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The Moral Law

Rev. Robert I. Gannon, S.J.

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NUMBER 1

THE MORAL LAW

BY REV. ROBERT I. GANNON, S.J.;

IF I followed the counsel of one of my legal advisers who wanted me to talk on *stare decisis* tonight, I should feel like one who would rise to give a travelogue on Tibet or Afghanistan and should suddenly see Marco Polo in the audience.

If, however, I pick the subject of the Vanishing Absolute, everybody will say "Why, that is just exactly what a college president would think of. He can wander all over the lot and never get away from his subject."

The extraordinary thing is that in some mysterious way the Vanishing Absolute may get around in time to the stare decisis.

Only a few days ago I was taking dinner at the University Club. Several who are here tonight I daresay were there at the time because I was completely surrounded, Sir Gerald, by potential K. C.'s; silk was all over the room. At this dinner we had a distinguished historian who gave an interesting talk on the approaching peace. He made a comparison between Vienna and Versailles, between 1815 and 1919, and the comparison ran something like this:

Vienna was a peace made by hard-headed statesmen in which they erected a very delicate balance of power. Versailles was a peace that could be called an ideological peace because in spite of the fact that here in America we felt that the French Tiger and the little Father of the Black and Tans had been the authors of the Versailles peace, he contended nevertheless that it was a Wilsonian peace; that it was shot through with Wilsonian ideology, self-determination of nations and all that sort of thing. He went on to point out that Vienna, with its very delicate balance of power, which everyone thought a breath could shatter, lasted for 100 years, and this ideological peace that was founded on such eternal things as self-determination, began to crack in two years and in twenty years lay in fragments.

He drew the conclusion that if we are to have a peace after this war it has to be a peace of very hard-headed common sense, in which all the participants at the peace treaty will check their ideologies in the coat-

[†]President, Fordham University.

Address delivered at the Annual Dinner of the New York State Bar Association, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, January 20, 1945.

somebody is going to hit upon a plan for connecting digestion with cerebration. If they do, we shall then award our degrees not on the basis of credit points but on the number of vitamins consumed. So that, for instance, a million vitamin A and a million vitamin B, Bachelor of Arts! An indefinite number of each, together with an original cartoon, Doctor of Philosophy! But if that is proposed, I assure you it will be taken up with the greatest gravity—especially in our Halls of Confusion. I refer, of course, to our normal schools.

Some believe that the latest is the best because it is the latest. They tell us times are changing; off with the old and on with the new! Instead of saying to themselves that this is a time when everything is smashing all around us, to sit tight and hold onto our hats until we see how the wind is blowing; this is a time, above all, when we should be conservatives in the best sense, in the etymological sense of the word "conservare"; that we should, in other words, draw together all the precious golden fragments that our ancestors have left us. Instead of that, they want to slough off everything as fast as it becomes outmoded in the popular taste. They want our education to keep pace with our civilization and to decline as rapidly.

If they see, for instance, that people tend to be less logical than they used to be, the obvious thing to do, of course, is to drop logic from the college curriculum. In other words, they tend to regard education like the stage, as a mirror of civilization. Now we know—and it is an old story with all of us—that education is like religion. It is supposed to form society, not to reflect it.

To you gentlemen, scribes and doctors of the Law of Israel I would say "Qui potest capere, Capeat." The same lack of absolutes that is making a universal, a lasting peace difficult if not impossible, the same lack of absolutes that is undermining American education is also undermining the American courts.

Some day I hope a very clever person will write a book comparing our two master underminers. They are two of the most charming, intelligent and thoroughly virtuous characters that we have had in America in the last two generations. They are two illustrious men for whom their disciples would willingly die: Professor John Dewey and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

We began our legal life as a nation with the conviction that there were inalienable rights that came not from the state but from a moral power, an absolute, that was superior to us and superior to our state, that could regulate the sovereignty of the state and regulate our liberty; that that moral power had promulgated a law, another absolute, a norm that could test the validity as well as the expediency of state legislation.

optimist as one who believes that the fate of the Atlantic Charter is uncertain.

Now this tendency away from the absolute is found not only in international affairs. It is a familiar phenomenon to us in education and to you in the law. There is that same inclination to desert the absolute in what we sometimes refer to as The American Philosophy of Education, an extraordinary product that is manufactured here in New York but distributed nationally. It has had phenomenal success. Three-quarters of our superintendents of education, and at least half of our educators have been exposed to it if not steeped in it. When analyzed, it proves to be a curious mixture of exaggerated experimentalism, pragmatism and socialism. Strange as it may seem, the first is the most dangerous of the three, because in education, when we cut off the past, we become the playthings of intellectual violence. Of course, a certain amount of prudent experimentation is essential for scholarship, essential for progress. But to scrap the past, to show the contempt that we do for 25,000 vears of human experience, that, gentlemen, is fatal. The damage has already been perfectly appalling. We need the past. We need it dreadfully and never more than at a time when the present itself is being blown to shreds. For every civilization is 90 per cent heirlooms and lessons and memories.

Isn't it amazing that such an obvious thing should be anathema to so many of our contemporaries? As Jacques Maritain has put it, "We have killed our past and lost its sense of values. We have lost all confidence in ourselves and have gained no confidence in authority." Hilaire Belloc, of course, was saying the same thing for years about the breaking of our religious continuity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And now Abraham Flexner, the grand old man of education, has called our attention to the fact that our education has been reduced to a meaningless flux because we have broken with the past. So that from kindergarten to graduate school we are trying something new every day—and this motion without direction is what we call in the United States progress, and what they call in Great Britain progress. Yesterday's theory has to be discarded today because the only reason it was adopted vesterday was because it was yesterday's.

Just before the war broke out, that bad boy of English letters, who must be very much amused at times to find himself taken so seriously, H. G. Wells, was addressing the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and gave his own theory of education. It seemed that the ideal way to educate children and adolescents was to feed them on carefully graded lumps—taken from his own "Outline of History" at eight shillings the volume—and after the war I feel perfectly sure that

somebody is going to hit upon a plan for connecting digestion with cerebration. If they do, we shall then award our degrees not on the basis of credit points but on the number of vitamins consumed. So that, for instance, a million vitamin A and a million vitamin B, Bachelor of Arts! An indefinite number of each, together with an original cartoon, Doctor of Philosophy! But if that is proposed, I assure you it will be taken up with the greatest gravity—especially in our Halls of Confusion. I refer, of course, to our normal schools.

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It is interesting to note two very definite tides that are in motion today in opposite directions. One tide is made up of the peoples and the leaders of the United States of America and the British Commonwealth of Nations. That tide is steadily tending towards the moral law, towards the natural law.

Running counter to it we find a number of our universities, especially those with normal schools and law schools; we find many of our courts and all of the totalitarian powers verging away from the moral law, away from the natural law. In all of this latter group we find a common contempt for absolutes and a common enthusiasm for exaggerated experimentalism and pragmatism. Of course, it would be bad enough if our schools of jurisprudence were merely irrational. It would be bad enough if we merely had to deal with behaviorists and experimentalists who make laws the individual output of the courts, divorced from principles and precedents, and based on a formula which denies the natural law, ignores the common law and the fundamental doctrine of stare decisis, and makes the judicial process a combination of brainstorm, impact of behavior, environmental urge and gastronomical impulses wherein the judicial decision is arrived at not by using the cerebellum as much as the duodenum.

It would be bad enough if law were merely a glorified merger of emotion, whim and hunch, announced today and changed tomorrow. But we could still take comfort in the fact that such a philosophy of law would not attract a superior type of men. Superior men, however, are very much attracted by pragmatism. That is why pragmatic schools are more dangerous than the others. They produce the same fluctuation, the same uncertainty but they flatter the ablest men who like to think themselves realistic and self-sufficient. That is why so many of our leading jurists today are legal pragmatists.

Does that mean that they are unprincipled men? Well, certainly one who knows as little about the laws of libel as I do would never state as much in public. But I think we can say in all safety that between pragmatism and expediency the difference is a hairline. And expediency is recognized everywhere as the death of principle. Moreover, the whole tendency of pragmatism is towards social chaos. It is alarming enough to see the *stare decisis* and the common law on their way out in the United States, and to realize they are not as secure in England as they used to be, even though a recent writer in the Modern Law Review, an English journal somewhat left of President Roosevelt's fourth administration describes common law as "An immortal old lady, always half asleep, but not quite oblivious, never too torpid to lift an antique eyelid at the slightest symptom of disorder." It is alarming because attacks

on the *stare decisis* and the common law give an ignorant man in the street, like myself, the feeling that there is no certainty in the law and hence no obligation on my part. "Lex dubia non obligat," as we poor defendants always say.

Moreover, what is to become of that sterner maxim so universally applied by your honors when we poor defendants are dragged before you "ignorantia juris non excusat." But certainly if ignorance of the law is no excuse, how can that be charged against us if the law is changing so fast that the court stenographer cannot keep up with it. More disturbing still is the feeling I get that my rights are not permanent any more; they are not inalienable.

Chief Justice Cardozo in his book on legal essays, "The Growth of the Law," gave this as a basic aphorism: "Law must be stable and yet it cannot stand still." The United States Supreme Court has been functioning of late under a new formula, "Law must not stand still long enough to become stable." We cannot forget the stinging accusation of Justice Roberts who said a few months ago that the course of judicial decisions in the Supreme Court in recent years was reminiscent of a railroad excursion ticket: "Good for the day only."

But if the modernist attack on the stare decisis and precedents of the Common Law makes me feel that my rights are not permanent any more, their attack on the natural law makes me feel that I have no rights at all, that there is no God; no absolute, there is no moral law. All law and all morality are merely man-made, and that is good totalitarian doctrine. It means that, as in Germany and in Soviet Russia today, law and equity are the same thing. Legality is morality, and in consequence we have the distressing conflict of law with laws, and the dreadful spectacle of petty politicians legislating against human nature. The situation, of course, is critical but not absolutely hopeless. As we read our history we know that in the past disintegration of various kinds has always begun in the minds of an influential group—sometimes a very small influential group. Well, integration can then begin the same way. This tendency can be checked if enough influential people want it badly enough to do something about it.

Our international problem may still possibly be solved if the English-speaking world, acting as a unit—and may God grant that we have common sense enough to act as a unit—denying ourselves the luxury of a family quarrel, will go to the peace table with a clear idea of what can and cannot be checked in the coatroom. Clearly some of our democratic ideology can be checked, can be postponed until another day. It isn't absolutely essential that all the Vassar graduates in Indo-China receive the secret ballot at once. Neither is it necessary that Philip

Murray establish at once the closed shop in Somaliland or in the Belgian Congo.

If only we can go into the peace conference with one thing clear in our minds, though we may be the only ones at the table who understand what it means, namely, that the United States of America and the British Commonwealth of Nations must defend to the end something far more important than the Common Law, which has been such a link between us all these years; that we must defend to the end the moral law as it has been understood by our common ancestors for 2000 years.

Our educational problem is not being neglected meanwhile. There are several groups that are working against the tide, notably the Association of Church Related Colleges, Catholic, Protestant and Jew. As for our legal problem, at least as far as New York is concerned, some progress could be made if just the men in this room were sincerely convinced that to defend the Absolute in our law schools and courtrooms is the highest form of modern patriotism.