

HOW THE
CATHOLIC
CHURCH
BUILT
WESTERN
CIVILIZATION

Thomas E. Woods, Jr.



NOTES

Chapter One

THE INDISPENSABLE CHURCH

1. See, for example, Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Edward M. Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
2. Christopher Knight and Robert Lomas, *Second Messiah* (Gloucester, Mass.: Fair Winds Press, 2001), 70.
3. *Ibid.*, 71.
4. J. L. Heilbron, *The Sun in the Church: Cathedrals as Solar Observatories* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 3.
5. Réginald Grégoire, Léo Moulin, and Raymond Oursel, *The Monastic Realm* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 277.
6. Harold J. Berman, *The Interaction of Law and Religion* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1974), 59.

Chapter Two

A LIGHT IN THE DARKNESS

1. Will Durant, *Caesar and Christ* (New York: MJF Books, 1950), 79.
2. Henri Daniel-Rops, *The Church in the Dark Ages*, trans. Audrey Butler (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1959), 59.

3. J. N. Hillgarth, ed., *Christianity and Paganism, 350–750: The Conversion of Western Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 69.
4. *Ibid.*, 70.
5. Gustav Schnürer, *Church and Culture in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, trans. George J. Undreiner (Paterson, NJ: Saint Anthony Guild Press, 1956), 285.
6. Joseph H. Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (London: Longman, 1992), 89.
7. *Ibid.*, 95; Kenneth Clark, *Civilisation: A Personal View* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1969), 18.
8. Lynch, 95.
9. L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 95.
10. Philippe Wolff, *The Awakening of Europe* (New York: Penguin Books, 1968), 57.
11. *Ibid.*, 77.
12. David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1988), 69.
13. Wolff, 48–49.
14. Knowles, 66.
15. Wolff, 153ff.
16. Andrew Fleming West, *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), 179.
17. Christopher Dawson, *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture* (New York: Image Books, 1991 [1950]), 66.
18. *Ibid.* Emphasis added.
19. Daniel-Rops, 538.
20. Wolff, 183.
21. *Ibid.*, 177–78.

Chapter Three

HOW THE MONKS SAVED CIVILIZATION

1. Philip Hughes, *A History of the Church*, vol. 1, rev. ed. (London: Sheed and Ward, 1948), 138–39.

2. *Ibid.*, 140.
3. A degree of centralization was introduced into the Benedictine tradition in the early tenth century with the establishment of the monastery of Cluny. The abbot of Cluny possessed authority over all monasteries that were affiliated with that venerable house and appointed priors to oversee day-to-day activity in each monastery.
4. Will Durant, *The Age of Faith* (New York: MJF Books, 1950), 519.
5. G. Cyprian Alston, "The Benedictine Order," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 1913.
6. Alexander Clarence Flick, *The Rise of the Mediaeval Church* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1909), 216.
7. Henry H. Goodell, "The Influence of the Monks in Agriculture," address delivered before the Massachusetts State Board of Agriculture, August 23, 1901, 22. Copy in the Goodell Papers at the University of Massachusetts.
8. Flick, 223.
9. See John Henry Cardinal Newman, *Essays and Sketches*, vol. 3, Charles Frederick Harrold, ed. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1948), 264–65.
10. Goodell, "The Influence of the Monks in Agriculture," 11.
11. *Ibid.*, 6.
12. Charles Montalembert, *The Monks of the West: From Saint Benedict to Saint Bernard*, vol. 5 (London: Nimmo, 1896), 208.
13. Goodell, "The Influence of the Monks in Agriculture," 7–8.
14. *Ibid.*, 8.
15. *Ibid.*, 8, 9.
16. *Ibid.*, 10.
17. Montalembert, 198–99.
18. John B. O'Connor, *Monasticism and Civilization* (New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1921), 35–36.
19. Jean Gimpel, *The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1976), 5.
20. Randall Collins, *Weberian Sociological Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 53–54.
21. Gimpel, 5.
22. *Ibid.*, 3.

23. Quoted in David Luckhurst, "Monastic Watermills," Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, no. 8 (London, n.d.), 6; quoted in Gimpel, 5–6.
24. Gimpel, 67.
25. Ibid., 68.
26. Ibid., 1.
27. Réginald Grégoire, Léo Moulin, and Raymond Oursel, *The Monastic Realm* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 271.
28. Ibid., 275.
29. Stanley L. Jaki, "Medieval Creativity in Science and Technology," in *Patterns and Principles and Other Essays* (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1995), 81; see also Lynn White Jr., "Eilmer of Malmesbury, an Eleventh-Century Aviator: A Case Study of Technological Innovation, Its Context and Tradition," *Technology and Culture* 2 (1961): 97–111.
30. Joseph MacDonnell, S.J., *Jesuit Geometers* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1989), 21–22.
31. David Derbyshire, "Henry 'Stamped Out Industrial Revolution,'" *Telegraph* [U.K.], June 21, 2002; see also "Henry's Big Mistake," *Discover*, February 1999.
32. Montalembert, 225, 89–90.
33. Ibid., 227.
34. Ibid., 227–28. Montalembert misspells Bishop Absalon's name.
35. O'Connor, 118.
36. Montalembert, 151–52.
37. L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 83.
38. Ibid., 81–82.
39. Montalembert, 145.
40. Ibid., 146; Raymund Webster, "Pope Blessed Victor III," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 1913.
41. Montalembert, 146. On this overall topic, see also Newman, 320–21.
42. Newman, 316–17.
43. Ibid., 319.
44. Ibid., 317–19.

45. Reynolds and Wilson, 109.
46. Ibid., 109–10.
47. O'Connor, 115.
48. Montalembert, 139.
49. Newman, 321.
50. Montalembert, 143.
51. Ibid., 142.
52. Ibid., 118.
53. Alston, "The Benedictine Order."
54. Thomas Cahill, *How the Irish Saved Civilization* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 150, 158.
55. Adolf von Harnack, quoted in O'Connor, 90.
56. Flick, 222–23.

Chapter Four

THE CHURCH AND THE UNIVERSITY

1. Cf. Charles Homer Haskins, *The Rise of Universities* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957 [1923]), 1; idem, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cleveland: Meridian, 1957 [1927]), 369; Lowrie J. Daly, *The Medieval University, 1200–1400* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961), 213–14.
2. Daly, 4.
3. Richard C. Dales, *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980), 208.
4. "Universities," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913. The universities that lacked charters had come into being spontaneously *ex consuetudine*.
5. Ibid.
6. Gordon Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968), 18.
7. Daly, 167.
8. Joseph H. Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (London: Longman, 1992), 250.
9. Daly, 163–64.

10. Ibid., 22.
11. A. B. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities: Their Development and Organization* (London: Methuen & Co., 1975), 82–83.
12. Daly, 168.
13. “Universities”; Cobban, 57.
14. “Universities.”
15. Daly, 202.
16. Leff, 10.
17. Ibid., 8–9.
18. The classic study is Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*; see also idem, *The Rise of Universities*, 4–5.
19. Daly, 132–33.
20. Ibid., 135.
21. Ibid., 136.
22. Edward Grant, *God and Reason in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 184.
23. Ibid., 146.
24. This formulation of Anselm’s claim belongs to Dr. William Marra (d. 1998), an old friend who for decades taught philosophy at Fordham University, and who belonged to that minority tradition of Western philosophers who believed that Saint Anselm’s proof succeeded in demonstrating the necessity of God’s existence.
25. Quoted in Grant, 60–61.
26. David C. Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 196.
27. On Abelard as a faithful son of the Church rather than an eighteenth-century rationalist, see David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1988), 111ff.
28. Daly, 105.
29. See the excellent article by James A. Sadowsky, S.J., “Can There Be an Endless Regress of Causes?” in *Philosophy of Religion: A Guide and Anthology*, Brian Davies, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 239–42.
30. Henri Daniel-Rops, *Cathedral and Crusade*, trans. John Warrington (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1957), 311.
31. Ibid., 308.

32. Lindberg, 363.
33. Christopher Dawson, *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture* (New York: Image Books, 1991 [1950]), 190–91.
34. Grant, 356.
35. Ibid., 364.

Chapter Five

THE CHURCH AND SCIENCE

1. J. G. Hagen, “Nicolaus Copernicus,” *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 1913.
2. Jerome J. Langford, O.P., *Galileo, Science and the Church* (New York: Desclee, 1966), 35.
3. Joseph MacDonnell, S.J., *Jesuit Geometers* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1989), 19.
4. Ibid.
5. Langford, 45, 52.
6. Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) proposed an astronomical system that fell somewhere between Ptolemaic geocentrism and Copernican heliocentrism. In this system, all the planets except Earth revolved around the sun, but the sun revolved around a stationary Earth.
7. Ibid., 68–69.
8. Cf. Jacques Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001), 40; a good brief treatment of the issue appears in H. W. Crocker III, *Triumph* (Roseville, Calif.: Prima, 2001), 309–11.
9. James Brodrick, *The Life and Work of Blessed Robert Francis Cardinal Bellarmine, S.J., 1542–1621*, vol. 2 (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1928), 359.
10. James J. Walsh, *The Popes and Science* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1911), 296–97.
11. Edward Grant, “Science and Theology in the Middle Ages,” in *God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter Between Christianity and Science*, David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 63.
12. MacDonnell, Appendix 1, 6–7.

13. J. L. Heilbron, *The Sun in the Church: Cathedrals as Solar Observatories* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 203.
14. Zdenek Kopal, "The Contribution of Boscovich to Astronomy and Geodesy," in *Roger Joseph Boscovich, S.J., F.R.S., 1711–1787*, Lancelot Law Whyte, ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), 175.
15. See Thomas E. Woods, Jr., *The Church and the Market: A Catholic Defense of the Free Economy* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington, 2005), 169–74.
16. Stanley L. Jaki, *Science and Creation: From Eternal Cycles to an Oscillating Universe* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1986), 150. "The coupling of the reasonability of the Creator and the constancy of nature is worth noting because it is there that lie the beginnings of the idea of the autonomy of nature and of its laws." *Ibid.* Cf. Ps. 8:4, 19:3-7, 104:9, 148:3, 6; Jer. 5:24, 31:35.
17. David Lindberg cites several instances in which Saint Augustine refers to this verse; see David C. Lindberg, "On the Applicability of Mathematics to Nature: Roger Bacon and His Predecessors," *British Journal for the History of Science* 15 (1982): 7.
18. Stanley L. Jaki, "Medieval Creativity in Science and Technology," in *Patterns or Principles and Other Essays* (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1995), 80.
19. Rodney Stark, *For the Glory of God* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 125.
20. Paul Haffner, *Creation and Scientific Creativity* (Front Royal, Va.: Christendom Press, 1991), 35.
21. *Ibid.*, 50.
22. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 581; quoted in Stark, 151.
23. Stanley L. Jaki, *The Savior of Science* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 77–78.
24. Stanley L. Jaki, "Myopia about Islam, with an Eye on Chesterbelloc," *The Chesterton Review* 28 (winter 2002): 500.
25. Richard C. Dales, *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980), 264.

26. Richard C. Dales, "The De-Animation of the Heavens in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 41 (1980): 535.
27. Quoted in Haffner, 39; see also 42.
28. A. C. Crombie, *Medieval and Early Modern Science*, vol. 1 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959), 58.
29. Haffner, 40.
30. Quoted in Ernest L. Fortin, "The Bible Made Me Do It: Christianity, Science, and the Environment," in *Ernest Fortin: Collected Essays*, vol. 3: *Human Rights, Virtue, and the Common Good: Untimely Meditations on Religion and Politics*, ed. J. Brian Benestad (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996), 122. Emphasis in Nietzsche's original (*Genealogy of Morals* III, 23–24).
31. For a good overview of Aristotle, projectiles, and impetus, see Herbert Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science, 1300–1800*, rev. ed. (New York: Free Press, 1957), Chapter 1: "The Historical Importance of a Theory of Impetus."
32. On Buridan and inertial motion, see Stanley L. Jaki, "Science: Western or What?" in *Patterns or Principles and Other Essays*, 169–71.
33. Crombie, vol. 2, 72–73; on the differences between Buridan's impetus and modern ideas of inertia, see Butterfield, 25.
34. Jaki, "Science: Western or What?" 170–71.
35. *Ibid.*, 171.
36. Jaki, "Medieval Creativity in Science and Technology," 76.
37. *Ibid.*, 76–77.
38. *Ibid.*, 79.
39. Crombie, vol. 2, 73.
40. E. J. Dijksterhuis, *The Mechanization of the World Picture*, trans. C. Dikshoorn (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 106.
41. Thomas Goldstein, *Dawn of Modern Science: From the Ancient Greeks to the Renaissance* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995 [1980]), 71, 74.
42. Raymond Klibansky, "The School of Chartres," in *Twelfth Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, eds. Marshall Clagett, Gaines Post, and Robert Reynolds (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), 9–10.

43. Cf. David C. Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 200.
44. Goldstein, 88.
45. Edward Grant, *God and Reason in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
46. Goldstein, 82.
47. Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science*, 200.
48. *Ibid.*, 201.
49. Jaki, *Science and Creation*, 220–21.
50. Goldstein, 77.
51. *Ibid.*, 82.
52. On the Latin Averroists, see Etienne Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), 54–66.
53. Dales, *Intellectual Life*, 254.
54. Sympathetic to this argument are A. C. Crombie, *Medieval and Early Modern Science*, vol. 1, 64 and vol. 2, 35–36; Grant, *God and Reason in the Middle Ages*, 213ff., 220–21; idem, *The Foundations of Modern Science in the Middle Ages: Their Religious, Institutional, and Intellectual Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 78–83, 147–48. More skeptical but conceding the essential point is Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science*, 238, 365.
55. Dales, “The De-Animation of the Heavens in the Middle Ages,” 550.
56. *Ibid.*, 546.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Richard C. Dales, “A Twelfth Century Concept of the Natural Order,” *Viator* 9 (1978): 179.
59. *Ibid.*, 191.
60. Haffner, 41.
61. Edward Grant, “The Condemnation of 1277, God's Absolute Power, and Physical Thought in the Late Middle Ages,” *Viator* 10 (1979): 242–44.
62. Walsh, 292–93.
63. A. C. Crombie and J. D. North, “Bacon, Roger,” in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. Charles C. Gillispie (New York: Charles

- Scribner's Sons, 1970), 378. The *Dictionary* shall hereinafter be cited as DSB.
64. William A. Wallace, O.P., “Albertus Magnus, Saint,” in DSB, 99.
65. Walsh, 297.
66. Dales, “The De-Animation of the Heavens,” 540.
67. William B. Ashworth, Jr., “Catholicism and Early Modern Science,” in Lindberg and Numbers, eds., *God and Nature*, 146.
68. Alan Cutler, *The Seashell on the Mountaintop* (New York: Dutton, 2003), 106.
69. *Ibid.*, 113–14.
70. David R. Oldroyd, *Thinking About the Earth: A History of Ideas in Geology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 63–67; see also A. Wolf, *A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938), 359–60.
71. Cutler, 109–12.
72. Jonathan Wright, *The Jesuits: Missions, Myths and Histories* (London: HarperCollins, 2004), 189.
73. J. L. Heilbron, *Electricity in the 17th and 18th Centuries: A Study of Early Modern Physics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 2.
74. Ashworth, “Catholicism and Early Modern Science,” 154.
75. *Ibid.*, 155.
76. MacDonnell, 71.
77. The Jesuits were suppressed in 1773 and later restored in 1814.
78. Agustín Udías, *Searching the Heavens and the Earth: The History of Jesuit Observatories* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 53.
79. *Ibid.*, 147.
80. *Ibid.*, 125.
81. Heilbron, 88.
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.*, 88–89.
84. Ashworth, “Catholicism and Early Modern Science,” 155.
85. Heilbron, 180.
86. *Ibid.*, 87–88.

87. Bruce S. Eastwood, "Grimaldi, Francesco Maria," in DSB, 542.
88. On the relationship of Grimaldi's work to Newton's, see Roger H. Stuewer, "A Critical Analysis of Newton's Work on Diffraction," *Isis* 61 (1970): 188–205.
89. For a brief discussion, with diagrams, of Grimaldi's experiments, see A. Wolf, *A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938), 254–56.
90. Sir Harold Hartley, "Foreword," in Whyte, ed., *Roger Joseph Boscovich*, 8.
91. MacDonnell, 76.
92. Elizabeth Hill, "Roger Boscovich: A Biographical Essay," in Whyte, ed., *Roger Joseph Boscovich*, 34–35; Adolf Muller, "Ruggiero Giuseppe Boscovich," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 1913.
93. Hill, "Roger Boscovich: A Biographical Essay," 34.
94. Zeljko Marković, "Boskovic, Rudjer J.," in DSB, 326.
95. Lancelot Law Whyte, "Boscovich's Atomism," in Whyte, ed., *Roger Joseph Boscovich*, 102.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid., 103–104.
98. MacDonnell, 10–11.
99. Whyte, "Boscovich's Atomism," 105.
100. Ibid., 119.
101. For these and additional testimonies, see *ibid.*, 121.
102. MacDonnell, 11.
103. Hill, "Roger Boscovich: A Biographical Essay," 41–42.
104. J. R. Partington, *A History of Chemistry*, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan, 1961), 328–33; MacDonnell, 13.
105. Cutler, 68.
106. MacDonnell, 12.
107. Erik Iverson, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs* (Copenhagen, 1961), 97–98; quoted in MacDonnell, 12.
108. Agustín Udías, S.J., and William Suauder, "Jesuits in Seismology," *Jesuits in Science Newsletter* 13 (1997); Benjamin F. Howell, Jr., *An Introduction to Seismological Research: History and Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 31–32. For more

- on Jesuit work in seismology in North America, see Udías, *Searching the Heavens and the Earth*, 103–24.
109. Udías and Suauder, "Jesuits in Seismology."
110. MacDonnell, 20, 54.
111. For a detailed and graphical explanation of Cassini's method, see Heilbron, Chapter 3, especially 102–12.
112. J. L. Heilbron, Annual Invitation Lecture to the Scientific Instrument Society, Royal Institution, London, December 6, 1995.
113. William J. Broad, "How the Church Aided 'Heretical' Astronomy," *New York Times*, October 19, 1999.
114. Heilbron, 112. Heilbron uses what in this context is the rather technical term "bisection of the eccentricity" to refer to what Cassini discovered. The phrase simply refers to elliptical planetary orbits, which are sometimes said to be "eccentric."
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid., 5.
117. Ibid., 3.

Chapter Six

ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND THE CHURCH

1. Saint John of Damascus, *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, trans. Andrew Louth (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2003), 69–70.
2. Ibid., 29.
3. Ibid., 29–30.
4. "Orthodoxy" in this case does not refer to the Orthodox Church, since the Great Schism that divided Catholics and Orthodox would not occur until 1054; the term refers instead to *traditional belief*.
5. Paul Johnson, *Art: A New History* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), 153.
6. John W. Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages, 1000–1300* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1971), 107; Robert A. Scott, *The Gothic Enterprise* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 124–25.
7. Scott, 125.

8. Baldwin, 107.
9. Scott, 103–104.
10. Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130–1530* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 65–66.
11. *Ibid.*, 275–76.
12. Baldwin, 107–08.
13. *Ibid.*, 108.
14. Scott, 132.
15. Stanley L. Jaki, “Medieval Creativity in Science and Technology,” in *Patterns or Principles and Other Essays* (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 1995), 75.
16. The book in question is Robert Scott’s *The Gothic Enterprise*.
17. Alexander Clarence Frick, *The Rise of the Mediaeval Church* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1909), 600.
18. Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (New York: Meridian, 1985 [1951]), 69–70.
19. James Franklin, “The Renaissance Myth,” *Quadrant* 26 (November 1982): 53–54.
20. Kenneth Clark, *Civilisation* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1969), 186; quoted in Joseph E. MacDonnell, *Companions of Jesuits: A Tradition of Collaboration* (Fairfield, Conn.: Humanities Institute, 1995).
21. Louis Gillet, “Raphael,” *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 1913.
22. Klemens Löffler, “Pope Leo X,” *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 1913.
23. Will Durant, *The Renaissance* (New York: MJF Books, 1953), 484.
24. Fred S. Kleiner, Christin J. Mamiya, and Richard G. Tansey, *Gardner’s Art Through the Ages*, 11th ed., vol. 1 (New York: Wadsworth, 2001), 526–27.
25. Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., *The Heritage of Giotto’s Geometry: Art and Science on the Eve of the Scientific Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 10.
26. *Ibid.*, 4.
27. *Ibid.*, 289.

Chapter Seven

THE ORIGINS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

1. Bernice Hamilton, *Political Thought in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 98; J. A. Fernandez-Santamaria, *The State, War and Peace: Spanish Political Thought in the Renaissance, 1516–1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 60–61.
2. Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965 [1949]), 17.
3. Carl Watner, “‘All Mankind Is One’: The Libertarian Tradition in Sixteenth Century Spain,” *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 8 (Summer 1987): 295–96.
4. Michael Novak, *The Universal Hunger for Liberty* (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 24. This title is also applied to the Dutch Protestant Hugo Grotius.
5. Marcelo Sánchez-Sorondo, “Vitoria: The Original Philosopher of Rights,” in *Hispanic Philosophy in the Age of Discovery*, Kevin White, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1997), 66.
6. Watner, “‘All Mankind Is One,’” 294; Watner is quoting from Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind Is One* (De Kalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 142.
7. James Brown Scott, *The Spanish Origin of International Law* (Washington, D.C.: School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 1928), 65.
8. Cf. Sánchez-Sorondo, “Vitoria: The Original Philosopher of Rights,” 60.
9. Venancio D. Carro, “The Spanish Theological-Juridical Renaissance and the Ideology of Bartolome de Las Casas,” in *Bartolomé de Las Casas in History: Toward an Understanding of the Man and His Work*, eds. Juan Friede and Benjamin Keen (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971), 251–52.
10. *Ibid.*, 253.
11. *Ibid.*

12. Fernandez-Santamaria, 79.
13. Hamilton, 61.
14. Scott, 41.
15. *Ibid.*, 61.
16. *Summa Theologiae*, II-II, q. 10, a. 8.
17. Sánchez-Sorondo, "Vitoria: The Original Philosopher of Rights," 67.
18. Hamilton, 19.
19. *Ibid.*, 21.
20. *Ibid.*, 24.
21. Fernandez-Santamaria, 78.
22. Brian Tierney, *The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law, 1150–1625* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2001 [1997]), 269–70.
23. Eduardo Andújar, "Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda: Moral Theology versus Political Philosophy," in White, ed., *Hispanic Philosophy*, 76–78.
24. *Ibid.*, 87.
25. Rafael Alvira and Alfredo Cruz, "The Controversy Between Las Casas and Sepúlveda at Valladolid," in White, ed., *Hispanic Philosophy*, 93.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, 95.
28. *Ibid.*, 92–93.
29. Andújar, "Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda," 84.
30. Carro, "The Spanish Theological-Juridical Renaissance," 275.
31. Quoted in Watner, "All Mankind Is One," 303–04.
32. Lewis H. Hanke, *Bartolomé de Las Casas: An Interpretation of His Life and Writings* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1951), 87.
33. Cf. Carlos G. Noreña, "Francisco Suárez on Democracy and International Law," in White, ed., *Hispanic Philosophy*, 271.
34. Fernandez-Santamaria, 62.
35. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People*, vol. 1, *Prehistory to 1789* (New York: Meridian, 1994 [1965]), 40.

36. Quoted in Robert C. Royal, *Columbus On Trial: 1492 v. 1992*, 2nd ed. (Herndon, Va.: Young America's Foundation, 1993), 23–24.
37. Cf. C. Brown, "Old World v. New: Culture Shock in 1492," *Peninsula* [Harvard], Sept. 1992, 11.
38. Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice*, 178–79.

Chapter Eight

THE CHURCH AND ECONOMICS

1. Joseph A. Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 97.
2. Thus see Raymond de Roover, "The Concept of the Just Price: Theory and Economic Policy," *Journal of Economic History* 18 (1958): 418–34; *idem*, *Business, Banking, and Economic Thought in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Selected Studies of Raymond de Roover*, ed. Julius Kirshner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), esp. 306–45; Alejandro A. Chafuen, *Faith and Liberty: The Economic Thought of the Late Scholastics* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington, 2003); Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson, *The School of Salamanca: Readings in Spanish Monetary Theory, 1544–1605* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952); *idem*, *Early Economic Thought in Spain, 1177–1740* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978); Joseph Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954); Murray N. Rothbard, *An Austrian Perspective on the History of Economic Thought*, vol. 1, *Economic Thought Before Adam Smith* (Hants, England: Edward Elgar, 1995), 99–133.
3. Rothbard, *Economic Thought Before Adam Smith*, 73–74. Ludwig von Mises, the great twentieth-century economist, showed that money had to originate in this way.
4. *Ibid.*, 74; see also Thomas E. Woods, Jr., *The Church and the Market: A Catholic Defense of the Free Economy* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington, 2005), 87–89, 93.
5. Jörg Guido Hülsmann, "Nicholas Oresme and the First Monetary Treatise," May 8, 2004
<http://www.mises.org/fullstory.aspx?control=1516>.
6. Rothbard, *Economic Thought Before Adam Smith*, 76.

7. Hülsmann, "Nicholas Oresme and the First Monetary Treatise."
8. Chafuen, 62.
9. For a good overview of key imagery in the Bible, and particularly of the oft-contested Matthew 16:18, see Stanley L. Jaki, *The Keys of the Kingdom: A Tool's Witness to Truth* (Chicago, Ill.: Franciscan Herald Press, 1986).
10. Rothbard, *Economic Thought Before Adam Smith*, 100–101.
11. *Ibid.*, 60–61.
12. *Ibid.*, 62.
13. Murray N. Rothbard, "New Light on the Prehistory of the Austrian School," in *The Foundations of Modern Austrian Economics*, ed. Edwin G. Dolan (Kansas City: Sheed & Ward, 1976), 55.
14. Chafuen, 84–85.
15. *Ibid.*, 84.
16. "Carl Menger is best understood in the context of nineteenth-century Aristotelian/neo-scholasticism." Samuel Bostaph, "The *Methodenstreit*," in *The Elgar Companion to Austrian Economics*, ed. Peter J. Boettke (Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar, 1994), 460.
17. Carl Menger, *Principles of Economics*, trans. James Dingwall and Bert F. Hoselitz (Grove City, Penn.: Libertarian Press, 1994), 64–66.
18. But for a direct reply to Marx, see the neglected classic by Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk, *Karl Marx and the Close of His System* (London: TF Unwin, 1898). An even stronger and more fundamental argument, which exposes Marx's position as entirely wrongheaded (and which does not in fact rely on subjective value theory), can be found in George Reisman, *Capitalism* (Ottawa, Ill.: Jameson Books, 1996).
19. Emil Kauder, *A History of Marginal Utility Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 5.
20. Locke is frequently misunderstood on this point, so it is worth noting that he did not believe in the labor theory of value. Locke's teaching on labor had to do with the justice of initial acquisition in a world of unowned goods. Locke taught that in a state of nature, in which few if any goods belong to individuals as private property, someone may justly claim a good or a parcel of land as his own if he mixes his labor with it—if he clears a field, for example, or simply picks an apple from

- a tree. The exertion of his labor gives him a moral claim to the good with which he has mixed his labor. Once a good has come to be privately owned, it is no longer necessary that anyone continue to apply labor to it in order to call it his own. Privately owned goods are the legitimate property of their owners if they have been acquired either directly from the state of nature, as we have seen, or if they have been acquired by means of purchase or a voluntary grant by someone possessing legitimate title to it. None of this has anything to do with assigning *value* to goods on the basis of the expenditure of labor; Locke is concerned instead to vindicate a *moral and legal claim to ownership* of goods acquired in the state of nature on the basis of the initial expenditure of labor upon them.
21. Kauder, 5–6.
 22. *Ibid.*, 9. Emphasis added.
 23. Scholasticism had come to be despised, both by Protestants and by rationalists, and explicit reference to the work of the late Scholastics on the part of some of their successors was, for that reason, sometimes fleeting. It is still possible for historians of thought to trace the Scholastics' influence, however, particularly since even the enemies of Scholasticism nevertheless cited their work explicitly. See Rothbard, "New Light on the Prehistory of the Austrian School," 65–67.
 24. On the late Scholastics' subsequent influence I am heavily indebted to Rothbard's "New Light on the Prehistory of the Austrian School."
 25. Rothbard, "New Light on the Prehistory of the Austrian School," 66.
 26. For my own development of late Scholastic insights, see Woods, *The Church and the Market: A Catholic Defense of the Free Economy*.
 27. Rothbard, "New Light on the Prehistory of the Austrian School," 67.

Chapter Nine

HOW CATHOLIC CHARITY CHANGED THE WORLD

1. Alvin J. Schmidt, *Under the Influence: How Christianity Transformed Civilization* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2001), 130.
2. Michael Davies, *For Altar and Throne: The Rising in the Vendée* (St. Paul, Minn.: Remnant Press, 1997), 13.

3. Vincent Carroll and David Shiflett, *Christianity on Trial* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2002), 142.
4. William Edward Hartpole Lecky, *History of European Morals From Augustus to Charlemagne*, vol. 1 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1870), 199–200.
5. *Ibid.*, 201.
6. *Ibid.*, 202. For a good discussion of the absence of the Christian idea of charity in the ancient world, see Gerhard Uhlhorn, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883), 2–44.
7. Lecky, 83.
8. John A. Ryan, "Charity and Charities," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 1913; C[harles Guillaume Adolphe] Schmidt, *The Social Results of Early Christianity* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1907), 251.
9. Uhlhorn, 264.
10. Cajetan Baluffi, *The Charity of the Church*, trans. Denis Gargan (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1885), 39; Schmidt, *Under the Influence*, 157.
11. Lecky, 87; Baluffi, 14–15; Schmidt, *Social Results of Early Christianity*, 328.
12. Uhlhorn, 187–88.
13. Schmidt, *Under the Influence*, 152.
14. Baluffi, 42–43; Schmidt, *Social Results of Early Christianity*, 255–56.
15. Schmidt, *Social Results of Early Christianity*, 328.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Schmidt, *Under the Influence*, 153–55.
18. Ryan, "Charity and Charities"; Guenter B. Risse, *Mending Bodies, Saving Souls: A History of Hospitals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 79ff.
19. Risse, 73.
20. Fielding H. Garrison, *An Introduction of the History of Medicine* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1914), 118; cited in Schmidt, *Under the Influence*, 131.
21. Lecky, 85.

22. Roberto Margotta, *The History of Medicine*, Paul Lewis, ed. (New York: Smithmark, 1996), 52.
23. Risse, 95.
24. *Ibid.*, 138.
25. *Ibid.*, 141.
26. *Ibid.*, 141–42.
27. *Ibid.*, 147.
28. *Ibid.*, 149.
29. Carroll and Shiflett, 143.
30. Baluffi, 16.
31. *Ibid.*, 185.
32. Quoted in Ryan, "Charity and Charities."
33. Baluffi, 257.
34. Neil S. Rushton, "Monastic Charitable Provision in Tudor England: Quantifying and Qualifying Poor Relief in the Early Sixteenth Century," *Continuity and Change* 16 (2001): 34. I have rendered this portion of the petition in modern English.
35. William Cobbett, *A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland* (Rockford, Ill.: TAN, 1988 [1896]), 112.
36. Philip Hughes, *A Popular History of the Reformation* (Garden City, N.Y.: Hanover House, 1957), 205.
37. Henri Daniel-Rops, *The Protestant Reformation*, trans. Audrey Butler (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1961), 475.
38. Rushton, "Monastic Charitable Provision in Tudor England," 10.
39. *Ibid.*, 11.
40. Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 22, 33.
41. Georg Ratzinger, quoted in Ryan, "Charity and Charities."
42. Lecky, 89.
43. Harvey, 18.
44. *Ibid.*, 13.
45. Davies, 11.

Chapter Ten

THE CHURCH AND WESTERN LAW

1. Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 166.
2. *Ibid.*, 195.
3. *Ibid.*, 143.
4. Harold J. Berman, "The Influence of Christianity Upon the Development of Law," *Oklahoma Law Review* 12 (1959): 93.
5. Harold J. Berman, *Faith and Order: The Reconciliation of Law and Religion* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 44.
6. Berman, "Influence of Christianity Upon the Development of Law," 93.
7. Berman, *Law and Revolution*, 228.
8. Berman, "Influence of Christianity Upon the Development of Law," 93.
9. Berman, *Law and Revolution*, 188.
10. *Ibid.*, 189.
11. Cf. *ibid.*, 179.
12. A distillation can be found in Berman, *Law and Revolution*, 177ff.
13. This line of thought, although familiar to us, contains within it the potential danger that criminal law, in its eagerness to vindicate justice in the abstract by means of retributive punishment, may degenerate to a point at which it becomes interested *only* in retribution and abandons any attempt at restitution whatever. Thus today we have the perverse situation in which a violent criminal, instead of making at least some attempt to make restitution to his victim or to the latter's heirs, is himself supported by the tax dollars of the victim and his family. Thus the insistence that the criminal has offended *justice itself* and thus deserves punishment has completely overwhelmed the earlier sense that the criminal has offended *his victim* and owes restitution to whomever he has wronged.
14. Berman, *Law and Revolution*, 194–95.
15. Brian Tierney, *The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law, 1150–1625* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2001); see also Annabel S. Brett, *Liberty, Right and Nature: Individual Rights in Later Scholastic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Charles J. Reid, Jr., "The Canon-

- istic Contribution to the Western Rights Tradition: An Historical Inquiry," *Boston College Law Review* 33 (1991): 37–92; Kenneth Pennington, "The History of Rights in Western Thought," *Emory Law Journal* 47 (1998): 237–52.
16. Brian Tierney, "The Idea of Natural Rights: Origins and Persistence," *Northwestern University Journal of International Human Rights* 2 (April 2004): 5.
17. Tierney, "The Idea of Natural Rights," 6. Emphasis added.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Pennington, "The History of Rights in Western Thought."
20. Tierney, "The Idea of Natural Rights," 7.
21. *Ibid.*, 8.

Chapter Eleven

THE CHURCH AND WESTERN MORALITY

1. Alvin J. Schmidt, *Under the Influence: How Christianity Transformed Civilization* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2001), 128, 153.
2. Vincent Carroll and David Shiflett, *Christianity on Trial* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2002), 7.
3. Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin Classics, 1972), Book 1, Chapter 22.
4. *Ibid.*
5. ST IIa-IIae, q. 64, art. 5.
6. James J. Walsh, *The World's Debt to the Catholic Church* (Boston: The Stratford Co., 1924), 227.
7. For both of these quotations, see Schmidt, 63.
8. Leo XIII, *Pastoralis Officii* (1891), 2, 4.
9. Ernest L. Fortin, "Christianity and the Just War Theory," in *Ernest Fortin: Collected Essays*, vol. 3: *Human Rights, Virtue, and the Common Good: Untimely Meditations on Religion and Politics*, ed. J. Brian Benestad (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield, 1996), 285–86.
10. John Langan, S.J., "The Elements of St. Augustine's Just War Theory," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 12 (Spring 1984): 32.

11. ST, IIa-IIae, q. 40, art. 1. Internal references omitted.
12. Thomas A. Massaro, S.J., and Thomas A. Shannon, *Catholic Perspectives on Peace and War* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield, 2003), 17.
13. *Ibid.*, 18.
14. See Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), 123–26.
15. *Ibid.*, 126.
16. Schmidt, 80–82.
17. *Ibid.*, 84.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Robert Phillips, *Last Things First* (Fort Collins, Colo.: Roman Catholic Books, 2004), 104.

Conclusion

A WORLD WITHOUT GOD

1. For this discussion of these four particular characteristics I am indebted to Marvin Perry, et al., *Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics & Society*, 6th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 39–40.
2. Kierkegaard was a Protestant, though of course he is here describing an aspect of Christ that is shared in common with Catholics. Interestingly, moreover, Kierkegaard was very critical of Luther and deplored the suppression of the monastic tradition. See Alice von Hildebrand, “Kierkegaard: A Critic of Luther,” *The Latin Mass*, spring 2004, 10–14.
3. Murray N. Rothbard, “Karl Marx as Religious Eschatologist,” in *Requiem for Marx*, ed. Yuri N. Maltsev (Auburn, Ala: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 1993).
4. Murray N. Rothbard, “World War I as Fulfillment: Power and the Intellectuals,” in *The Costs of War*, ed. John V. Denson (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1997); for more recent examples of this phenomenon, see Paul Gottfried, *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002).
5. David C. Lindberg, *The Beginnings of Western Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 213.

6. On the success of the Church in America, see Thomas E. Woods, Jr., *The Church Confronts Modernity: Catholic Intellectuals and the Progressive Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).
7. Frederick Copleston, S.J., *A History of Philosophy*, vol. VII: *Modern Philosophy from the Post-Kantian Idealists to Marx, Kierkegaard, and Nietzsche* (New York: Doubleday, 1994 [1963]), 419.
8. For beautiful and hideous architecture see, respectively, Michael S. Rose, *In Tiers of Glory* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Mesa Folio, 2004), and Michael S. Rose, *Ugly as Sin* (Manchester, N.H.: Sophia Institute Press, 2001).
9. “Duchamp’s Urinal Tops Art Survey,” BBC News World Edition, December 1, 2004. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/4059997.stm>.