directed to a wider circle than the Catholic Church. In fact, it contained a program which Catholics by themselves were certainly powerless to execute; the whole secular world of business and government would be required to co-operate. He said himself that his call was to "all men of good will," who would be willing to join with the pastors of the Church.<sup>20</sup>

By October of that year he was already talking of a great crusade, in which all men would participate:

To this vigorous effort of compassion and love, which will manifest a sacrificial devotion to the needs of the poor, We summon all as children of the one heavenly Father, as the myriad members of the same one family, and therefore as all brothers in Christ, who make a common lot of prosperity and comfort, of hardship and sorrow. To this great effort we summon all as to a sacred duty imposed by the law that is distinctive of the Gospel—the precept, namely, of charity, which Christ our Lord promulgated as His first and greatest commandment and as the supreme law that sums up all else that He enjoined. In the

<sup>20</sup> AAS, XXIII (1931), 228; cf. p. 208; cf. Husslein, Social Wellsprings (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1942), II, 234; cf. p. 213.

days when war raged and hatred was rampant, Our immediate predecessor repeatedly and with emphasis urged this precept, and made of it, as it were, the distinguishing mark of his pontificate.<sup>21</sup>

From this stirring passage, several things are immediately manifest. The common effort is in the temporal order—that is its field; the grounds of co-operation are our common membership in the race of men, the one family of the one Father; the co-operation is a duty, and its motive is the law of charity promulgated in the Gospel.

Less than a year later, Pius XI cleared away any doubt that this passage might have left as to the meaning of "God's family." To him it meant the whole human race, not merely the members of the Church; for in his Encyclical Caritate Christi Impulsi, he said:

Constrained by the charity of Christ, in our Encyclical Letter *Nova Impendet* of October 2 last year, we spurred on all the children of the Church, and indeed all men of good will, to a holy rivalry in love and succor, whereby the terrible sufferings brought on human society by the economic crisis might in some measure be lightened.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, in this Encyclical Pius XI broadened the scope of cooperation with men of good will and made it include more constructive aims in the temporal order; he also defined more clearly the reasons that made it necessary. Unlike many, he did not envisage the crisis of the '30's as a purely economic one. With extraordinary penetration he saw, even that early, that the human race had divided itself into two camps, and was setting itself for a struggle à outrance between the two:

For in this battle there is at stake the most important decision that the free will of man can be called on to make: either for God or against God—that is once more the point at issue, and upon it hangs the lot of all the world. For in every department of life—in politics and economics, in morals, in the sciences and arts, in the State and in domestic and civil life, in the East and in the West—everywhere the same issue arises, big with consequences of supreme moment.<sup>23</sup>

The conclusion that he drew from this fundamental conflict was that all who are menaced by it should join together—and that meant all those who believe in God: "It is imperative... that we also should unite all our forces into one compact army to march against the bat-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Nova Impendet, AAS, XXIII (1931), 394-95; cf. Husslein, op. cit., p. 258, where, however, the translation is not entirely exact.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> AAS, XXIV (1932), 177; cf. Husslein, op. cit., p. 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> AAS, XXIV (1932). 183-84; cf. Husslein, op. cit., p. 267 (not exact).

talions of evil, enemies of God no less than of the human race."<sup>24</sup> This unity, which the Pope demanded that we recognize, is in a sense a unity created by our enemies; for he reminds us that they are hurling their attacks "not against the Catholic religion alone, but against every religion that recognizes God as the author of this visible world, and as the ruler of the universe."<sup>25</sup> He reminds us, too, of their organization: "... in a spirit of diabolical fury these squadrons are striving, not merely by speeches, but by a union of all their active energies, to put through their impious designs with all possible speed."<sup>26</sup> Consequently, by their organized attacks they have drawn together in a common cause all those who believe in God and love mankind. In a last desperate appeal, Pius XI says:

In the name of the Lord, therefore, we implore both individuals and nations.... Let all close ranks, if necessary at the cost of heavy sacrifices, in order to rescue themselves and the society of men. In such a union of minds and energies, they, of course, should claim the first place who boast of being Christians, and are mindful of the splendid example of Apostolic times, when "the multitude of the faithful were but one heart and one soul" (Acts 4:32); but let all those also, whoever they are, who acknowledge God and with sincere hearts adore Him, give their assistance to the common cause, in order to ward off from mankind the immense danger which threatens all alike."<sup>27</sup>

Five years later, in that Encyclical which has been called On Atheistic Communism (Divini Redemptoris), but which is really a commentary on his own Quadragesimo Anno, Pius XI is still appealing for cooperation:

But in combating the violence with which the powers of darkness are striving to pluck out of the hearts of men the very idea of God, We have high hopes that with those who glory in the name of Christian all those also—and they comprise the great majority of mankind—who believe in God and adore Him will effectively join. Renewing the invitation extended to them five years ago in Our Encyclical Caritate Christi, We urge them, each with his own contribution, to devote themselves to this cause.<sup>28</sup>

In these words the great Pope struck a note that had not been heard in Europe for many centuries. It is no longer a question of fanatical Mohammedans threatening Christianity, or of Lutherans and Calvinists striking at the Catholic Church; it is a matter of dark and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> AAS, XXIV (1932), 183; cf. Husslein, loc cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> AAS, XXIV (1932), 182; cf. Husslein, op. cit., p. 265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> AAS, XXIV (1932), 183; cf. Husslein, op. cit., p. 267.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> AAS, XXIV (1932), 184; cf. Husslein op. cit., pp. 267-68 (not exact).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> AAS, XXIX (1937), 102; cf. Husslein, op. cit., p. 371 (not exact).

powerful forces mustering armies against the very foundation stone of human life, God Himself. It is well known that in many audiences, as the clouds grew darker and the lights began to go out all over the world, the failing Pope strove to make his visitors see and realize the true meaning of this crisis of mankind itself. He made it clear that unless the Church was able to find allies among those who were themselves really in the shadow of the same menace, the future, humanly speaking, was dark indeed.

His successor, Pius XII, who had been so close to him, lost no time in sounding the same note. In his first public utterance—the radio message to the whole world on the day following his election—after expressing his inner spiritual unity with the hierarchical Church throughout all her ranks, he shows himself conscious and desirous of a wider unity with these words: "Moreover, our thoughts go out also to those who are outside the enclosures of the Catholic Church. They will be glad, We trust, to know that in this solemn hour Our prayers have begged for them divine assistance from Almighty God."29

In what follows he utters his consecration to the work of restoring within the temporal order that spiritual unity which is known as peace, "God's most lovely gift":

We exhort all to that peace which refreshes the souls of those who are united to God in friendship, and which orders and harmonizes family life by the sacred love of Jesus Christ; to a peace which unites nations and peoples in the bonds of mutual and fraternal assistance; to a peace and concord, finally, which must be so established among nations that all of them, united by common agreement, by a friendly alliance, and by co-operative action, may, with God's inspiration and assistance, direct their energies to the progress and happiness of the whole human family.<sup>30</sup>

Nine days later, at his coronation, he spoke to the Cardinals of the "confidence and hope placed in the Holy See not only by those who are intimately united with Us in faith and charity but also by numerous brethren separated from Us, and by almost the whole human family."<sup>31</sup> This same sense of unity with the "whole human family" was expressed in almost everything he had to say: in his Easter homily at St. Peter's on April 9;<sup>32</sup> in his letter to Cardinal Maglione on April 20;<sup>33</sup> in his address to the National Eucharistic Congress in Algiers on May 7;<sup>34</sup> in his talk to the Venetian pilgrims on August 19 ("having in our

<sup>29</sup> AAS, XXXI (1939), 86.

<sup>31</sup> Pius XII and Peace (N.C.W.C. pamphlet), p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> AAS, XXXI (1939), 150-51.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 220.

prayers so many souls of good will who, though living outside the Church, also aspire to peace");<sup>35</sup> in his radio appeal for peace on August 24;<sup>36</sup> in his discourse to the Belgian ambassador on September 14;<sup>37</sup> in his allocution to the Polish pilgrims on September 30;<sup>38</sup> in his homily at the consecration of the missionary bishops on October 29;<sup>39</sup> in his allocution to the Minister of Haiti on November 10.<sup>40</sup>

Throughout all these documents there runs one constantly recurring and significant phrase, "We have with us": "all men of good will," "all those who are upright of heart," "all those who have power to influence the thought and action of their fellow-men, for whose destiny they are responsible," "innumerable souls of good will," "the other millions of sincere souls," "all men of good faith," "all those who glory in the name of Christian," "multitudes of just souls, even those alien to the Catholic faith."

Starting with what he variously calls this "sense," this "feeling," or even this "certainty" of having all believers "with him" in the defense of humanity and God against their enemies, he proceeded, as did his predecessor, to call for co-operation in action for the salvation and regeneration of mankind. In his first Encyclical, Summi Pontificatus (to which has been given the English title, On the Unity of Human Society), issued on October 20, 1939, Pius XII renewed the idea of Pius XI that the enemies of God have not only united Catholics but with them all who believe in God:

The difficulties, anxieties, and trials of the present hour arouse, intensify, and refine to a degree rarely attained the sense of solidarity of the Catholic family. They make all believers in God and in Christ share the consciousness of a common threat from a common danger.<sup>41</sup>

And he greets with gratitude this sense of unity with him as felt by "those who, though not belonging to the visible body of the Catholic Church, have given noble and sincere expression to their appreciation of all that unites them to Us in love for the Person of Christ or in belief in God."<sup>42</sup> He assures this body of believers that his one aim is that they "may have life and may have it more abundantly" (John 10:10).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Pius XII and Peace, pp. 18-19. 
<sup>36</sup> AAS, XXXI (1939), 333, 335.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 541. The English translation here printed in the Acta was clearly made from the Italian text.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 542

It is, perhaps, not without significance, and certainly not without interest, that his first clear appeal for actual co-operation was addressed to the United States. Within two weeks after Summi Pontificatus he sent a Letter to American Catholics, then celebrating the sesquicentennial of the founding of the hierarchy. In this Letter, Sertum Laetitiae, among many other problems discussed, he treats of the social question; its solution, he hopes, will come from America:

What a proud vaunt it will be for the American people, by nature inclined to grandiose undertakings and to liberality, if they untie the knotty and difficult social question by following the sure paths illuminated by the light of the Gospel, and thus lay the basis of a happier age. If this is to come to pass, power must not be dissipated through disunion, but rather strengthened through harmony.<sup>43</sup>

Then, to make it clear that he envisages a larger unity than that formed by the members of the Church, he continues:

To this salutary union of thought and policy, whence flow mighty deeds, in all charity We invite those, too, whom Mother Church laments as separated brethren.<sup>44</sup>

He recalls the "sentiments full of homage and noble respect" expressed by "many of these" on his accession to the Papacy, and adds: "This attitude—We openly confess—has encouraged a hope which time does not take from Us, which a sanguine mind cherishes, and which remains a consolation to Us in hard and troublous times."<sup>45</sup> And he returns to the necessity of union with the words: "May the attempts with which enemies secretly banded together seek to pull down the sceptre of Christ be a spur to us to work in union for the establishment and advancement of His reign."<sup>46</sup>

Moreover, to Pius XII as to Pius XI, this united effort is a true crusade; for in his Christmas sermon of that same year, 1939, he says:

If ever there was a purpose worthy of the collaboration of all noble and generous spirits, if ever there arose flaming courage for a spiritual crusade, in which with new truth the cry, "God wills it!" might resound, it is surely this high purpose and this crusading struggle of unselfish and greathearted men, engaged in the endeavor to lead the nations back from the turbid cisterns of material and selfish interests to the living fountain of divine law, which alone is powerful to create that enduring moral grandeur of which the nations and and humanity, to their own serious loss, have for far too long a time felt the absence and the need.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 655. 44 Loc cit. 45 Loc. cit. 46 Ibid., p. 656.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> AAS, XXXII (1940), 11. Specifically, the "crusade" is for a "just international peace."

It was at this juncture that President Roosevelt wrote His Holiness a letter announcing the fact that he was sending Mr. Myron Taylor as his personal representative to the Vatican. In his reply, dated January 7, 1940, the Pope welcomed the President's message as an "exemplary act of fraternal and hearty solidarity between the New and Old World in defence against the chilling breath of aggressive and deadly godless and anti-Christian tendencies, that threaten to dry up the fountainhead whence civilization has come and drawn its strength." 48

As the war deepened and spread, the utterances of the Pope have become less frequent, but in each successive one it is possible to discern a more ardent earnestness and a compelling desire to unite all believers in God in a common action. In his Christmas sermon of 1940, broadcast to the world, he offered the services of the Church, "so that every people, in a manner corresponding to its particular genius, may have the assistance of the truths and the ethico-religious motive forces of Christianity, with a view to establishing a society that will be fittingly human, of high spiritual quality, and a source of genuine prosperity." At the close of the sermon, he offers his prayers in union not only with the faithful in the Church, but also "with all those who recognize in Christ their Lord and Savior."

His Christmas message of 1941, also broadcast, reveals a deeper and more urgent call. I think that by this time he had abandoned the idea of bringing about any peace except one that would arise from wide co-operation based on fundamental agreement, and not from any political combination:

The destruction brought about by the present war is on so vast a scale that it is imperative that there be not added to it the further ruin of a frustrated and illusory peace. In order to avoid so great a calamity, it is fitting that in the formulation of that peace there should be assured the co-operation, with sincerity of will and energy, with the purpose of a generous participation, not only of this or that party, not only of this or that people, but of all people, yea, rather of all humanity. It is a universal undertaking for the common good, which requires the collaboration of all Christendom in the religious and moral aspects of the new edifice that is to be constructed.<sup>51</sup>

In this same message he also definitely listed those among whom he expected to find collaborators:

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>49</sup> AAS, XXXIII (1941), 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Catholic Mind, XL (January 8, 1942), 11.

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...while unbelief, which arrays itself against God, the Ruler of the universe, is the most dangerous enemy of a new order that would be just, on the other hand, every man who believes in God is numbered among His partisans and paladins. Those who have faith in Christ, in His divinity, in His law, in His work of love and of brotherhood among men, will make a particularly valuable contribution to the reconstruction of the social order.<sup>52</sup>

For this reason and with this in mind, he ended his message with an inclusive blessing:

May Our blessing be also upon those who, though not members of the visible body of the Catholic Church, are near to Us in their faith in God and in Jesus Christ, and share with Us Our views with regard to the provisions for the peace and its fundamental aims.<sup>89</sup>

Finally, in his Christmas message of last December, Pius XII reached the climax of urgent insistency on universal collaboration in a "noble and holy crusade for the purification and rebirth of society."<sup>54</sup> After listing the "first five milestones" on the path to this goal, he says that his words "are meant as an appeal to the conscience of the world, and as a rallying cry to all those who are ready to ponder and weigh the grandeur of their mission and responsibility against the vastness of this universal disaster."<sup>55</sup> In gathering allies, he turns first to his own children, and then goes on:

We turn to all those who are united with Us at least by the bond of faith in God. We turn, finally, to all those who would be free of doubt and error, and who desire light and guidance. And We exhort you with suppliant, paternal insistence not only to realize the dreadful gravity of this hour, but also to meditate upon the vistas of good and supernatural benefits which it opens up, and to unite and collaborate towards the renewal of society in spirit and in truth.<sup>56</sup>

Again we hear the familiar muster of the forces of God, and their summons to a united effort against the forces of disruption.

#### THE PAPAL IDEA

I think it will be clear to all who have read thus far that the Popes, from Leo XIII to Pius XII, have stated with increasing emphasis that it is the duty of Catholics to initiate a new type of co-operative relationship with non-Catholics. Our task now is to attempt to delimit as accurately as possible the field in which this mandatory co-operation is to take place, and then to define the basis on which it is grounded.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 16. <sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-20. <sup>54</sup> Ibid., XLI (January, 1943), 59.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 58. 56 Ibid., p. 54.

First of all, however, it may not be out of place to emphasize the fact that the co-operation with which we are here concerned differs essentially from the co-operation in the direction of "Christian reunion," with which Father Bouscaren's recent article largely dealt.<sup>57</sup> This latter type takes its inspiration from the spectacle of religious disunity among Christians; it supposes that the unity of Christ's Church does not exist; it proposes to effect that specifically ecclesiastical Christian unity, in doctrine, polity, and worship, and to this end it employs the technique of debate and discussion, into which the divided parties enter on a basis of equality and in a spirit of inquiry.

On the contrary, the type of co-operation urged in the new papal directives, cited in this article, has an entirely distinct inspiration—the spectacle of disorder and chaos in the temporal order of human society, caused by the rejection of the law of God as the basic principle of social order. The supposition is that all those who believe in God, and more particularly all those who believe in Christ, are united in a common will to make their faith socially effective, and in a common desire to reconstruct the social order on its proper basis, the law of God. Consequently, the specifying finality (the *finis operis*) of their co-operation is definitely located in the temporal order; and the technique is that of action.

Unlike the "reunionists," therefore, the co-operators in this enterprise do not begin with a question, a doubt: How far do we think together on matters of religious faith and churchly order, and what further agreement in thought and polity can we reach? On the contrary, they begin with a fact, a certainty: We all acknowledge the existence of a moral imperative, binding on us collectively, to restore the religious bases of human society, lest we all likewise perish. Of course, behind this common acceptance of a common obligation lies, as we shall point out, a common belief in God. But the Popes seem clearly to regard this belief as an existent fact, to be antecedently taken as a fact, and not as an issue to be subjected to preliminary debate. They seem to regard themselves and all Catholics and all believers in Christ and all believers in God as joined together in a bond of religious faith that—however much it leaves to be desired from the point of view of ecclesiastical unity—does actually create a real unity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Cf. Theological Studies, III (1942), 475-512.

of a particular kind, valid in the present circumstances and for the present purpose.<sup>58</sup> The co-operation is not to create the bond (as it were, à la Stockholm); on the contrary, the Popes seem to indicate, that the bond itself, as actually existing, is to create the co-operation. It is at once a principle of division, setting off those who are "for God" from those who are "against God," and as such it is a principle of union, to be taken for granted, not questioned, because it enters simply as a dynamic for united social action in the face of a common social peril.

At the risk of anticipating some developments, this much had to be said about the essential difference between co-operation toward "Christian reunion" and co-operation toward the renewal of society. Later we shall return to the question of their relationship. At the moment, we must go on to analyze in more detail the latter type.

# The Field of Co-operation

First of all, the field of co-operative action is already fairly clear from the declarations of the Popes themselves; but it is worth while to repeat here just what they mean. This will aid us in the more important later task of making clear the basis on which the co-operation rests.

For Leo XIII co-operation was in the political and socio-economic fields; for Pius XI it was in the national socio-economic field, and for Pius XII it is in both the national and international socio-economic fields. Pius XI told us in the rugged sentence: "Either for God or against God—that is once more the point at issue, and upon it hangs the lot of all the world. For in every department of life—in politics and economics, in morals, in the sciences and arts, in the State and in domestic life, in the East and in the West—everywhere the same issue arises. . . ."<sup>59</sup> The field of co-operation, then, will lie where the struggle is—in the secular or temporal sphere of man's activities. Since the days of Pope St. Gelasius I (d. 496), and indeed since the Gospel (Matt. 22:21), it has been accepted as a Christian truth that mankind pursues its activities in two distinct spheres, each with its own proper

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> I say "valid," not "adequate"; for the Popes do not conceal the fact that only the integral doctrine of Christ, as preserved in, and authoritatively taught by, His Church, is the adequate means for the renewal of society, even in the temporal order. On the other hand, their concrete position is highly realistic; they are willing to say, "Noster es," to anyone who believes in God.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Caritate Christi, AAS, XXIV (1932), 183-84.

autonomy, which roughly correspond, as St. Augustine pointed out, to the body and soul.<sup>60</sup> The final cause of the first is man's temporal happiness, and of the second his eternal happiness; and while the first is subordinated to the second, yet mankind pursues its temporal happiness as an end, provided this does not interfere with the eternal salvation of individual souls. Each individual person, of course, must use temporal things as a means to his eternal salvation, while civil society, as such, has them as ends.

This temporal happiness of man is what we usually term social welfare, the physical well-being of society as such, and the proper sharing by all men of the goods of the earth. In other words, it is a common good, secured by the practice of social and distributive justice. It is the restoration of this welfare which is the objective of the social Encyclicals of Leo XIII, Pius XI, and Pius XII, as distinguished from those Encyclicals in which the pursuit of a supernatural good is enjoined. These social Encyclicals deal specifically with the temporal goods of man, and they present a comprehensive pattern within which, by the proper use of the technical measures of economics, a decent new society may be built.

Now it is a characteristic of man's temporal happiness that it can be achieved only by the co-operation of all the elements of society, whatever be their religious profession. For there is here a question of the common good, and it is an axiom of social philosophy that the common good cannot be achieved except by joint action. It is this necessity of collaboration in the temporal sphere, if the common good is to be achieved, that the Popes have in mind. It should be sufficiently clear that the kind of financial and industrial reconstruction they preach cannot be brought about by Catholics alone, for we are everywhere a minority among the forces that bear responsibility for such things.

It might be urged, of course, that all the Popes have in mind for us is that we preach the principles of social justice and thus restrict our action to attempting to persuade others to bring about what we are told

60 "We are made of body and soul, and as long as we are in this temporal life we must use temporal things for the support of this life. Hence for that part which pertains to this life we must be subject to the powers, that is, to those men who administer human affairs with some honor. But from that part by which we believe in God and are called to His kingdom, we must not be subject to any man who wishes to overturn in us that which God gave us for eternal life" (Expos. in Rom., 77; PL, XXXV, 2083).

is desirable. I do not think that anybody who reads the Encyclicals carefully can seriously uphold such a position. In all the passages I have quoted from the Popes it is action that they are imposing on us, not words. The real issue here is settled in principle when we have answered the question: Do the Popes really want us Catholics to work for social justice, as well as talk for it? If they do, then there can be no doubt that they expect us to perform this work in co-operation with others, by the very nature of the work to which they call us.

## The Basis of Co-operation

We have not completed the discussion, however, when we have established this point. A more important and more difficult task is to define the basis on which this co-operation is to be conducted. It might be, for instance, that we are expected to work for the regeneration of society solely in the purely secular groups that operate, at least partially, to this end. Catholics are members of the Democratic party, the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., and other labor groupings, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and other youth organizations, various national societies for economics, sociology, and politics; they work on newspapers and national magazines. In these capacities they are often able to make their Catholic principles acceptable to their non-Catholic fellows, and thus secure their co-operation in this sense. Is this all that the Popes have in mind in their commands to us?

I do not think so. And the reason is that they uniformly put the collaboration which they demand on a religious basis, while the motivation of all the groupings I have listed is purely secular. The religious basis of the Popes' appeal is clear in nearly all the texts cited; in the *Caritate Christi*, for instance, Pius XI says:

Let all those also, whoever they are, who acknowledge God and with sincere hearts adore Him, give their assistance to the common cause, in order to ward off from mankind the immense danger which threatens all alike. For every human authority must necessarily be founded on belief in God, as on the solid basis of all civil order; and consequently all those who do not wish to see a revolutionary overthrow of all law and order must strenuously endeavor to prevent the enemies of religion from carrying out their brazenly publicized designs.<sup>61</sup>

Later in the same Encyclical this same idea is further elaborated. Pius XI tells us that "there is no peace for the wicked" (quoting

<sup>61</sup> AAS, XXIV (1932), 184.

Isaias 58:22), because "they live in continuous contradiction and conflict with the order established by nature and consequently by the Author of nature"; this religious and moral schizophrenia can have no cure, and there will be no social peace in man's divided personality, until this order is restored. Then he continues:

But this longed for atmosphere of lasting peace will not be created by peace treaties, nor by solemn pacts, nor by international conventions and conferences, nor by the noble and sincere efforts of statesmen, unless beforehand the sacred rights of the natural and divine law are recognized. No amount of organizational and diplomatic ability on the part of the managers of the public economy will avail to disentangle the affairs of society, unless beforehand the moral law, based on God and conscience, triumphs in the whole sphere of economic life. This is the main sinew on which depends the strength both of the political and of the economic life of nations; this is the most assured of all values, and so long as it stays steady, the others cannot waver, for they will be guaranteed by the most unshakable authority, the unchanging and eternal law of God.<sup>62</sup>

From all this, two things follow: (1) negatively, it is our enemies who by their attacks have established the necessary body of co-operators; and (2) positively, the link that binds this body together is a common belief in God and a common love of His law. The aim of this body is the restoration of "the order established by nature and consequently by the Author of nature"; and the means to this restoration is "the moral law, based on God and conscience," that is, "the natural and divine law." The members of this body are all those who, in the words of Leo XIII to the French, have the anima naturaliter christiana. Consequently, the bond uniting the members is religious: Catholics are members of the body as Catholics, not merely as citizens, and others are members, again not merely as citizens, but as believers in God and lovers of His law.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

cs It may be supposed that the Popes, in issuing their call to union among believers, are not admitting the parity of all religious beliefs, nor conceding that the practical union of the collaborators obliterates, or makes unimportant, their religious differences. On the contrary, they display an acute sense of these differences, and of the difference they make. This is clear from the texts cited. Moreover, the Popes suppose, and explicitly state, that Catholics are to bring to the co-operative enterprise the integral resources of their faith, and continue to make full public profession of it. They suppose, too, that the Catholic contribution will be major—in thought, practical initiatives, programs, and sheer hard work. On the other hand, with the impressive realism already remarked, they respect the contribution to be made by those whose religious faith does not go beyond belief in God and the moral order; and they welcome unity with them.

We can arrive at the same set of conclusions if we re-examine the objectives set before us in the social Encyclicals. These objectives fall under the general head of a new and better social order. In the field of economics they envisage such technical matters as banking, credit and financing policies, industrial management, labor relations, price structure, wage scales, social insurance, international exchange, tariffs, control of raw materials, shipping, railroading—in a word, the whole economic order. In the sociological field, the scheme of reorganization is even wider, including such fundamental problems as the restoration of the family as the unit of society, and the related problems of the school. In the political field, all national and international problems are embraced. Summarily, in the words of Pius XI, the total objective is "every value in the political as well as the economic life of nations."

Now, the political and economic life of nations is not in the hands of Catholics. And yet somehow Catholics are to bring about its total renovation. How? By talking about it? Partly, but not wholly. They are to make an appeal for collaboration—and for collaboration based on a motive that is essentially religious, in a matter that is essentially secular. It may be noted that this is precisely what the British bishops did, under the leadership of the late Cardinal Hinsley. reason for such an appeal to religious forces is derived from the papal Encyclicals: the Popes seem definitely to teach that as a matter of fact, and in the present dispensation, the renovation of secular society cannot be effected save by forces that are animated by belief in God and—what is more—love of Him. It is true that this renovation is to be based on the natural law; nevertheless, the rational convictions of the ethical philosopher will not, as a matter of fact, furnish a sufficiently powerful motivation to carry it through. The natural law must be grasped for what it is—the divine law—with the vividness and strength possible only to a mind and heart in which dwells a deeply religious faith in God, its Author, and the Judge of its observance. Indeed, the Popes go further, and definitely imply that the principal power behind the conception and carrying through of the needed program of social reform must be a personal love of Christ, the Savior of the world. At any rate, this is what I mean when I say that the motive behind the appeal for collaboration is essentially religious.

#### The Farther Goal

But the renovation of secular society is not the whole Catholic program, nor even the principal part of it. The paramount interest is the religious adherence of all men, through faith and love, to the supernatural unity of the Church of Christ, which is the Church in communion with the successor of Peter. It is primarily for this that the Church exists at all. Historically, however, as Mr. Christopher Dawson has pointed out, "heresy and schism have derived their main impulse from sociological causes." Not that these causes actually furnished the doctrines which disrupted unity; but they were the natural and human motives which caused those doctrines to be embraced.

The full teaching of the Church, even as shown forth in all the Encyclicals, really proposes two distinct and successive steps that have to be taken before society can be really organized on the basis of a full and integral Christianity. The first step is the healing of the social conflicts that divide men, as a preliminary to the second step, religious union. As Mr. Dawson has well said: "The ideologies which today form the opposite poles of social tension are not religious, but political, national, and economic ones, which have cut across and largely obliterated the older socio-religious divisions which separated Catholic and Protestant Europe"65 (and, it may well be added, also the United States, which, in its racial origins and cultural traditions, is a crosssection of Europe). This patent fact seems to me to be an evidence of the deep wisdom of the Popes, who saw that a natural union must precede any union on the supernatural plane, and who consequently presented the unusual picture of religious teachers recalling the world to the social, economic, and political truths which are universal because they lie at the basis of human nature and are derived from divine law. It is the old Scholastic axiom: primum in intentione, ultimum in executione.

It seems to me that what the Popes have been telling us all these years is that it is our duty to prepare for the coming of the religious union of mankind by first bringing about a union of wills on the natural plane. I cannot otherwise explain the extreme preoccupation of the Popes with what must seem at first sight to be purely temporal and

<sup>64</sup> The Judgment of the Nations, p. 178 65 Ibid., p. 181.

secular affairs. That also seems to me to explain why the appeal for co-operation is not put on purely natural grounds, but on religious ones, on the broad basis of a common belief in God, leading to a common acceptance of the divine law, as shown forth in the natural law. This, they seem to tell us, is the first and necessary step to the ultimate Christianization of society. Natural society must reflect its Creator before it accepts its Redeemer.

In any case, the Popes have commanded us to unite with non-Catholics on this secular field. The British Catholics have taken the command seriously and have obeyed it. They have successfully invited their non-Catholic fellow-citizens to join with them on a basis of the papal plans. In this country we have not obeyed, and we remain progressively isolated from the course of human events, as the Church was for so many years in Europe. And there is every evidence that the enemies of God and Christ in this country have full intentions of keeping us isolated, by branding us as "clerical fascists" and similar foes to the nation. <sup>56</sup>

It may be worth while to speculate on the reasons for our failure. Perhaps we instinctively feel that by following the British example we may do more harm than good. I mean that we may fear misunderstanding. We have ingrown in us a feeling that we are the object of suspicion on the part of non-Catholics, who think that whenever we move on the secular field we are merely looking to the political aggrandizement of the Church.

There is no doubt about this feeling, and there is no doubt, either, about the suspicion. But it seems to me that our social isolation is rather the cause of the suspicion than the result of it. As long as our socio-economic reform movement remains an exclusively Catholic movement, so long will non-Catholics naturally harbor the suspicion that we wish to make society to our image and likeness for our own mysterious and dangerous purposes. The best way to break down the suspicion, as the British experiment shows, is to work along with non-Catholics who believe as we do on the fundamental truths about society, and thus let them see at first hand that our aims are no different from theirs. At the very least, this close connection with them will give them the guarantee that we will not be able to plot any sinister

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Cf. George P. West, "The Catholic Issue," New Republic, March 1, 1943; G. Salvemini, "Pius XII and Fascism," ibid., March 8, 1943; examples might be multiplied.

social and political revolution of our own. At the best, it will give us the opportunity, so long desired by the Popes, of preaching a full and satisfying Christian regeneration and thus of preparing the way, on the natural plane, for the coming of the Holy Spirit to society as a whole.

One last word remains to be said about the motive for our own co-operation. It is, of course, Christian charity. I mean that we have to rid ourselves of that curious crypto-Calvinism which thinks that God gives His grace only to Catholics. We have no right to push our dogmatic exclusiveness into the field of human relations. "God's family" is truly the object of God's love, and all those who believe in God are, as Pius XII calls them, peculiarly our brothers. It is this fraternal affection which all the Popes quoted rely upon to create a union based on that "practical rule" of Leo XIII: "It is Christian prudence not to reject, but rather to win over the collaboration of all men of good will in the pursuit of individual and especially of social welfare."