

ACTONINSTITUTE

Fall 2012 | Volume 22 | Number 4

Religion & Liberty

Inside this issue



Hearne First Citizen and Antilon: The Carroll-Dulany Debates • **Barnett** Still the Best Hope • **Walker** Rachel Carson's Environmental Religion • **Liberal Tradition** Metropolitan Philip II of Moscow • **Sirico** The Role of Profits



Christianity under Siege:
Building a Common Front in
Defense of the Faith

An Interview with Metropolitan Hilarion

A Journal of Religion, Economics, and Culture

Editor's Note



Christianity is the world's most persecuted faith today. Around 200 million Christians are denied fundamental human rights solely because of their faith in Christ. Metropolitan Hilarion of Volokolamsk, who is chairman of the Russian Church's Department of External Church Relations, is especially vocal against the crisis of slaughter and persecution that has persisted after the "Arab Spring." Sadly, this issue has far too few voices sounding the alarm, but the Russian Metropolitan is an important defender of religious freedom and the rights of Christians around the world.

Metropolitan Hilarion is also involved in ecumenical relations with Roman Catholics and conservative Protestants.

He touches on the topic in this interview and how the surge of liberal Protestantism is damaging Christian unity and cooperation with the Western world. This too, is a topic that is given far too little attention.

"First Citizen and Antilon" by Samuel Hearne is an important piece given the current rise of religious persecution by civil authorities in America. The 18th Century newspaper debate between Charles Carroll of Carrolton and Daniel Dulany helped to advance religious freedom, the rights of man, and the nature of government in colonial Maryland. The debate also resulted in Carroll's rise in Maryland as an important figure for American liberty as a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was the only Catholic signer of the document.

Timothy J. Barnett reviews Dennis Prager's *Still the Best Hope: Why the World Needs American Values to Triumph* and Bruce Edward Walker reviews *Silent Spring at 50: The False Crises of Rachel Carson*. That book was edited by Roger Meiners, Pierre Desrochers, and Andrew Morriss.

The "In the Liberal Tradition" figure is Metropolitan Philip II (1507 – 1569). Philip, a martyred Russian Orthodox monk, declared, "If I do not bear witness to the truth, I render myself unworthy of my office as a bishop. If I bow to men's will, what shall I find to answer Christ on the Day of Judgment?" It's a simple yet deep declaration for those in Church leadership to emulate today as some ecclesiastical leaders are pressured into bowing to the will and agenda of contemporary culture.

In light of the ongoing attacks on success in the private sector and private property, we offer an excerpt from Rev. Robert A. Sirico's *Defending the Free Market* on "The Role of Profits." Rev. Sirico asks, "if profits are morally dubious, are losses more ethical?"

It is my hope that this issue gives us added insight into how we think about many of the problems that plague our society, while equally offering encouragement and motivation to offer truth to the world.

Editorial Board

- Publisher:** Rev. Robert A. Sirico
- Executive Editor:** John Couretas
- Editor:** Rev. Raymond J. de Souza
- Managing Editor:** Ray Nothstine
- Graphics Editor:** Peter Ho

The Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty promotes a free society characterized by individual liberty and sustained by religious principles.

Letters and requests should be directed to: *Religion & Liberty*; Acton Institute; 98 E. Fulton Street, Suite 101; Grand Rapids, MI 49503. For archived issues or to subscribe, please visit www.acton.org/publicat/randl.

The views of the authors expressed in *Religion & Liberty* are not necessarily those of the Acton Institute.

© 2013 Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty.

Cover: Metropolitan Hilarion talks with Episcopal Bishop Daniel Martins at Nashotah House Theological Seminary, Nashotah, Wis., in October 2012. Photo credit: Nashotah House.

Contents

Christianity under Siege: Building a Common Front in Defense of the Faith:

Interview with Metropolitan Hilarion 3

First Citizen and Antilon: The Carroll-Dulany Debates: Samuel Hearne 4

Still the Best Hope: Why the World Needs American Values to Triumph: Timothy J. Barnett 7

Rachel Carson's Environmental Religion: Bruce Edward Walker 9

Acton FAQ 10

In the Liberal Tradition: Metropolitan Philip II 13

Column: Rev. Robert A. Sirico 14



Christianity under Siege: Building a Common Front in Defense of the Faith

An Interview with Metropolitan Hilarion

In early January 2013, a United Nations special envoy reported that the civil war in Syria had reached “unprecedented levels of horror” with an estimated death toll of more than 60,000 people. In the wake of the Arab Spring uprisings, the situation for Christians in Syria, and in many parts of the Middle East and North Africa, continues to deteriorate.

The Russian Orthodox Church has been among the most active witnesses against Christian persecution in Syria and other countries around the world. In a statement about the Middle East, the Russian Bishops’ Council warned of “the vanishing of Christianity in the lands where it has existed for two millennia and where the main events of the Holy History took place would become a spiritual and historical tragedy.”

The bishop in charge of external affairs for the Moscow Patriarchate, Metropolitan Hilarion (Alfeyev) of Volokolamsk, has compared the situation in Syria, after almost two years of fighting, to Iraq, which saw a virtual depopulation of Christians following the U.S. invasion in 2003.

Hilarion has also been active in ecumenical relations with Roman Catholics and conservative Protestants, including the Anglican Church of North America which represents U.S. and Canadian congregations. The Russian bishop has described the Roman Catholic Church as “the main bulwark” in the West standing in defense of traditional moral values. He has

worked to build stronger ties with other Christian communities but has also been outspoken about what he sees as a lack of “fidelity to Biblical principles in the realm of morality” in progressive Protestant churches.

Religion & Liberty Executive Editor John Couretas interviewed Hilarion in October 2012 at the Nashotah House Theological Seminary in Nashotah, Wis. He was at the Anglican seminary to receive an honorary Doctor of



Pope Benedict XVI greets Alfeyev Hilarion, Metropolitan of Volokolamsk, upon his arrival for a private audience at the Vatican.

Music degree. A noted composer as well as an accomplished Orthodox Christian theologian, he delivered a talk at Nashotah titled, “The Music of J.S. Bach as a Religious Phenomenon.” In the interview, the Russian bishop talks about the situation in the Middle East, the Balkans and North Africa, and ecumenical relations.

R&L: *What, in your mind, needs to happen in Syria to bring an end to the violence and to*

begin the process of reconciliation in that part of the world?

Metropolitan Hilarion: If we look at events which have been unfolding in the Middle East for the last 10 years, we can see a tendency, which is noticeable in many countries. And this has to do with the gradual extermination of Christianity in the Middle East due to various political reasons, due to great political instability, which is peculiar to many countries of this region. I think if we look at the example of Iraq, for example, we’ll see that 10 years ago there were 1.5 million Christians living in that country. Now, there are only 150,000 left. So nine-tenths of the Christian population of Iraq was either exterminated or had to flee.

The situation is also dire for the Copts.

We see a very grave situation of Christians in Egypt where thousands of Coptic Christians have had to leave the country because they can no longer live there. We see a very difficult situation in Libya, in Afghanistan, in Pakistan, and now even in Syria. I was recently in Rome addressing the Synod of Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, and two senior Catholic prelates from the Middle East region approached me. One was a Maronite and the other one was a Melkite. And both of them thanked me for the position of the

continued on pg 11



First Citizen and Antilon: The Carroll-Dulany Debates and Their Impact on American Religious Freedom

By Samuel Hearne

In the current settings of the HHS mandate, some Catholics in America have come to feel as if there is no hope left; Bishop Daniel R. Jenky of Peoria said, “I am honestly horrified that the nation I have always loved has come to this hateful and radical step in religious intolerance.” Intolerance or religious persecution is of course not new and the issue today brings to mind an important and underappreciated chapter in American history.

In 1774 Maryland remained undecided on the issue of American independence sweeping across mainly Calvinist New England. While the Stamp Act was unpopular overall, the issue of separation had far less of a following than in New England. A debate between a man calling himself “First Citizen” and another calling himself “Antilon” appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* that would become the focal point of Maryland opinion. These two men were Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Daniel Dulany the Younger. They were both wealthy, European educated aristocrats in the colony, yet both had decidedly different experiences and trials in Maryland.

Backstory

Maryland was a land that had gone through many tumultuous changes throughout its early history. Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, left Ireland to escape persecution and settle in a new colony where Catholics were welcome. Baltimore purchased the colony of Maryland in 1629 and in 1637 he arrived in newly found Maryland, naming

the first town St. Mary’s City. The colony was to be populated by both Catholics and Protestants.

Fearing a repeat of the religious battles of England, Baltimore implemented the Maryland Toleration Act of 1649, granting all Trinitarian Christians the right to their faith; however, it also prevented citizens from criticizing other faiths. This experiment, while revolutionary, was short lived. After the Glorious Revolution of 1689, all Catholics with peerage were disenfranchised and, in America, Maryland’s laws regarding religious freedom went downhill. Catholics lost their right to educate their children, attend Mass, and were forced to pay a double tax. In order to retain control of his family’s land, Charles III’s second son, Benedict, renounced his Catholic faith and became an Anglican. Thus began a long troubling period for Maryland’s Catholic population.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Charles Carroll of Carrollton was born illegitimate and into wealth to Charles Carroll of Annapolis and Elizabeth Brooke. His parents did not enter into a legal marriage until he achieved adulthood. Catholic children were sometimes taken by the Colonial government and sent to orphanages in England and never saw their parents again. Further, Carroll would by common law inherit his father’s entire estate as the first born son. His father used his wealth to protect much of the Catholic population of Maryland from Colonial authorities. Masses

could only be said in private homes. Catholic school houses were often destroyed. His father sent Charles to be educated in France at the age of 11 at St. Omer and later law at Louie-le-Grande in Paris. St. Omer was a Jesuit institution where English and Irish Catholics who were wealthy enough would send their children due to laws that prohibited from educating Catholics at home. After receiving his education in France he went to further his studies in London. After 19 years in Europe, Charles returned to Maryland, where he joined his father in business. He was not, however, able to take advantage of his law degree due to laws in Maryland preventing Catholics from practicing law or participating in politics. Ironically the pseudonym he used for his public discourse was First Citizen.

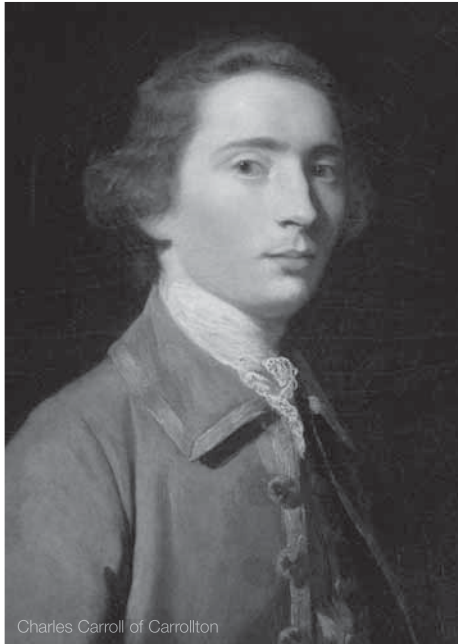
Daniel Dulany the Younger

Dulany was born into a powerful Anglican family in Maryland. Like Carroll, he was also sent to Europe for his education, studying law at Eton College at Cambridge University in England. Upon finishing his education, he returned to Maryland and was admitted to the bar. There he became a very well respected lawyer. He married Rebecca Tasker, the daughter of another powerful Maryland family, thus unifying their families in wealth, prestige and power. He served in the Maryland parliament where he often found himself in opposition to the Colonial government. Though an avid loyalist, Dulany was noted for his opposition to the 1765 Stamp Act, believing that

taxation should not be without representation. He took the pseudonym Antilon.

The Debate

The “tobacco fee controversy” began in 1770 when the 1747 system was retired. The system went back to 1702, when Anglican (as the state church) clergy had received a state tobacco fee from individuals amounting to the cost of 40 pounds of tobacco. However it was not made law as King William III had not



Charles Carroll of Carrollton

signed the legislation prior to his death. In 1747, the Maryland government made it a colonial edict and set the fee at 30 pounds per person. During the Stamp Act controversy however, many Marylanders began to question the system, the rigid fees, and why it went to the State Church. In 1770, the law expired; tobacco growers including Carroll had started their own private inspection agencies. The clergy wanted the 1747 system to continue; further, they wanted to be paid the 1707 rate of 40 pounds and to be paid in tobacco and not in cash. Despite the situation’s contentiousness, Robert Eden, Maryland’s Royal Governor, passed the clergy’s fee system by proclamation. This was like a tinderbox set on a colony still deeply divided

over the Stamp Act, and furthered the anger against the Crown.

In 1773, the *Maryland Gazette* began publishing debates between First Citizen and Second Citizen, all written by Daniel Dulany. The first debate sent in by Dulany made the First Citizen look like a fool, a crazed man, possibly an anarchist. While Second Citizen looked like a reasoned man albeit logical to the point of dry. Carroll saw faults in the fictitious debate, so he wrote a response to the *Maryland Gazette*. This lengthy response was a very different debate between First and Second Citizen, one that made first citizen look like a witty champion of liberty and second citizen a man desperately clinging to the power at the expense of the free loving people of Maryland, and implicated those government officials as the threat to liberty. It was common knowledge that Carroll was first citizen yet despite his Catholic faith, his response was received with great respect by Marylanders. Dulany, who was seemingly insulted by this attack on his character, did not let this go unnoticed. He wrote a response to Carroll’s letter, this time as Antilon. Antilon’s new second citizen was different, directly attacking Carroll for his faith. He wasted no time in attacking his opponent’s First Citizen as a subversive Jesuit agent bent on destroying English liberties gained during the Glorious Revolution, with an eye to reinstating the old Jacobite order. According to him, whom should one trust—this Catholic taught at St. Omer’s whose presumed goal was to destroy the very fabric of English society? Or Second Citizen—a Cambridge educated lawyer, loyal to the Crown, who challenged First Citizen’s view of government ministers as a negative and wore his ministry, proudly as a positive to the colony? He accused First Citizen of being irrational and not wanting to give the dues to the Clergy who rightly deserved the pay.

Carroll’s response was perhaps not what was expected by Dulany. He indeed, perhaps borrowing from the tradition of St. Robert Bellarmine and those of 16th cen-

tury Catholic thinkers, agreed that the English people had the right to remove James II during the glorious revolution of 1688. In doing so, he secured his support among the prevailing Whig Protestant population who might have had reservations about him. He went further in saying that Governor Eden’s decision to put in place an unconstitutional tax was the fault of his ministers, first accusing Dulany himself of being the author of the tax.

The impact was profound among the colonists; Dulany himself was falling short of the Whig tradition of constitutionalism that he had espoused. Carroll had become a celebrity in the colony, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer told Carroll the elder that “Your son is a most flaming patriot”—no small praise for a Catholic by a Protestant in pre-revolutionary Maryland.

The supporters of the tobacco fee became concerned by Carroll’s support. A man appeared in the *Gazette* calling himself “Clericus Philoheralathobolus” and continued the straw man attacks on First Citizen for his Jesuit education and Catholic religion. A theme followed in Antilon’s third letter; he even attacked Carroll’s very right to refer to himself as a citizen.

Clericus wrote a second letter citing the banishment of Jesuits from Portugal as a reason to distrust them. Carroll’s response focused on the constitutionality of the tobacco fee: “Our constitution is founded on jealousy and suspicion, its true spirit, and full vigor cannot be preserved without the most watchful care, and strictest vigilance of the representatives over the conduct of the administration.”

He continued to hammer the point that parliament was the only place that could institute taxes or “fees,” further saying that “...Rates by proclamation would be illegal and unconstitutional.” After his third letter, the election was held and Carroll stood victorious. His popularity and respect extended throughout Maryland and beyond. But Dulany did not concede without writing a final letter, this one

continued on pg 6

warning that by following the papist First Citizen, the people of Maryland risked losing their liberties as English citizens. Carroll asked whether his Catholicism should preclude him from public discussion? If so, it was not he, but Antilon who was the inquisitor. He noted how Catholics had not been treated well in the colonies. But rather than making himself hostile to his Protestant friends, he instead reached out and publically forgave Antilon and those who had attacked him for his faith.

The Impact

The Maryland elections of 1773 fell in favor of those opposing Governor Eden's tobacco fee proclamation. Further, it made Charles Carroll of Carrollton a well respected figure in Maryland and the Colonies. In 1774, Carroll and his father would sit on the Annapolis Convention that would later vote to send Carroll, a Catholic, to represent Maryland at the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. He was then made representative for all of Maryland. He later donated much of the land on which Washington D.C. was built. He also was one of the primary investors in America's first train line, the Baltimore & Ohio railroad line, and was the man to nail the final rail piece at the opening. He was the last living signator of the Declaration of Independence, and lived long enough to be interviewed by Alexis de Tocqueville, who said of him, "this race of men is disappearing after having provided America with her greatest spirits." Carroll died in 1832 at 95 in Baltimore. He hoped that his enduring legacy would be that civil and religious liberties he helped secure would survive for the generations to come.

Dulany did not fair as well, he remained a Loyalist to the end and his property was confiscated during the American Revolution. He was later renumerated by the British for his devotion to the Crown. He left for England for the entirety of the war and returned to Maryland where he would die in 1797, still respected as a lawyer.

Samuel Hearne is a writer who lives in Australia.

Double-Edged Sword: *The Power of the Word*

Malachi 4:6

He will restore the hearts of the fathers to their children and the hearts of the children to their fathers, so that I will not come and smite the land with a curse.

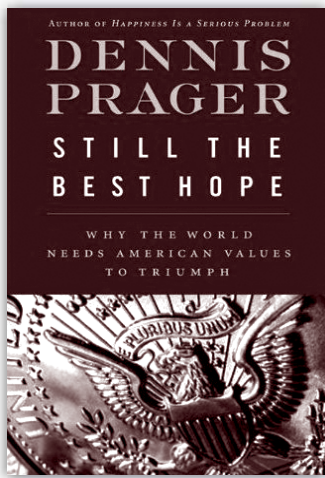
Sadly today, we live in a fatherless society. Currently, just over 40 percent of American children are born out of wedlock. In the United Kingdom, it is a majority. This is easily one of the biggest social disasters our country faces. It's hard to imagine a lot of spiritual and economic blessings for a society that continually treads down this path. It's hard to believe that many of the economic and cultural problems that plague this country will be transformed if statistics like that remain unchanged.

The book of Malachi has a recurrent theme of unfaithfulness to God and the family. God takes seriously the commitment to the family and promises judgment against those that fail to keep his command. The Fall 2011 issue of *Religion & Liberty* includes David Deavel's review of *From Family Collapse to America's Decline* by Mitch Pearlstein. Pearlstein focuses on the 33 percent of children who are in one parent families. For many of these children, they face serious disadvantages not just socially but economically.

If we don't honor our family, God tells us that ultimately we can do no honor for Him. It may be controversial to say, but we see the consequences of this dishonor and trivial views about the family all around us in society today. It has negatively affected the social fabric of life and resulted in greater poverty, abortion, and massive government dependency. It is not the government's job and the government is not equipped to raise children. Most politicians would agree, but they have little power to affect change. Likewise, when government policies have a negative effect on family cohesion and stability, a toxic social mess ensues.

Unfortunately today, so many people are upset at their father in life it has had negative consequences for their relationship with their heavenly Father. God wants us to have healthy relationships that reflect His perfect glory in the Trinity. Here in this country, even if we have flourishing economic freedom but face substantial family breakdown, we have little to show for a rightly oriented freedom and a virtuous society. God calls us to reform our ways and take the family serious.

Many in the academy and even some in the popular culture tell us fathers are not essential. But we are enlightened by the Word of God and the truths on our heart. There is little doubt that fathers taking responsibility and ownership over the life and spiritual well being of their children would have a profound effect on this nation.



Still the Best Hope: Why the World Needs American Values to Triumph

Review by Timothy J. Barnett

Review of Dennis Prager's *Still the Best Hope: Why the World Needs American Values to Triumph*, (Broadside Books, April 2012) Hardcover, 448 pages; \$26.99.

Dennis Prager argues for a rebirth of a particular American exceptionalism: the distinctive aspects of the American ethos rooted in the once considerable but now misunderstood Judeo-Christian moral union. Prager claims that traditional American conservatism is distinctive because of its ethical decency, high ideals, moral values, and intrinsic visionary worth. Rejecting the establishment's liberal vs. conservative rhetorical dichotomy, he depicts today's political liberalism as Leftism, while positioning traditional conservatism as Americanism.

Prager's theory can be used to configure the ideological battlefield so as to make the construct of "Americanism" reflect a scripture based covenant and vision. An acceptance of this approach suggests that

"In the emerging global context, the three final contestants are Leftism, Islamism, and 'Americanism.'"

the political Left has arrived too late to *legitimately* claim American resources with the flag of big, invasive government. American soil is not the exclusive domain

of the Left, nor should the country's resources be squandered upon a ruinous subsidization of expenditures that lack bona fide merit. Traditionally viewed, the Leftist game plan is adversarial to a rational liberalism or libertarianism, while a robust



conservatism can potentially incorporate all that true progress brings—once the Right frees itself from snares laid for it.

This is not to say that Prager thinks the Left is inept. To the contrary: Few other writers so ably place a recognition of the Left's strategic and influential accomplishments alongside an assessment of policy foolhardiness and overarching moral insolvency. Comfortable in his traditional Jewishness, Prager is willing to note the activities of the secular Jewish Left while theorizing about what happened to the Jewish Right.

Prager begins his treatise with the premise

that humanity is at a crossroads between three demographically dominant systems of thought. Many formerly competitive world views, like Communism, have fallen out of favor. In the emerging global context, the three final contestants are Leftism, Islamism, and "Americanism" (i.e., traditional Judeo-Christian values are equated with Americanism). A hybridization of the three is not likely, per Prager, as these three systems are largely incompatible. Granted, Prager sees people with admirable qualities in each group.

Leftism, to Prager, involves the welfare state, secularism, and the political positions identified with socialist democratic parties in Europe as well as Democratic Party activists in the United States. Islamism refers to a shared vision by non-moderate Muslims who wish to see states and peoples governed by Sharia, (i.e., Islamic law). Americanism reflects three aspirations which are coincidentally stamped into American coins: 1) Liberty; 2) In God We Trust; and 3) *E Pluribus Unum* (i.e., "Out of Many, One"). These three aspirations combine synergistically in what Prager terms, the "American Trinity"—a traditional Judeo-Christian union of moral thought, not theological distinctions. This waning Judeo-Christian union includes beliefs that morality is God-defined, human reason is not autonomous, human life has greater value than the natural world, and that God's existence gives ultimate meaning to life.

continued on pg 8

Prager spends good effort throughout his book unpacking the contents of what he sees as the three dominant systems. He sees the traditional concept of “liberty” as necessitating small government, a free economy, and belief in ultimate accountability to a Supreme Being. Likewise, he believes the phrase, “In God We Trust,” represents a set of human rights and moral values that originated in Judaism and were adopted by traditional Christianity. Finally, he sees *E Pluribus Unum* as connoting the transformational progress of a polity battling against divisiveness and preferentialism that otherwise rises from clashes of ethnicity, nationality, class, and race. Purportedly, these aspirational commitments give Americanism a competitive edge—an edgy conclusion, since Leftists think their values do the same.

The author’s long experience as a radio talk show personality is evident in the provision of arguments that are persuasive, conceptually innovative, and linguistically artful. The result is a sobering yet enjoyable read. That said, while the author is careful to be deferential about his opponents’ motives, he nevertheless delivers a devastating critique of the Left’s public policy agenda. Equally important, he refreshes readers’ memories of what traditional conservatism set out to accomplish, and why. Granted, readers may hold good reasons for differing with Prager regarding certain theories, conclusions and recommendations. Still, there is nothing wrong with a spirited polemic, espe-

cially when arguments are sustained by useful observations.

Prager believes that traditional American conservatism could lead the world to a better tomorrow if people held a deep understanding of conservative concepts. However, according to the Federalist Papers it took extraordinary circumstances to prepare early Americans for constitutional self-government built on constructive checks and balances. Consequently, *Publius* suggests that if America ever declines in its moral rectitude so as to lose its way,

describe the requirements for goodness to triumph in the polity. No work need be infallible to be valuable.

Still the Best Hope leaves plenty of room for the discussion of important questions. How can traditional American conservatism remain the world’s best hope when the values of the Left dominate American public education? How can Americanists expect to win with values that require long-term thinking when the Left seasons its appeals with short-term gratifications? Can small government deal successfully

with powerful lobbies that have lost their moral compass? How can a modern conservatism that has sold itself electorally to high finance and corporatism adequately check the excesses of the Left?

Dennis Prager’s book is not a timid work. But for people who know how to differentiate weak arguments from strong ones, the book should have

value. While many of Prager’s ideas are evident in the conservative philosophical literature, one seldom finds these arguments so smartly organized for current affairs. In an age of secularism in which people seek a “politics of meaning” to counter their abandoned confidence in God, it remains to be seen if rational arguments can offset the politically exploitative power of victim-based appeals.

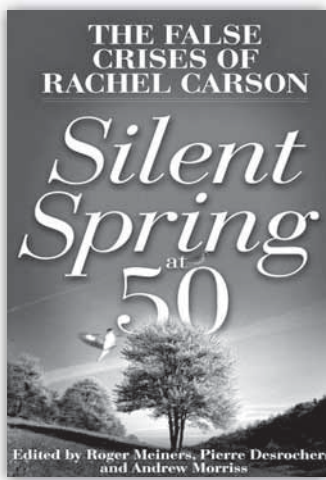
Timothy J. Barnett is an associate professor of political science at Jacksonville State University.



Close up of lady Liberty © anesi ruuska. Image from www.gettyphoto.com

a less culturally virtuous America will pay a steep price to recover good character and liberties lost.

As of late, the world is changing at breakneck speed. There is no traditional Judeo-Christianity that is culturally viable now; at least, in a majoritarian sense. It would take a global crisis of unprecedented magnitude—far beyond what governments could manage—to make people pay the price that wisdom requires for sustainable freedom. Still, there will be fewer pains in birthing a healthy future if some of us envision and



Rachel Carson's Environmental Religion

Review by Bruce Edward Walker

Review of *Silent Spring at 50: The False Crises of Rachel Carson*. Edited by Roger Meiners, Pierre Desrochers, and Andrew Morriss (Cato, September 2012) ISBN: 978-1937184995. Hardcover, 344 pages; \$25.95.

During the 50 years following the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, much has been written to discredit the science of her landmark book. Little, however, has been written on the environmentalist cult it helped spawn.

Until *Silent Spring at 50*, that is.

Subtitled "The False Crises of Rachel Carson," *Silent Spring at 50* is a collection of essays specially commissioned by the Cato Institute and edited by Roger Meiners, Pierre Desrochers and Andrew Morriss. Much like Roger Scruton's recent *How to Think Seriously About the Planet: The Case for Environmental Conservatism*, the essays present a unified indictment not necessarily of Carson *per se* but of the disastrous results wrought by the policies she inspired.

In "The Lady Who Started All This," environmentalist William Kaufman presents an admiring portrait of Carson as a scientist who unfortunately took a left-turn from her previous works—based on objective, empirical research—when she endeavored to write *Silent Spring* shortly after her cancer diagnosis. For this ill-conceived approach, Kaufman blames Wallace Shawn, the *New Yorker* editor who prompted Carson to abandon her

"disinterested scientist" voice in favor of a more "adversarial" tone. Since the famous editor signed Carson's check, the author readily complied.

Kaufman—an admitted admirer of Carson's eventual conclusions and penchant for prose-poetry—acknowledges the approach as a misstep: "[Shawn's] words demonstrate a serious flaw in logic and why *Silent Spring* is so different from Carson's earlier books: 'After all, there are some things one doesn't have to be objective and unbiased about—one doesn't condone murder!' This is classic polarization—if you're not for us, you're against us. Clearly, objectivity and the open mind of scientific inquiry do not condone or condemn."

Kaufman correctly notes that Carson never advocated for a complete ban on chemical insecticides, but upbraids her for employing inflammatory language exemplified in her chapter titles: "Elixirs of Death," "Needless Havoc," "Rivers of Death" and "Indiscriminately From the Skies." He further notes that she resorts to unnecessary demonization of chemical companies and government agents who spray insecticides as well as infantilization of the American public at large when she wrote: "As matters stand now, we are in little better position than the guests of the Borgias."

Perhaps most damning of all, Kaufman points out that Carson's book includes "sentimentalized line drawings of animals

where even the bugs are cute. In fact, she wrote to Dorothy Freeman, 'I consider my contributions to scientific fact far less important than my attempts to awaken an emotional response to the world of nature.'" As Kaufman points out, this is where Carson set the stage for environmentalists to embrace *Silent Spring* as dogma. For her followers, he notes disappointingly, "her contribution to the environmental movement was not a respect for science, but nourishment of a faith."

More's the pity, as demonstrated in Robert H. Nelson's essay, "Silent Spring as Secular Religion." Perhaps no other economist by training is better fit to approach the topic, as the Princeton University Ph.D. is also the author of the book-length *The New Holy Wars: Economic Religion Versus Environmental Religion in Contemporary America* and *Economics as Religion: From Samuelson to Chicago and Beyond*.

Nelson comments: "Much of *Silent Spring* ...went well beyond the damaging impacts of past episodes of ill-conceived pesticide spraying. Carson did not limit herself to the failings of progressive economic religion in this one area of government action.... She devoted large parts of *Silent Spring* to making the case that the widespread use of chemicals of all kinds was about to precipitate a plague of cancer in American society. This was even more devastating evidence of the heretical if not altogether diabolical character of American progressive religion."

continued on pg 10

However, Nelson writes, Carson often got it wrong by “using weakly based scientific assertions as a means of communicating what was in reality a form of religious zeal.” He adds: “In making a religious argument in the implicit form of popular science, Carson left her environmental theology exposed to the risk of scientific refutation.”

Nelson details the shortcuts Carson took on her way to formulating an environmentalist religion. He notes that what little science she employed was never serious-minded, but only a smokescreen to further her faith-based convictions. For example, the author of *Silent Spring* never addresses the toxicologists’ mantra that “the dose makes the poison.” Instead, Carson argues from the perspective humans would succumb to cancer based on exposure to chemicals far higher than most would ever likely experience. This, says Nelson, is more “environmental religion” than “environmental science.”

It should be noted in closing that *Silent Spring at 50* isn’t a capitalist manifesto against environmentalism. Rather, the collection’s essays present clearly written

“ ... health of humans and animals is as important to free marketers as it is to everyone else ... ”

arguments for why preserving the environment as well as protecting the health of humans and animals is as important to free marketers as it is to everyone else—provided sound science is considered. The Earth is God’s gift to us all, but the idolatry of nature advanced by Rachel Carson and perpetuated by many who followed her down the ill-considered path of environmental theology runs contrary to the real science that allows humanity to overcome pestilence and famine.

What is the ‘Our Great Exchange’ curriculum and why is it an important stewardship resource?

Starting in 2010, the Acton Institute began developing a seven-part stewardship curriculum to strengthen the connection of faith, calling and economics in the daily life of the believer. The small group curriculum for *Our Great Exchange* is largely tailored for evangelical small group engagement and features over two hours of creative storytelling and practical insight. In a particularly moving scene, Chuck Colson, in his last-ever extensive interview, talks about his calling and its impact upon his life.

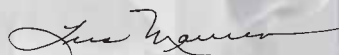
Acton is committed to continually reach new audiences. This resource further engages people in the church and discipleship communities. The curriculum is another great launching pad for us to continue to grow as we expand our reach and influence with additional stewardship resources for churches and small groups.

The curriculum ties directly into our mission to promote a free and virtuous society characterized by individual liberty and sustained by religious principles. Based on the framework of our *NIV Stewardship Study Bible*, this curriculum focuses on seven purposes God has entrusted human beings with their resources to manage on his behalf—a profound privilege and responsibility that warrants our exploration beyond the “what” and “how” of stewardship to ask the more fundamental questions of “why” and for “what purposes” he calls each of us to be co-creators and cultivators.

Our Great Exchange is also the first curriculum available in StudySpace (StudySpace.org)—Acton’s brand new digital and mobile platform that provides an enhanced learning environment and supplements the small group study material with daily, rich-media study material. Throughout the week it enables individuals in small groups to gain further insight and share thoughts with other group members and friends. The daily study material in StudySpace offers video insights from leaders, rich content from the *NIV Stewardship Study Bible* all revolving around passages related to entrepreneurial stewardship, generosity, business practice, whole-life discipleship and God’s economic design of all aspects of daily life. You can go to OurGreatExchange.com and watch the teasers for each part of the curriculum including the teaser to Chuck Colson’s compelling story.

Later this year we plan the release of a subsequent small group series with the working title of *For the Life of the World*. This series examines how the Church—through our effective stewardship of God’s resources—shapes the cultural institutions all around us, including the family, the workplace, government and society.

In his *Confessions*, Augustine declares, “Give what you command, and then command whatever you will.” That’s a great dictum to live by and central to our thoughts as we expand our curriculum, relationships, and resources so the faithful can grow in their relationship with God and fully grow into who they are called to be.



Kris Alan Mauren
Executive Director

Russian Orthodox Church and also for the position of the Russian Federation on the international scene with regards to Syria, because the Russian Federation does not take position in favor of one or another party of the country. But we believe that all parties of the conflict should be partners of the dialogue. If you simply ignore one party, then it doesn't lead anywhere.

Are there any areas in Syria now where religious minorities are secure?

What we see now is that the inter-religious situation in the regions which are still controlled by the government is stable. It is as stable as it used to be for many decades, if not centuries. In the places where rebels take power, for example in the city of Homs, we see that immediately the Iraqi scenario is being put in practice. We see that Christians are in grave danger. They have to flee; they have to leave their homes. And people from Syria, the religious leaders with whom I spoke, they fear that if the regime is overthrown, then they will have to leave their country. This is what was happening in Iraq. This is what is happening in Egypt. And this is what is likely to happen in Syria. So I think the foreign powers, which try to work for democracy in these countries—in order to achieve it they intervene. They should always think about the Christian minority because it seems to me that these people are simply ignored. Nobody takes into account their existence, their sufferings, and the fact that they become the first victims of the unrest when the political situation of these countries changes.

I spoke about this at the Synod of Bishops in Rome. And most recently I spoke about this at the session of the Third Committee of the United Nations in New York. And I cited examples of several countries where the rights of Christians are violated. And I called on the international community to create a mechanism of defense of Christians in the Middle East, in particular, and in other countries as well. And this mechanism should involve the granting of political support or economic aide only in exchange for guarantees for Christian minorities.



Patriarch Kirill, leader of the Russian Orthodox Church, left, and head of Poland's Roman Catholic church archbishop Jozef Michalik shake hands after talks in Warsaw, Poland

Some people are looking at Syria and drawing parallels to Kosovo or Northern Cyprus, places where Christianity is in danger of being destroyed or has disappeared altogether.

Yes. Kosovo is another example of the negligence of the Christian population because politicians had their own political goals, which they achieved with the separation of Kosovo from Serbia. But the result for the Christian population was disastrous. I visited Kosovo twice, and I must say that Christians simply left this region. And those who remain, they

live in very difficult conditions. For example, I visited one Orthodox Church in Kosovo where four ladies live under the protection of the guards. One lady has her house across the street. For the last four years she could not visit her house even once, because as soon as she leaves the compound, she will lose the protection and she is likely to be killed.

A question about your visit to the Roman Catholic synod of bishops in October 2012, which Pope Benedict called to talk about the New Evangelization. The message out of this gathering, according to news reports, was that despite the growth of secularism, increased hostility towards Christianity, and sinful behavior by some church members, there is cause for real optimism about the future because of Christ's promises of salvation. Do you see Rome's New Evangelization project as a positive development for all Christians in Western Europe? And are you personally optimistic about the future in light of Christ's promise to us?

I think the church has survived in very different circumstances across the 2,000 years of its existence. And,

yes, I am optimistic in the terms of Christ's promise to the church that the gates of Hell will not prevail against the church.

As we saw in Russia?

We saw it in Russia. We saw it in many places. And in this way I'm optimistic, because I believe that Christ continues to lead His church, that the Holy Spirit continues to vivify it. If we take the example of Russia, we see that the revival of the church is very noticeable. It is unprecedented in scale. And we see that many new people come to church.

continued on pg 12

I'll give you another example. People in the West very often complain about the shortage of vocations to the priesthood and monastic life. Twenty five years ago we had, in the Russian Church, 18 monasteries. Now, we have more than 800 monasteries. So almost 800 new monasteries were built or old monasteries were restarted, and all of them are filled with monks and nuns, mostly young people. This indicates that there is no such thing as a post-Christian epoch of which some people in the West are talking. You just come to Russia, to the Ukraine, you visit these monasteries, you visit our theological schools, and you will see that the church is flourishing. And I believe that even if, in some places, the church may seem to be in decline, it will always be flourishing in some other places.

In one of your essays, you say that "militant

church, any kind of visible role of the church in the public sphere. Secularism tolerates the church as long as it is hidden behind the walls of parishes or family homes, but it denies the right of the church to be present in the public domain, to have voice in social affairs and political life. One of the examples is the constant dissatisfaction with the presence of Christian symbols in public places. The notorious case of *Lautsi v. Italy* is but one example of this, one of many. So we, in the Russian Orthodox Church, believe that secularism and atheism cannot be a common denominator for all religious trends, for all world views. We should be a multi-polar society where representatives of all religions can live peacefully and can live according to their faith and where they can also freely express their views and positions.



Metropolitan Hilarion chats with Swiss Cardinal Georges Cottier at the Vatican during the inauguration of Pope Francis.

secularism becomes as dangerous for religion as militant atheism." Are there parallels, contrasts between an aggressive secularism, sometimes advanced by government policies, and the state-sponsored atheism of former communist regimes?

Well, as I was speaking about the danger of militant secularism, I was first and foremost referring to the processes, which are going on in Western liberal society and which affect many Christians. Because, for example, the ideology which is now prevailing in secular society and the social discourse in relations between the church and the state is basically the one which does not allow any public exposure of the

vis-a-vis the Moscow Patriarchate?

I think the whole field of ecumenical relations can be divided into two major sectors—for us at least. One is the relations between the Orthodox and the Catholics. And another one is the relations between Orthodox on the one hand and the Protestants—Anglicans, Baptists, and others. And here I see two very different tendencies. With regards to Orthodox-Catholic relations, I see that generally, on the worldwide level, these relations are constantly improving and that there is a sense of *rapprochement* between the two traditions. We more and more realize that we are not competing

structures but that we are allies in the process of evangelization and the mission. We don't have many common missionary projects, but we have a similar missionary strategy and I think we, in spite of certain differences in theology, essentially are united on all social and moral issues. And this provides us with the possibility to form a common front to defend traditional Christianity, in particular against the challenges of militant secularism and atheism.

"In many Protestant communities of the West and of the North, the process of liberalization has gone very far."

I'd like to close with a question about ecumenical relations. You spoke earlier here at Nashotah House about your warm feelings for traditionalist Anglicans, but also about the drift away from tradition as you see it in the wider Episcopal Church. How would you describe the state of inter-Christian relations with Protestants and Roman Catholics

With regards to Anglican and Protestant communities, of course the situation is very different. In many Protestant communities of the West and of the North, the process of liberalization has gone very far. And we can no longer regard these communities as representing the authentic church tradition. On the contrary, we see that theological teaching, moral teaching, as well as church order is gravely affected in these communities by liberal trends. And with some of them we have to break relations. For example, we had to break the dialogue with the Episcopal Church of the USA in 2003 in spite of the fact that we had been in dialogue with this church for over 30 years. We had to suspend this dialogue because of the unacceptable events happening in this church, in particular the ordination of an openly-practicing homosexual into the episcopate. And we are now more involved in dialogue with the conservative wing of the Episcopal Church, in particular with the newly formed Anglican Church of North America, with the representatives of whom I met here at Nashotah House. And I believe that we will continue to support them. ■■■■

Metropolitan Philip II [1507 – 1569]

“He alone can in truth call himself sovereign who is master of himself, who is not subject to his passions and conquers by charity.”

Born Theodore Kolychev, Metropolitan Phillip II of Moscow, a saint of the Orthodox Church, took the name Philip when he was tonsured a monk at the monastery of Solovskii in northern Russia, on an island in the White Sea. Though his father had been a minister in the court of Basil III, he chose instead the life of a monk at one of Russia’s most remote monasteries.

Having advanced to the point of living as a hermit in the nearby forest, Philip succeeded the abbot Alexis as head of the monastery at the latter’s request. As abbot, Philip set about to improve the monastery by encouraging a strong work ethic and developing salt production for the monastery to fund many enterprising projects. In all of these enterprises, Philip added his own physical labor to the efforts.

Meanwhile, in Moscow, a new sovereign had taken the throne: the Grand Prince Ivan IV, the first to take the title “Tsar [Caesar] of all Russia,” but better known to history as “Ivan the Terrible.” His paranoia over political intrigue led him to form a not-so-secret police, the Oprichniki, and through them to commit brutality against his own people, earning him his fearful epithet. When Athanasius, Metropolitan of Moscow, resigned his post in protest, Ivan, who despite his ruthlessness was an admirer of Philip, called Philip to fill the now vacant office of head of the Orthodox Church in Russia. Reluctant to accept, Philip requested that Ivan disband the Oprichniki, which enraged Ivan. Nonetheless, Ivan conceded to Philip the right of intercession on

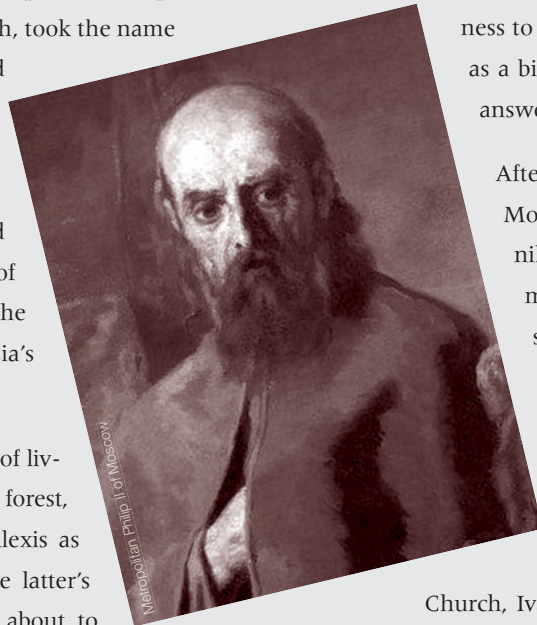
behalf of the Church and people.

Philip saw his role as Metropolitan of Moscow differently than Ivan, once saying to the latter, “If I do not bear witness to the truth, I render myself unworthy of my office as a bishop. If I bow to men’s will, what shall I find to answer Christ on the Day of Judgment?”

After 18 months of relative respite for the people of Moscow, Ivan the Terrible again set loose his Oprichniki after hearing rumors of a conspiracy between members of the aristocracy and the king of Poland, slaughtering countless innocents. In the face of such atrocities, Philip used his right of intercession and boldly denounced Ivan’s brutality, both privately and in public.

For Philip’s bold defense of the people and exercise of the freedom and responsibility of the Church, Ivan had him tried and convicted on false charges. He had Philip deposed of his office and imprisoned, moving him from monastery to monastery to distance him from Moscow. However, seeing how the people followed Philip out of their love for him, Ivan sent an assassin—one of his Oprichniki—under the guise of a messenger requesting Philip’s blessing for the Tsar’s expedition to Novgorod. Seeing through the charade, Philip simply said to him, “My friend, do what you have come to do,” and raised his hands in prayer. The sinister messenger took hold of Philip and suffocated him to death with a cushion, making him a martyr for his faith.

Much loved for his life of service to both Church and country, he is commemorated three times a year in the Orthodox calendar of saints: January 9, July 3, and October 5. Indeed, for his defense of the independence of the Church from the state and of human life in the face of oppression and tyranny, Metropolitan Phillip II of Moscow shines as a beacon of light at a dark time for liberty in Russia and remains a model for all those who take a stand for such freedoms today.





The Role of Profits

Profits are central to capitalism, and I am often asked whether profit making is evidence of greed. Not in itself. The fact that a business is profitable tells us little that is morally relevant. Profit, after all, is simply the name that accounting attaches to the condition of income outpacing

costs. In other words, a company that earns a profit brings in more money than it expends for all of its costs, including materials, real estate, labor, and taxes. The opposite of profits is financial loss. A firm that is losing rather than making money cannot long survive. So, under ordinary circumstances, profits are a necessary condition for the success and continuation of a business.

Of course, the government can bail out unprofitable businesses at taxpayers' expense. But that only shifts the need for profits to the other—profitable—enterprises that pay the taxes. Bail out enough unprofitable people and companies, and the profitable ones start wondering why they are working so hard. When a company is not profitable, it is a sign that something is wrong with the firm: maybe its manufacturing methods are inefficient, its overhead is excessive, its products are in need of revamping, or any number of other possible weaknesses. Government support simply suppresses the incentive to improve, delaying reforms that are necessary to bring the company back to economic health. History is littered with examples of dysfunctional companies bailed out by government: a double blow to the consuming public, which is deprived of both the benefits that an improved company would bring to the market as well as a large amount of its tax money spent to shore up the dysfunctional company's finances.

Profitable companies are the ones that find a way to create and deliver products and services at prices high enough to cover their costs, but low enough that customers find them attractive. The profitable company, in other words, is one that flourishes by creating and delivering value.

This positive dimension of business is often obscured by the common stereotype of the greedy capitalist—a stereotype epitomized in the images on the Chance and Community Chest cards

in the board game *Monopoly*: a well-fed businessman in a top hat smoking a cigar. He simultaneously represents big business and the successful *Monopoly* player, who is growing rich through luck and cutthroat competition. Victory in *Monopoly* comes not when a player gets rich by creating new value in a business enterprise but instead when a player has successfully taken everyone else's money and driven them all into bankruptcy. *Monopoly*, then, is literally a zero-sum *game*. But it seems that some people confuse the real world with a game of *Monopoly*—and fall into the fallacy of thinking that people can gain in a marketplace only if others lose. For instance, if poor people exist, clearly it must be because the rich have taken such a massive piece of some pre-existing pie that hardly any was left over for the poor folks. If that's the case, the obvious solution is to forcibly divide up the pie in a more equitable way.

But perhaps the pie wasn't always just sitting there, the exact same size for all eternity. Maybe many of the rich didn't take more than their fair share; maybe they *made* more than their fair share. The zero-sum assumption prevents people from ever asking whether the solution to poverty might be to grow the pie even more.

This zero-sum mentality is particularly prevalent among clergy, who often view profits with disdain. In conversations with fellow clergy who take this view, I often ask, if profits are morally dubious, are losses more ethical? The point is to shed light on the nature of profit and loss. Both are tools for understanding a company's health. Profits indicate that resources are being used wisely by a business; losses suggest that they are not. Although profits and losses are not the be-all and end-all of a company, they are crucial first-level indicators of how effectively they are serving the wants or needs of customers.

Because human wants always outpace scarce resources, every society must have some guide for allocating those resources. Something or someone must decide whether water will be used for drinking, bathing, or irrigation, and whether iron ore will be used for making cars or manufacturing tractors. The same is true for all social resources. Even the resource of time, which is also scarce, requires some tool for sensible allocation.

One solution to the problem of allocating scarce resources is to control marketplace decisions and resources from some central point. To varying degrees, this is the strategy advocated by socialism in its different forms. As we have learned from bitter experience, the problem with this strategy for allocating resources is that it concentrates enormous power in a few hands. Excessive power tends to do nasty things to human nature. But there's also a second problem—the knowledge problem. Even if the political elite controlling the economy were morally perfect, they still wouldn't have enough information to effectively allocate all of the human and material resources effectively. These twin problems have hampered or undone every centrally planned economy in history.

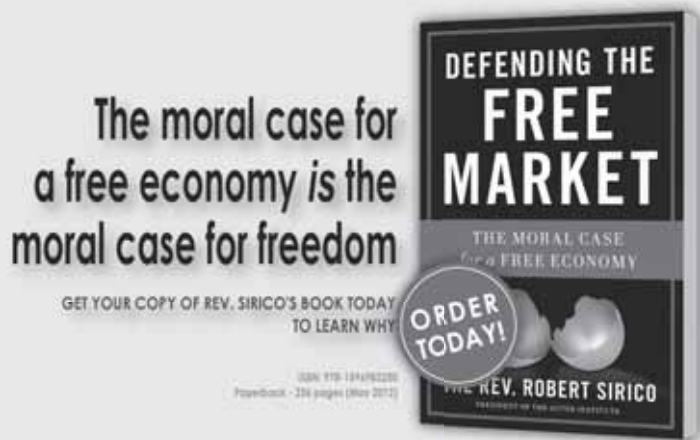
Fortunately, there is an alternative strategy for allocating scarce resources: the network of prices that arises naturally from voluntary exchanges among buyers and sellers in a marketplace. Here the laws of economics come into play. A lower price for any particular good signals relative abundance; people can buy more of that good. A higher price signals relative scarcity, forcing people to economize their use of the good. Through this system, where the prices of goods and services are constantly in flux, consumers can balance their needs against the availability of various goods and know at any moment how much of each they should purchase and use, and producers can know how much of a good they should produce and sell. Prices help us determine whether a good or service is being wasted and therefore should not be in production, or if it is highly desired and therefore more of it should be produced. For instance, when entrepreneurs discovered how to pump, store, refine, and use petroleum oil, its price dropped well below that of whale oil. Whale oil was priced out of the market, and there was less pressure to kill whales for their fat.

Profit can also be understood as a kind of price signal. Making a profit indicates to a company that it is performing its tasks in a way that a segment of the public approves—not just notionally, in opinions they might give a pollster, but with their hard-earned cash. Losses inform the managers and owners that they need to make adjustments or turn to other pursuits so that social resources are not wasted. Thus the signaling device of profit and loss serves an irreplaceable economic function. Profitability

serves as a motivating force, but also—and more importantly—they signify a job well done.

An important caveat: the social obligations of the business do not stop with profitably delivering goods and services. Business must deal honestly, keep their contracts, serve the community in the broadest sense, and be attentive to the moral dimensions of the investment process. The price system does not magically guarantee moral behavior. To give a painful but all too realistic example, the price system in a depraved society may signal that the most valued use of young women from poor families is for them to become prostitutes. Confusion arises when people see such evils and mistakenly assume that getting rid of the free market will somehow magically solve the problem. Only a little reflection should reveal the error. Moving to a command-and-control economy doesn't remove lust and selfishness from the human heart. Those vices go right on thriving. Only now they are fed and cared for by some arm of the state—with the added problem that poor families have even fewer alternative economic options because the command-and-control economy has placed a host of morally preferable enterprises beyond their reach. While the price system in a free economy does not provide a moral foundation for a society, and while it doesn't remove opportunities for ill-gotten gain, it handily beats every form of socialism at providing moral and socially beneficent options for escaping poverty.

This article is drawn from Rev. Robert A. Sirico's new book, Defending the Free Market: The Moral Case for a Free Economy. (Regnery, May 2012).



SAMUEL GREGG

BECOMING



EUROPE



ECONOMIC CULTURE,
AND HOW AMERICA CAN AVOID
A EUROPEAN FUTURE

"Highly readable, well-researched and extremely timely. This book is the definitive case why America should cling to its belief that liberty and free enterprise are the source of human flourishing rather than follow Continental Europe into corporatism, big government and economic stagnation. It deserves to be widely read."

—LORD GRIFFITHS OF FFORESTFACH,

Vice Chairman, Goldman Sachs International & former special adviser to Margaret Thatcher

"Becoming Europe might not sound so bad: old buildings, long lunches, generous welfare. But, believe me my friends, it's not where you want to be. Europe is a terrifying example of what happens when the state gets too large and the money runs out. Don't imagine that it couldn't happen to you."

—DANIEL HANNAN,

British Conservative Member of the European Parliament



ENCOUNTER BOOKS

www.encounterbooks.com

Are we becoming
more like

Europe?

***IN BECOMING EUROPE,** Samuel Gregg examines economic culture—the values and institutions that inform our economic priorities—*

to explain how European economic life has drifted in the direction of what Alexis de Tocqueville called "soft despotism," and the ways in which similar trends are manifesting themselves in the United States. America, Gregg argues, is not yet Europe; the good news is that economic decline need not be its future. The path to recovery lies in the distinctiveness of American economic culture. Yet there are ominous signs that some of the cultural foundations of America's historically unparalleled economic success are being corroded in ways that are not easily reversible—and the European experience should serve as the proverbial canary in the coal mine.

BECOMING EUROPE:

ECONOMIC DECLINE, CULTURE, AND HOW AMERICA CAN AVOID A EUROPEAN FUTURE

BY SAMUEL GREGG

HARDCOVER: 384 PAGES | ISBN: 978-1594036378



ORDER NOW AT
ACTON.ORG

