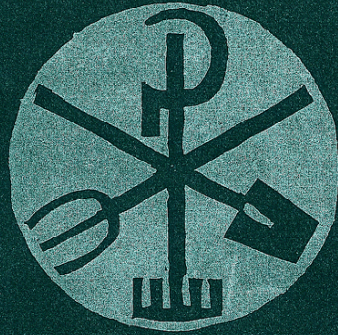


CATHOLIC  
RADICALISM



Peter Maurin

CATHOLIC  
RADICALISM  
PHRASED ESSAYS  
FOR THE GREEN REVOLUTION



by

PETER MAURIN

*With Drawings by*  
**ED WILLOCK**

CATHOLIC WORKER BOOKS

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## INTRODUCTION

After I had written the story of Peter Maurin's death and burial for the June issue of the CATHOLIC WORKER and the 65,000 copies of that issue had been sent out to our readers, I received a letter from a Mr. Louis Kozma, down on Avenue D, in New York, who wrote of his old friendship with Peter and asked for the following facts, which I am herewith supplying.

Date and month Peter died: May 15th, 1949. Specifically, on the feast of St. Jean Baptiste de la Salle, founder of the Christian Brothers, of which Peter was one for a time.

How old was he? Seventy-two the month of his death. We celebrated his birthdays with little parties, singing folk songs, which pleased him very much. Usually he made them an occasion for a speech, for a "clarification of thought."

Where was he born? In the little town of Oultet, in the Province of Languedoc, France, 200 miles from Barcelona, one of a family of 23 children. His own mother died after giving birth to five children, and his father married again and there were 18 more children. Amongst them there were four teachers, three carpenters, some farm hands. Some of his sisters were nuns and some of his brothers were members of religious orders.

"My mother's name," Peter told me some years before he died, "was Marie Pages. She died in 1885. Of her five children, only I and Celestin, a brother eighteen months younger, were left. My whole name was Aristide Pierre. Pierre was my grandfather and my godfather. He died at the age of 94 and was never sick. He worked in the fields until he was 85, and said he could not any longer because of his eyes. So he stayed home and made baskets and recited his rosary. He liked to work. He knew it was good for him.

"The last I heard of my brother, he was the head of a school in Paris, St. Clotilde's parish school. He had been a Christian brother, but when they were secularized they no longer wore the garb but went on teaching just the same. One of my half brothers taught for the Christian Brothers' school and he was married to a school teacher who taught in a public school. I

myself taught school for the Christian Brothers for about five years.

"Celestin was teaching in Pueblo, Mexico, when the first World War broke out, and he returned to France, and because he had not served his time in the army, he was put in the medical corps. He was buried alive by one shell bursting near him, and unburied by another. Another half brother was lost in the war, and there were five brothers in that war and probably some in this.

"My youngest half sister was a weakling but got stronger as she got older. She studied in England and she is a nun, I do not know what order, and is head of a school in Bolivia."

One time when Peter was giving us slogans, as we sat around the table at the Easton farm, he proposed the slogan, "Eat what you raise and raise what you eat," and we asked him what they ate in his family when he was a boy.

"We did not eat the calves, we sold them," he said. "We ate salt pork. We raised no hops, so there was no beer. We raised no grapes, so no wine. We had very little meat. We had plenty of bread; there was a communal oven. We had plenty of butter to season things with. We had codfish from Brittany fishermen. They went all the way to Newfoundland and Iceland to fish. We had vegetable soups and salads and cheese.

"It was in 1882 when the public school system started; I was 5 years old. It was compulsory in every village. My mother and father could not speak French, only a dialect like Catalan. (Joffre was born in French Catalonia and Foch in Basque Catalonia. Catalanian is spoken in Barcelona.) Our home language was more Latin than French. The name of our town was a Latin one, Oultet.

"The seat of our diocese was twelve miles away, and our parish church was two miles away. Oultet had fifteen families, and in the parish there were ten villages. There were two priests, and they worked very hard. To supplement their living they worked in their gardens. The villagers provided them with wood, and they got some little pay from the state, a compensation which was regulated by the concordat made by Napoleon. There are 89 departments in France, and in my province of Languedoc there were seven or nine departments.

"My family owned 80 sheep, and there was a herder for all the village. There were probably 3,000 sheep in the flock, and they grazed on what was still communal land. It was very cold in winter. The fuel we used was branches from trees. We used to cut the branches every three years. The leaves were for

the sheep and the branches for firewood. We cooked at an open fireplace.

"My father is dead, and my stepmother must be 75 now. Her name is Rosalie. She was 19 when she married my father. The last I heard, my brother was still farming and dealing in cattle.

"I lived there in the southern part of France, a peasant, on the soil, until I was 14, and then I went away to school. When I went to the Christian Brothers' school near Paris I studied for five years and then I taught for five years. I was a member of a study club in Paris then. It was the same time Charles Peguy was there, but I did not know him nor was I influenced by him. Instead I was interested in a group which published a paper which came out twice a week called *Le Sillon*. It had nothing to do with the decentralist, the distributist movement, no, but it was interested in ethics. It understood the chaos of the time. Marc Sangnier was editor and backer of the paper. Later friends got out a weekly paper called *The Spirit of Democracy*. They were looking for an ideology. They were preoccupied with the idea of an elite in a democracy.

"I did not like the idea of revolution. I did not like the French revolution, nor the English revolution. I did not wish to work to perpetuate the proletariat. I never became a member of a union, even though here in America I did all kinds of hard labor. I was always interested in the land and man's life on the land. That is why I went homesteading in Canada, but after two years, after my partner was killed in a hunting accident, I went around the country with work gangs and entered this country in 1911, where I have been ever since."

Another question that Peter's friend on the lower East Side asked me was, "Was Peter ever married?" No, Peter was a single man, an apostle to the world, and all men were his brothers, and we were his family.

It took a long time to get even the above facts from him because one of the outstanding characteristics of Peter was his love of ideas, and his impersonality in expressing them. He quoted authorities to bolster his ideas, men of prestige, he used to say, recognizing humbly that he was not a man of distinction. But he did not use incidents or personalities to illustrate his ideas. We tried to do that in the paper, in the CATHOLIC WORKER, which he urged me to start in 1933.

I first met Peter in December, 1932, when George Shuster, then editor of *Commonweal*, now president of Hunter College, urged him to get into contact with me because our ideas were so similar, both our criticism of the social order and our sense of personal responsibility in doing something about it. It was

not that "the world was so much with us" as that we felt that God did-not intend things to be as bad as they were. We believed that "in the Cross was joy of spirit." We knew that due to original sin, "all nature travailth and groaneth eyen until now," but we also believed, as Juliana of Norwich said, that "the worst had already happened," i.e., the Fall, and that Christ had repaired that "happy fault." We expected the suffering that goes with love, and we knew that only with such suffering are we enabled to "rejoice always." In other words, we both accepted the paradox which is Christianity.

We also believed that "The Catholic Church, that imperishable handiwork of our all-merciful God, has for her immediate and natural purpose the saving of souls and securing our happiness in heaven. Yet in regard to things temporal she is the source of benefits as manifold and great as if the chief end of her existence were to ensure the prospering of our earthly life." (Pope Leo XIII—*Immortale Dei*.)

Peter's program for immediate needs which he outlined for me was as follows:

*Alleviation of the immediate needs of the poor and indoctrination by example through voluntary poverty and the practice of the works of mercy, corporal and spiritual.*

*Clarification of thought through the CATHOLIC WORKER, leaflets, articles, discussions and meetings.*

*Houses of Hospitality in every poor parish to practice mutual aid, hospitality and charity, houses which would also provide workshops where the unemployed could be employed and where the unskilled could become skilled.*

*Farming communes, or agronomic universities, which would be founded on the faith and poverty of the Irish universities which housed scholars and students from all over Europe and which in turn evangelized the world, and which in turn in our day could become Christian communities of families where the communal and private aspect of property could be restored, and man would receive according to his needs.*

Peter was influenced in his reading by Kropotkin and Eric Gill, A. J. Penty, Harold Robbins, Belloc and Chesterton. He introduced us to these writers. He preferred the word anarchist to the word-socialist because he believed that nothing was so important as man's freedom.

As Harold Robbins wrote, "Freedom is the primary and supreme reason for the existence of mankind. That He should be freely loved and served seems, so far as our thought can penetrate, to have been God's chief reason for calling us into being. At the cost of this freedom God could have established

and maintained a world full of ORDER, but not of justice, for free will is of the essence of human justice."

It followed that Peter was a pacifist and did not believe in the use of force. When I spoke to him toward the close of his life about compulsory military training and the registration that began it, and asked him what he would do, he replied slowly, and with thought, "I would resist."

We have called Peter's book "Catholic Radicalism," and that is the title which he himself chose. He would have liked the CATHOLIC WORKER to have been named instead the CATHOLIC RADICAL, insisting as he did on the true meaning of the word, which is root, and certainly Peter was getting down to the roots of things.

His teaching was simple, so simple, as one can see from these phrased paragraphs, these Easy Essays, as we have come to call them, that many disregarded them. It was the sanctity of the man that made them dynamic.

We wish to emphasize here that though he synopsisized hundreds of books for all of us who were his students, and that meant thousands of pages of phrased paragraphs, these essays were his only original writings, and even during his prime we used them in the paper just as he did in speaking, over and over again. He believed in repeating, in driving his point home by constant repetition, like the dropping of water on the stones which were our hearts.

We have been at work these sixteen years now, and countless thousands of the poor have been fed, sheltered and indoctrinated. There are half a dozen farms started and a few score groups of families have turned to the land, little oases in the desert of industrialism. This is the yeast which is leavening the wheat.

There is heartbreak and failure, and suffering and death, too, in the record of our work. We are the dung to fertilize the soil so that the seeds of the gospel may grow and bear much fruit.

There will be much written about Peter in the future. We had hoped to have this book published before his death so that he could hold his work in his hands before he died. But he did not have that little joy. So we offer it to him now, and we beg him to bless it and us and continue to help us in the work he started.

DOROTHY DAY.

New York,  
The Feast of SS. Peter and Paul,  
June 29, 1949.



## FOREWORD

The essays in this book appeared in the CATHOLIC WORKER during the first ten years of its publication, beginning with the issue of May, 1933, Vol. I, No. 1. With a few minor exceptions they are arranged here in the chronological order of their original publication in the paper. The text has been divided into seven books, the first six of which cover approximately the following periods: Book 1, May 1933 to April 1934. Book 2, May 1934 to October 1935. Book 3, November 1935 to November 1937. Book 4, December 1937 to July-August 1939. Book 5, September 1939 to February 1941. Book 6, March 1941 to December 1942. The dates of the interviews which comprise Book 7 are given in the text.

While the book divisions are purely arbitrary, the first essay of each book is one of special significance. Each one serves as a keynote of a particular phase of Peter Maurin's message. In order, these keynotes and initial essays are: Sociology ("Blowing the Dynamite"), Condition of Labor ("Big Shots and Little Shots"), Agrarianism ("Back to Christ, Back to the Land"), Pacifism ("War and Peace"), Racism ("Let's Keep the Jews for Christ's Sake") and Economics ("Pie in the Sky").

A mistaken belief that Peter Maurin wrote many essays which were never published has been expressed in recent years. To correct this impression, it is necessary to state emphatically that everything written by Peter which he considered worthy of publication appeared in the CATHOLIC WORKER in his lifetime. It is true that he filled many notebooks with condensations and even complete books of other writers, which he copied in his beautiful manuscript style in the distinctive form of his own essays, but these were in no sense Peter's compositions; he did not even paraphrase such writings, but reproduced them in the exact words of their authors. Some of these condensations and excerpts were printed in the CATHOLIC WORKER, but they do not belong in a volume of his collected essays. The only essays composed by Peter which remain unpublished are those which he did not reduce to writing, and they were for the most part variations of those which have been published, variations at-

tributable to particular circumstances attending their oral delivery.

It has been necessary to omit from this collection some essays published in the CATHOLIC WORKER which were composed of several paragraphs taken from other essays and grouped under a new title. One such essay which may be cited as an example will be found in the issue of July-August, 1941, Vol. VIII, No. 9, on page 1, under the title "Let's Be Charitable for Christ's Sake." There are five paragraphs in this essay, each of which may be found in one of several other essays. Such repetition serves a good purpose in journalistic publication, but it would be unjustifiable in a book. There are a number of similar examples in the files of the paper, none of which will be found in this volume.

Some paragraphs appear repeatedly in the published essays, either unchanged or with slight variations. Repetition of some of them is desirable, and in such instances they have been retained. In other instances the repeated paragraphs have been omitted, the omission being indicated by a figure and four asterisks (\*\*!\*\*) . Reference to the list on page 206 will show where the omitted paragraph may be found elsewhere in the book. This method of indicating omitted paragraphs was adopted for the convenience of those students of Peter's writings who have need of a more nearly complete text than is required by the general reader. The omitted paragraphs should be included whenever essays are copied from this book for reprinting.

A large measure of thanks is due to several persons for their unselfish assistance in the work of preparing this book for publication: To George Collins, who undertook the arduous task of copying the essays from the files of the CATHOLIC WORKER; to Ed Willock, who gave us original drawings and a number of the cuts which originally appeared in *Integrity*, and to Charles Cain for invaluable assistance in my editorial, indexing and proofreading labors.

DAVID MASON.

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# BOOK 1





## **BLOWING THE DYNAMITE**

Writing about the Catholic Church, a radical writer says: "Rome will have to do more than to play a waiting game; she will have to use some of the dynamite inherent in her message." To blow the dynamite of a message is the only way to make the message dynamic. If the Catholic Church is not today the dominant social dynamic force, it is because Catholic scholars have failed to blow the dynamite of the Church. Catholic scholars have taken the dynamite of the Church, have wrapped it up in nice phraseology, placed it in an hermetic container and sat on the lid. It is about time to blow the lid off so the Catholic Church may again become the dominant social dynamic force.

## ***OUT OF THE TEMPLE***

Christ drove the money  
changers  
out of the Temple. But today  
nobody dares to drive the  
money lenders out of the  
Temple. And nobody dares  
to drive the money lenders ;  
out of the Temple because the  
money lenders j have taken  
a mortgage on the Temple.  
When church builders build  
churches with money  
borrowed from  
money lenders

they increase the prestige  
of the money lenders.  
But increasing the prestige  
of the money lenders  
does not increase the prestige  
of the Church.  
Which makes Archbishop  
McNicholas say: "We  
have been guilty of  
encouraging tyranny in  
the financial world until  
it has become a veritable  
octopus strangling the  
life of our people."

## ***ETHICS AND ECONOMICS***

Lincoln Steffens says:  
"The social problem  
is not a political problem;  
it is an economic problem.  
Kropotkin says:  
"The economic problem  
is not an economic problem;  
it is an ethical problem."  
Thorstein Veblen says:  
"There are no ethics in  
modern society." R. H.  
Tawney says: "There were  
high ethics in society

when the Canon Law was  
the law of the land." The  
high ethics of the Canon  
Law are embodied in the  
encyclicals  
of Pius XI and Leo XIII  
on the social problem. To  
apply the ethics of the  
encyclical to the problems  
of today, such is the  
purpose of Catholic  
Action.

## ***THE MONEY-LENDERS' DOLE***

Uncle Sam does not believe  
in the unemployed dole,  
but Uncle Sam does believe  
in the money-lenders' dole.  
Uncle Sam doles out every  
year

more than a billion dollars  
to the money lenders.  
And it is the money-lenders'  
dole  
that put Uncle Sam  
into a hole.

The money lenders are first  
citizens  
on Uncle Sam's payroll.  
There were no money lenders  
on the payroll in Palestine  
and Ireland. There were no  
money lenders on the payroll

in Palestine and Ireland  
because the Prophets of Israel  
and the Fathers of the Church  
forbid lending money at  
interest.  
But Uncle Sam does not listen  
to the Prophets of Israel and  
the Fathers of the Church.

### ***CREATING PROBLEMS***

Business men say  
that because everybody is  
selfish,  
business must therefore be  
based on selfishness. But  
when business is based on  
selfishness everybody is  
busy becoming  
more selfish.

And when everybody is busy  
becoming more selfish,  
we have classes and clashes.  
Business cannot set its house  
in order  
because business men are  
moved by selfish motives.  
Business men create problems,  
they do not solve them.

### ***WHEN CIVILIZATION DECAYS***

When the bank account  
is the standard of values  
the class on the top  
sets the standard.  
When the class on the top  
cares only for money  
it does not care  
for culture.  
When the class on the top  
does not care  
for culture,  
nobody cares  
for culture.

And when nobody cares  
for culture civilization  
decays. When class  
distinction is not based  
on the sense of *noblesse  
oblige*,  
it becomes clothes distinction.  
When class distinction has  
become clothes distinction  
everybody tries to put up a  
front.

### ***CHURCH AND STATE***

Modern society believes  
in separation  
of Church and State.  
But the Jews  
did not believe in it,  
the Greeks

did not believe in it,  
the Medievalists did  
not believe in it, the  
Puritans did not  
believe in it.  
Modern society

has separated  
the Church from the State,  
but it has not separated  
the State from business.  
Modern society  
does not believe  
in a Church's State;

it believes  
in a business men's State.  
"And it is the first time  
in the history of the world  
that the State is controlled  
by business men,"  
says James Truslow Adams.

### **SELF- ORGANIZATION**

People go to Washington,  
asking the Federal

Government to solve  
their economic  
problems, while  
the Federal

Government was never  
intended to solve men's  
economic  
problems.

Thomas Jefferson says that  
the less government there is,  
the better it is. If the less  
government  
there is, the  
better it is,

then the best kind of  
government is self-  
government. If the best kind  
of government is self-  
government, then the best  
kind of

organization is self-  
organization. When the  
organizers try to organize  
the unorganized, then the  
organizers don't organize  
themselves. And when the  
organizers don't organize  
themselves, nobody  
organizes himself, And when  
nobody organizes  
himself, nothing is  
organized.



# TO THE BISHOPS OF THE U. S.

## *A Plea for Houses of Hospitality*

<sup>1</sup> [An address by *Peter Maurin* to the unemployed at a meeting held in September, 1933, at Manhattan Lyceum, and published in the *Catholic Worker* (October, 1933) in order that it might be sent to all the Bishops and Archbishops meeting at the National Conference of Catholic Charities in New York.]

### **The Duty of Hospitality**

People who are in need and are not afraid to beg give to people not in need the occasion to do good for goodness" sake. Modern society calls the beggar bum and panhandler and gives him the bum's rush. But the Greeks used to say that people in need are the ambassadors of the gods.

Although you may be called bums and panhandlers you are in fact the

Ambassadors of God. As God's Ambassadors you should be given food, clothing and shelter by those who are able to give it.

Mahometan teachers tell us that God commands hospitality, and hospitality is still practiced

in Mahometan countries. But the duty of hospitality is neither taught nor practiced in Christian countries.

### **The Municipal Lodgings**

That is why you who are in need

are not invited to spend the night in the homes of the rich. There are guest rooms today in the homes of the rich but they are not for those who need them. And they are not for those who need them because those who need them are no longer considered as the Ambassadors of God. . So people no longer consider hospitality to the poor as a personal duty. And it does not disturb them a bit to send them to the city, where they are given the hospitality of the "Muni" at the expense of the taxpayer. But the hospitality that the "Muni" gives to the down and out is no hospitality because what comes from the taxpayer's pocketbook does not come from his heart.

### **Back to Hospitality**

The Catholic unemployed should not be sent to the "Muni." The Catholic unemployed

should be given hospitality in Catholic Houses of Hospitality.

Catholic Houses of Hospitality are known in Europe under the name of hospices. There have been hospices in Europe since the time of Constantine. Hospices are free guest houses; hotels are paying guest houses. And paying guest houses or hotels are as plentiful as free guest houses or hospices are scarce. So hospitality, like everything else, has been commercialized. So hospitality, like everything else, must now be idealized.

#### **Houses of Hospitality**

We need Houses of Hospitality to give to the rich the opportunity to serve the poor. We need Houses of Hospitality to bring the Bishops to the people and the people to the Bishops. We need Houses of Hospitality to bring back to institutions the technique of institutions. We need Houses of Hospitality to show what idealism looks like when it is practiced. We need Houses of Hospitality to bring social justice through Catholic Action

exercised in Catholic institutions.

#### **Hospices**

We read in the "Catholic Encyclopedia" that during the early ages of Christianity the hospice (or the House of Hospitality) was a shelter for the sick, the poor, the orphans, the old, the traveler and the needy of every kind] Originally the hospices (or Houses of Hospitality) were under the supervision of: the Bishops, who designated priests to administer the spiritual and temporal affairs of these charitable institutions.

The fourteenth statute of the so-called Council of Carthage, held about 436, enjoins upon the Bishops to have hospices (or Houses of Hospitality) in connection with their churches.

#### **Parish Houses of Hospitality**

Today we need Houses of Hospitality as much as they needed them then, if not more so. We have Parish Houses for the priests, Parish Houses for educational purposes, Parish Houses for recreational purposes,

but no Parish Houses of  
Hospitality.  
Bossuet says that the poor  
are the first children of the  
Church,  
so the poor should come first.  
People with homes should  
have a room of hospitality.  
So as to give shelter to the  
needy members of the  
parish The remaining needy  
members of the parish  
should be given shelter in a  
Parish Home.  
Furniture, clothing and food  
should be sent to the needy  
members of the parish  
at the Parish House of  
Hospitality.  
We need Parish Homes  
as well as Parish Domes.  
In the new Cathedral of  
Liverpool  
there will be a Home as  
well as a dome.

**Houses of "Catholic Action"**  
Catholic Houses of Hospitality  
should be more than free  
guest houses  
for the Catholic unemployed.  
They could be vocational  
training schools, including  
the training for the  
priesthood,  
as Father Corbett proposes.  
They could be Catholic  
reading rooms, as Father  
McSorley proposes. They  
could be Catholic  
Instruction Schools, as  
Father Cornelius Hayes  
proposes. They could be  
Round-Table  
Discussion Groups, as  
Peter Maurin proposes. In a  
word, they could be Catholic  
Action Houses, where  
Catholic Thought is  
combined with Catholic  
Action.

## AN OPEN LETTER TO FATHER LORD, M.AG.\*

Dear *Father*:  
In your instruction about  
writing you told us that the  
best way  
to learn to write is to  
write letters because a letter  
is a message from someone  
to somebody  
about something. So this is  
a message from an agitator  
to another  
agitator about a  
discontented world

which begins to realize  
that things are not good  
enough  
to be left alone. The Catholic  
Worker thinks that you are a  
wonder. We know what  
good work  
you are doing  
among Catholic college youth.  
But Catholic college youth is  
a small proportion of  
Catholic youth

\* Master Agitator

and all Catholic youth needs  
you. Not only all Catholic  
youth  
needs you  
but all youth needs you. And  
not only all those who  
are in their first youth  
but all those who are getting  
in their second youth and  
also all those who 'have  
reached the age of maturity  
without having reached the  
state of maturity. That is to  
say, we all need you. We all  
need you because you have  
the knack of getting at the  
core of things and of  
presenting your  
findings in a vivid and  
dynamic form.

In one of his editorials  
Father Gillis says that this  
age is very much like  
the age of the fall of Rome  
and that we could use another  
St. Augustine. Father  
Gillis adds that we need  
men to stir  
things up  
and that we have too many  
who try to smother them  
down. You certainly  
can stir  
things up

and you can do that with  
much ease.

It is said that Abbe  
Chardonnel, who was a  
poet, became a priest so he  
could be more of a poet. You,  
who are a born agitator, have  
become a priest, which  
makes you more of  
an agitator.

In St. Louis University you  
turn out Masters of Arts, but  
as Diego Rivera says: "All  
art is propaganda." And as  
all propaganda is  
agitation, it  
behooves St. Louis  
University, one of the  
best American  
universities, to turn out  
Masters of  
Agitation. So the  
Catholic Worker  
suggests that you, our  
Master Catholic  
Agitator,  
start in St. Louis University  
a School of Catholic Agitation  
for the popularization of  
Catholic Action. Yours for  
Catholic Action, For *the*  
Catholic *Worker*,

PETER MAURIN.

## ON MARXISM

**To Be a Marxian**  
Before he died, Karl Marx

told one of his friends, "I  
have lived long enough to



be able to say that I am not a Marxian." To be a Marxian, according to the logic of Das Kapital, is to maintain that the best thing to do is to wait patiently till capitalism has fulfilled its historic mission. To be a Marxian, according to the logic of Das Kapital, is to step back, take an academic view of things and watch the self-satisfied capitalists dig their own graves. To be a Marxian, according to the logic of Das Kapital, is to have faith in the forces of materialism— forces so powerful, according to materialists, that they will bring the millennium whether man wants it or not. To be a Marxian, according to the logic of Das Kapital, is to let economic evolution do its work without ever attempting to give it a push.

#### **What Karl Marx Realized**

Karl Marx soon realized that his own analysis of bourgeois society could not be the basis

of a dynamic revolutionary movement.

Karl Marx soon realized that a forceful Communist Manifesto was the necessary foundation of a dynamic Communist Movement.

Karl Marx soon realized, As Lenin realized, that there is no revolution without revolutionary action, that there is no revolutionary action without a revolutionary movement, that there is no revolutionary movement without a vanguard of revolution, and that there is no vanguard of revolution without a theory of revolution.

#### **The Communist Manifesto**

Having realized that a Communist Manifesto was the basis of a Communist Movement, Karl Marx decided to write a Communist Manifesto. To write the Communist Manifesto Karl Marx did not use his analysis of capitalism. He took the definition of Communism of Proudhon and made it his own. He borrowed Utopian criticism and Utopian aim and decided to advocate class-struggle,

that is to say, materialist aims. As some people used to think that we need a good honest war to end all wars, Karl Marx used to think that we need a gigantic class-struggle to bring about a classless society.

#### **For Catholic Action**

We Catholics have a better criticism of bourgeois society than Victor Considerant's criticism, used by Karl Marx. Our criticism of bourgeois society is the criticism of Blessed Thomas More. We Catholics have a better conception of Communism than the conception of Proudhon. Our conception of Communism is the conception of St. Thomas Aquinas in his doctrine of the "Common Good." We Catholics have better means than the means proposed by Karl Marx. Our means to realize the "Common Good" are embodied in Catholic Action. Catholic Action is action by Catholics for Catholics and non-Catholics. We don't want to take over the control of political and economic life.

We want to reconstruct the social order through Catholic Action exercised in Catholic institutions.

The Bishops' Program Shortly after the war the Bishops of America formulated a Program of Social Reconstruction largely based on co-operation. But the Bishops' Program failed to materialize for lack of co-operators. Catholic laymen and women were more interested in a laissez-faire economy. So Catholic laymen and women went back to Normalcy with Harding; they tried to Keep Cool with Coolidge, and now they try to See Rosy with Roosevelt. Catholic laymen and women are more interested in political action than they are interested in Catholic Action. Catholic laymen and women are more ready to follow the leadership of the politicians than they are ready to follow the leadership of the Bishops.

#### **Reconstructing the Social Order**

The Holy Father and the Bishops ask us to reconstruct the social order. The social order was once constructed through dynamic Catholic Action.

When the barbarians invaded the decaying Roman Empire Irish missionaries went all over Europe and laid the foundations of medieval Europe. Through the establishment of cultural centers, that is to say, Round-Table Discussions, they brought thought to the people. through free guest houses, that is to say, Houses of Hospitality,

they popularized the divine virtue of charity. Through farming colonies, that is to say, Agronomic Universities, they emphasized voluntary poverty. It was on the basis of personal charity and voluntary poverty that Irish missionaries laid the foundations of the social order.

## IS INFLATION

### Usurers Not Gentlemen

The Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church forbid lending money at interest.

Lending money at interest is called usury by the Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church.

Usurers were not considered to be gentlemen when people used to listen to the Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church. When people used to listen to the Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church they could not see anything

gentle in trying to live I on the sweat of somebody else's brow

by lending money at interest.

### Wealth-Producing Maniacs

When John Calvin legalized money-lending at interest

## INEVITABLE?

he made the bank account the standard of values. When the bank account became the standard of values people ceased to produce for use and began to produce for profits. When people began to produce for profits they became wealth-producing maniacs. When people became wealth-producing maniacs they produced too much wealth. When people found out that they had produced too much wealth they went on an orgy of wealth destruction and destroyed ten million lives besides. And fifteen years after a world-wide orgy of wealth and life destruction millions of people

find themselves victims  
of a world-wide depression  
brought about  
by a world gone mad  
on mass-production  
and mass-distribution.

#### **Legalized Usury**

Because John Calvin legalized  
money-lending at interest, the  
State has legalized money-  
lending at interest. Because  
the State has

legalized  
money-lending at interest,  
home-owners have mortgaged  
their homes.

Because the State has  
legalized  
money-lending at interest,  
farmers have mortgaged their  
farms.

Because the State has  
legalized  
money-lending at interest,  
institutions have mortgaged  
their buildings.

Because the State has  
legalized  
money-lending at interest,  
congregations have  
mortgaged their churches.

Because the State has  
legalized  
money-lending at interest,  
cities, counties, States and the  
Federal Government have  
mortgaged their budgets'. So  
people find themselves in all  
kinds of financial

difficulties because  
the State has  
legalized money-lending at  
interest.

#### **The Fallacy of Saving**

When people save money,  
they invest that money.  
Money invested increases  
production. Increased  
production brings a surplus  
in production. A surplus in  
production brings  
unemployment.

Unemployment brings a  
slump in business. A  
slump in business brings  
more unemployment. More  
unemployment brings a  
depression. A depression  
brings more depression.  
More depression brings red  
agitation. Red agitation  
brings red revolution.

#### **Avoiding Inflation**

Some say  
that inflation  
is desirable.  
Some say  
that inflation  
is deplorable.  
Some say  
that inflation  
is deplorable but inevitable  
The way  
to avoid inflation  
is to lighten the burden  
of the money borrowers  
without robbing  
the money lenders.  
And the way  
to lighten the burden  
of the money borrowers  
without robbing  
the money lenders

is to pass two laws,  
one law  
making immediately illegal  
all interest  
on money lent  
and another law

obliging the money borrowers  
to pay one per cent of their  
debt every year  
during a period of a hundred  
years.

## A SECOND OPEN LETTER TO FATHER LORD, S. J.

*Dear Father:*

There is a lot of talk today  
about the social value of  
Fascism.  
But Fascism is only a stopgap  
between capitalism and  
Bolshevism.  
Fascist dictatorship is a half-  
way house between the  
rugged  
individualism of capitalism  
and the rugged collectivism  
of Bolshevism.  
There is no essential  
difference  
between Fascist dictatorship  
and Bolshevik dictatorship.  
The trouble with the world  
today  
is too much dictatorship  
and too little leadership.  
  
Leadership cannot be found  
among politicians, business-  
men  
and college professors.  
The appointed leaders of  
mankind  
are the Catholic Bishops.  
Catholic Bishops have ceased  
to lead  
because Catholic laymen and  
women  
do not consider the Bishops  
as their leaders

in political and economic  
matters.  
Catholic laymen and women  
look up to the Bishops in  
spiritual matters and look up  
to politicians and  
business men in  
political and economic  
matters. Catholic laymen  
and women  
commit the great modern  
error of separating the  
spiritual  
from the material. This  
great modern error, known  
under the name of  
secularism,  
is called a "modern plague"  
by Pope Pius XI. You, who  
are a born agitator  
and a theologian,  
should bring a thorough  
understanding between  
Bishops, clergy and  
lay people.  
From that understanding  
would spring a form of  
Catholic Action that would  
be dynamic in  
character. We are  
threatened with  
dynamic Bolshevik action  
because we are sorely lacking  
in dynamic Catholic Action.  
PETER MAURIN.

## A RUMPUS ON THE CAMPUS

Two years ago  
I went to see Professor Moley,  
former head  
of President Roosevelt's Brain  
Trust,  
and said-to him: "I came here  
to find out if I could make an  
impression on the depression  
by starting a rumpus on the  
campus. But I found out that  
agitation is not rampant on  
the campus. Only business is  
rampant  
on the campus, although  
business is the bunk. May be,"  
said I, "history cannot be  
made on the campus."

And turning toward his  
secretary,  
Professor Moley said:  
"That's right,  
we don't make history  
on the campus,  
we only teach it."  
And because history is taught  
but not made  
on the campus of our univer-  
sities,  
the Catholic Worker  
is trying to make history  
on Union Square,  
where people have nothing to  
lose.

A battle royal is raging  
between East and West,  
between stock speculators and  
land speculators,

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between money lenders  
and money borrowers.  
To go back to the gold stand-  
ard,  
as the so-called "sound  
money" people propose,  
is to favor the money lenders  
at the expense of the money  
borrowers.  
To increase the amount of  
currency,  
as the mild inflationists pro-  
pose,  
is to favor the money borrow-  
ers  
at the expense of the money  
lenders.  
To devise schemes  
so as to bring about a rise in  
prices  
is to favor both money lend-  
ers  
and money borrowers  
at the expense of the consum-  
ing public.

We made the mistake  
of running business on credit  
and credit has run into debts  
and debts are leading us  
toward bankruptcy.  
The Jews had a way  
of wiping off the slate.  
Every fifty years,  
the year of the Jewish  
Jubilee,  
all debts were liquidated.  
But nobody,  
not even the Jews,  
proposes this old-time solu-  
tion.

John Maynard Keynes,  
the well-known English  
economist,  
says  
that we ought to ask our-  
selves  
if the medieval economists  
were not sound  
in condemning money-lending  
at interest.

In his book  
on "Religion and the Rise of  
Capitalism," R. H. Tawney,  
another English economist,  
points out  
that at the base of our ac-  
quisitive society we find  
legalized usury, or lending  
money at interest. Because  
the State has legalized  
money-lending at interest, in  
spite of the teachings of the  
Prophets of Israel and the  
Fathers of the  
Church, home owners have  
mortgaged  
their homes, farm owners  
have mortgaged  
their farms, institutions  
have mortgaged  
their buildings,  
governments have mortgaged  
their budgets. So we are  
where we are because the  
State has legalized  
money-lending at interest in  
spite of the teachings of the  
Prophets of Israel and the  
Fathers of the Church.

To go back to the teachings  
of the Prophets of Israel and  
the Fathers of the  
Church,

as I propose in my Easy Es-  
says in the current number  
of the

CATHOLIC WORKER, would  
not do any injustice to the  
money lenders or the money  
borrowers or the consuming  
public. Money lenders  
would get

their money back, money  
borrowers would find  
their burdens lightened, and  
the consuming public would  
not have to pay the bill.

We would go back to the  
point from which we  
should never  
have gone.

We would go back to the time  
when no one was called a  
gentleman  
who indulged in money-lend-  
ing at interest.

We would go back to the time  
when people could not see  
anything gentle in trying  
to live on the sweat of  
somebody else's brow by  
lending money at interest.

Many people say that we  
cannot go back, but I say  
neither can we go ahead, for  
we are parked in a blind  
alley. And when people are  
parked

in a blind alley the only  
thing to do is to go  
back. For when people lend  
money  
at interest

that money is invested.  
Money invested increases  
production. Increased  
production brings a surplus  
in production.  
A surplus in production  
brings unemployment.  
Unemployment brings a  
slump in business

A slump in business  
brings more unemployment.  
More unemployment  
brings a depression.  
A depression  
brings more depression,  
More depression  
brings red agitation.  
Red agitation  
brings red revolution.

### *COMING TO UNION SQUARE*

Two years ago, I went to see  
college professors  
and asked them to give me  
the formulation of those uni-  
versal concepts  
embodied in the universal  
message  
of universal universities  
that will enable the common  
man  
to create a universal economy.  
But college professors were  
too busy teaching subjects  
to be interested in mastering  
situations.  
College professors

were too interested  
in academic matters  
to be interested  
in dynamic matters.  
But now college professors  
realize  
that they must be men of ac-  
tion  
as well as men of thought—  
that they must be dynamic  
as well as academic,  
and that Union Square  
can teach something to col-  
lege professors  
as well as learning from col-  
lege professors.

### *SCHOLARS AND BOURGEOIS*

The scholar has told the bour-  
geois  
that a worker is a man for all  
that.  
But the bourgeois has told the  
scholar  
that a worker is a commodity  
for all that.  
Because the scholar has vi-  
sion,  
the bourgeois calls him a  
visionary.  
So the bourgeois laughs at the  
scholar's vision  
and the worker is left with-  
out vision.

And the worker left by the  
scholar without vision talks  
about liquidating both the  
bourgeois and the  
scholar. The scholars must  
tell the  
workers what is wrong with  
the things as they are. The  
scholars must tell the  
workers  
how a path can be made from  
the things as they are to the  
things as they should  
be



The scholars must collaborate  
with the workers  
in making a path  
from the things as they are  
to the things

as they should be.  
The scholars must become  
workers so the workers  
may be  
scholars.

## BUILDING CHURCHES

Henry Adams tells us in his  
autobiography  
that he could not get an edu-  
cation in America, because  
education implies  
unity of thought and there  
is no unity of  
thought in America. So he  
went to England and found  
that England was too much  
like America. So he went to  
France and found that France  
was too much like England  
and America. But in  
France he found the  
Cathedral of Chartres and  
from the Cathedral of  
Chartres he learned that  
there was unity of  
thought in thirteenth-  
century France.

People who built the Cathe-  
dral of Chartres  
knew how to combine  
cult, that is to say liturgy,  
with culture, that is to say  
philosophy,  
and cultivation, that is to say  
agriculture.

The Cathedral of Chartres is  
a real work of art  
because it is the real expres-  
sion  
of the spirit of a united  
people.  
Churches that are built today

do not express the spirit of the  
people.

"When a church is built,"  
a Catholic editor said to me,  
"the only thing that has news  
value is:

How much did it cost?" The  
Cathedral of Chartres  
was not built to increase  
the value of real  
estate. The Cathedral of  
Chartres  
was not built with money  
borrowed from  
money lenders. The  
Cathedral of Chartres  
was not built by workers  
working for  
wages.

Maurice Barres used to worry  
about the preservation of  
French Cathedrals, but  
Charles Peguy thought that  
the faith that builds  
Cathedrals  
is after all the thing that mat-  
ters. Moscow had a  
thousand  
churches  
and people lost the faith.  
Churches ought to be built  
with donated money, donated  
material, donated labor.

The motto of St. Benedict was  
*Lahore et Orare*, Labor and  
Pray.

Labor and prayer ought to be combined;  
labor ought to be a prayer.  
The liturgy of the Church is the prayer of the Church.  
People ought to pray with the Church  
and to work with the Church.  
The religious life of the people and the economic life of the people ought to be one.

I heard that in Germany a group of Benedictines is trying to combine liturgy with sociology. We don't need to wait for Germany to point the way,' Architects, artists and artisans ought to exchange ideas on Catholic liturgy and Catholic sociology.

## A QUESTION AND AN ANSWER ON CATHOLIC LABOR GUILDS

[A reader in Bellingham, Wash., wrote to Peter Maurin urging the organization of Catholic Labor Guilds throughout the country. Members would be assessed a dollar a year, and the money so raised would be used to start Houses of Hospitality. Peter's reply follows. (February 1934.) ]

Most organizations exist, not for the benefit of the organized, but for the benefit of the organizers.  
When the organizers try to organize the unorganized they do not organize themselves.  
If everybody organized himself, everybody would be organized.  
There is no better way to be than to be what we want the other fellow to be.  
The money that comes from assessments is not worth getting.  
The money that is worth getting

is the money that is given for charity's sake.  
Parish Houses of Hospitality must be built on Christian charity.

But Parish Houses of Hospitality are only half-way houses. Parish Subsistence Camps are the most efficient way to make an impression on the depression. The basis for a Christian

economy is genuine charity and voluntary poverty.

To give money to the poor is to increase the buying power of the poor.

Money is by definition a means of exchange.

and not a means to make money. When money is used as a " means of exchange, it helps to consume the goods that have been produced. When money is used as an investment, it does not help to consume the goods that have been produced, it helps to produce more goods, to bring over-production and therefore increase unemployment. So much money has been put into business that it has put business out of business.

Money given to the poor is functional money, money that fulfills its function.

Money used as an investment is prostituted money, money that does not fulfill its function.

Poverty and charity are no longer looked up to, they are looked down upon.

The poor have ceased to accept poverty and the rich have ceased to practice charity.

When the poor are satisfied to be poor, the rich become charitable toward the poor.

Because Christianity presents poverty as an ideal Bolshevik Communists try to make us believe

that religion is the opium of the people. Karl Marx says that the worker is exploited at the point of production. But the worker would not be exploited at the point of production if the worker did not sell his labor to the exploiter of his labor.

When the worker sells his labor to a capitalist or accumulator of labor he allows the capitalist or accumulator of labor to accumulate his labor.

And when the capitalist or accumulator of labor has accumulated so much of the worker's labor that he no longer finds it profitable

to buy the worker's labor then the worker can no longer sell his labor to the capitalist or accumulator of labor.

And when the worker can no longer sell his labor to the capitalist or accumulator of labor

he can no longer buy the products of his labor.

And that is what the worker gets for selling his labor to the capitalist or accumulator of labor.

He just gets left and he gets what is coming to him.

Labor is not a commodity to be bought and sold—

Labor is a means of self-expression,  
the worker's gift to the common good.

There is so much depression  
because there is so little expression.

I am fostering Parish Subsistence Camps  
or Agronomic Universities as  
a means to bring about a  
state of society where  
scholars are workers and  
where workers are scholars.

In a Parish Subsistence Camp  
or Agronomic University the  
worker does not work for  
wages,  
he leaves that to the University.

In a Parish Subsistence Camp  
or Agronomic University the  
worker does not look for  
a bank account, he leaves  
that to the University.

In a Parish Subsistence Camp  
or Agronomic University the  
worker does not look for  
an insurance policy, he  
leaves that to the University.

In a Parish Subsistence Camp  
or Agronomic University the  
worker does not look for  
an old-age pension, he leaves  
that to the University.

In a Parish Subsistence Camp  
or Agronomic University the  
worker does not look for a  
rainy day,  
he leaves that to the University. Modern industry has no  
work

for everybody but work  
can be found for  
everybody

in Parish Subsistence Camps  
or Agronomic Universities.

I may later on publish a magazine  
entitled *The Agronomist*

for the fostering of the idea  
of Parish Subsistence Camps  
or Agronomic Universities.

Edward Koch, of Germantown,  
Illinois,

publishes a magazine entitled  
*The Guildsman*;

you ought to get in touch with  
him.

Your *co-worker in Christ's Kingdom*,

PETER MAURIN.

## PETER'S REPLY TO MICHAEL GUNN

*[Taking exception to Peter's answer to the Bellingham reader, Michael Gunn, organizer of the Catholic Labor Guild in Brooklyn, wrote a critical letter which drew the following reply. (March, 1934.)]*

*Dear Mike:*

In my answer to a reader  
from Bellingham, Washington,  
I said that most organiza-  
tions exist,  
not for the benefit of the or-  
ganized  
but for the benefit of the or-  
ganizers.  
I added that when the or-  
ganizers  
try to organize the unorgan-  
ized  
they do not organize them-  
selves.  
When I wrote that  
I did not have in mind  
the Catholic Labor Guild in  
Brooklyn.  
I had in mind  
some selfish exploiters  
of the exploitation of the ex-  
ploited  
who like to be called labor  
leaders.  
I had in mind  
some exalted rulers of secret  
societies  
who, while they call them-  
selves Masons,  
have not, yet learned  
to create order out of chaos.  
I had in mind  
some dignified regulators  
of societies which have some  
secrets  
without being called secret  
societies.

While I don't like some of  
your ideas,  
I like you personally.  
I think that you are much  
better  
than some of your ideas.  
I think that you are inclined  
to lead a life of sacrifice.  
During the World War you  
placed your life  
at the service of the British  
Empire.  
After the war, you placed  
your life  
at the service of the Irish Re-  
public.  
And now you have placed  
your life  
at the service of the Church.  
You and your fellow workers  
of the Catholic Labor Guild  
are trying to combine  
prayer, action and sacrifice,  
as the Holy Father suggests.  
You and your fellow workers  
want to be go-givers,  
you don't want to be go-get-  
ters.  
Since you and your fellow  
workers  
want to be go-givers,  
you ought to give  
to those who are in need of  
giving.  
To give to people who have  
money to lend  
is to give to people who are  
not in need.

People who have money should do good with their money, either give it away, as our Saviour advises, or lend it without interest. To pay interest on money loaned is to place an enterprise under a too heavy burden. Everyone must live on the sweat of his brow and not on money loaned. Nobody could lend money at interest if nobody would borrow money at interest. People who live on money loaned at interest reap some of the profits of property without the responsibility of property.

To pay double wages to managers is to make the workers envious of the managers. Managers should receive what they need and no more than they need. Knowledge obliges as well as "*noblesse oblige*." We cannot have a Catholic democracy without a Catholic aristocracy. Paying double wages to managers is not the way to make aristocrats out of efficient managers. "The most important of all are Workmen's Associations and it is greatly to be desired

that they should multiply and become more effective,"\* says Pope Leo XIII. To borrow money at interest and to pay double wages to managers is not absolutely necessary to the good functioning of Workmen's Associations.

You say that the Catholic Labor Guild does not lend money at interest.

I hope that it will see the way not to borrow money at interest.

[ You say that the Catholic Labor Guild stands for profit-sharing. I hope that your self-sacrificing example will lead the members of the Guild

to stand for loss-sharing. When the members of the Guild decide to allow the Guild to accumulate the profits they will not need to worry about their economic security. Let the members of the Guild give all they can to the Guild; the Guild will not leave them in want.

Let the Labor Guild help all those that it can help and the Farming Communes will help all those that the Guild cannot help.

Yours for Catholic *Action*,  
PETER MAURIN.

# PURPOSE OF THE CATHOLIC WORKERS' SCHOOL

from things as they are  
to things as they should be.

\*\* 1 \*\*

## **Program**

The purpose of the Catholic  
Workers' School  
is to bring Catholic thought  
to Catholic workers  
so as to prepare them  
for Catholic Action.  
Besides presenting Catholic  
thought  
to Catholic workers  
the Catholic Workers' School  
presents a program of Catho-  
lic Action  
based on Catholic thought.

The program of the Catholic  
Workers' School  
is a three-point program:

1. Round-table Discussions
2. Houses of Hospitality
3. Farming Communes.

## **Bound-Table Discussions**

We need Round-Table Dis-  
cussions  
to keep trained minds from  
being academic.

We need Round-Table Dis-  
cussions  
to keep untrained minds from  
being superficial.

We need Round-Table Dis-  
cussions  
to learn from scholars  
how things would be,  
if they were as they should be.

We need Round-Table Dis-  
cussions  
to learn from scholars  
how a path can be made

## **Communes**

We need Communes to  
help the unemployed to  
help themselves. We need  
Communes to make  
scholars out of

workers

and workers out of scholars.

We need Communes to  
substitute a technique of  
ideals

for our technique of deals. We  
need Communes to create a  
new society within the shell  
of the old with the  
philosophy of the

new,

which is not a new philosophy  
but a very old philosophy, a  
philosophy so old that it  
looks like new. Catholic  
Social Philosophy The  
Catholic social philosophy is  
the philosophy of the  
Common Good of St. Thomas  
Aquinas. Three books where  
this philosophy is expressed  
are: "The Thomistic Doctrine  
of

the Common Good," by  
Seraphine Michel; "The  
Social Principles of the  
Gospel,"

by Alphonse Lagan;  
"Progress and Religion,"  
by Christopher Dawson.

## THE CASE FOR UTOPIA

### Better and Better Off

The world would be better off if people tried to become better. And people would become better if they stopped trying to become better off. For when everybody tries to become better off, nobody is better off. But when everybody tries to become better, everybody is better off. Everybody would be rich if nobody tried to become richer.

And nobody would be poor if everybody tried to be the poorest. And everybody would be what he ought to be if everybody tried to be what he wants the other fellow to be.

### Christianity, Capitalism, Communism

Christianity has nothing to do with either modern capitalism or modern Communism, for Christianity has a capitalism of its own and a communism of its own. Modern capitalism is based on property without responsibility, while Christian capitalism is based on property with responsibility. Modern Communism is based on poverty through force

while Christian communism is based on poverty through choice.

For a Christian, voluntary poverty is the ideal as exemplified by St. Francis of Assisi, while private property is not an absolute right, but a gift which as such can not be wasted, but must be administered for 'the benefit of God's children.

### Christ's Message

"No man can serve two masters,  
God and Mammon."

"Be perfect  
as your Heavenly Father is perfect."

"If you want to be perfect,  
sell all you have,  
give it to the poor,  
take up your cross  
and follow me."

—*New Testament.*

"These are hard words,  
but the hard words of a book  
were the only reason  
why the book was written."

—*Robert Louis Stevenson.*

### What St. Francis Desired

According to Johannes Jorgenson, a Danish convert living in Assisi, St. Francis desired that men should give up superfluous possessions,



St. Francis desired that men should work with their hands. St. Francis desired that men should offer- their services as a gift. St. Francis desired that men should ask other people for help when work failed them. St. Francis desired that men should live as free as birds. St. Francis desired that men should go through life giving thanks to God for His gifts.

#### **The Third Order**

"We are perfectly certain that the Third Order of St. Francis is the most powerful antidote against the evils that harass the present age."

—*Leo XIII.*

"Oh, how many benefits would not the Third Order of St. Francis have conferred on the Church if it had been everywhere organized in accordance with the wishes of Leo XIII."

—*Pitts X.*

"We believe that the spirit of the Third Order, thoroughly redolent of Gospel wisdom, will do very much to reform public and private morals."

—*Benedict XV.*

"The general restoration of peace and morals was advanced very much by the Third Order of St. Francis, which was a religious order indeed, yet something unexampled up to that time."

—*Pius XI.*

#### **Three Ways to Make a Living**

Mirabeau says "There are three ways to make a living: Stealing, begging and working." Stealing is against the law of

God

and against the law of men. Begging is against the law of men but not against the law of

God. Working is neither

against the law of God

nor against the law of men.

But they say

that there is no work to do.

There is plenty of work to do, but no wages. But people do not need to

work for wages, they can offer their services as a gift.

#### **Capital and Labor**

"Capital," says Karl Marx,

"is accumulated labor, not for the benefit of the laborers,

but for the benefit of the accumulators."

And capitalists succeed in accumulating labor, by treating labor, not as a gift,

but as a commodity, buying  
it as any other commodity  
at the lowest possible price.  
And organized labor plays  
into the hands  
of the capitalists, or accumu-  
lators of labor, by treating its  
own labor not as a gift, but  
as a commodity,  
selling it as any other com-  
modity  
at the highest possible price.  
And the class struggle is a  
struggle  
between the buyers of labor  
at the lowest possible price  
and the sellers of labor at  
the highest possible price.  
But the buyers of labor at  
the lowest possible price and  
the sellers of labor at the  
highest possible price are  
nothing but commercializers  
of labor.

### **Selling Their Labor**

When the workers

sell their labor  
to the capitalists  
or accumulators of labor  
they allow the capitalists  
or accumulators of labor  
to accumulate their labor.  
And when the capitalists  
or accumulators of labor  
have accumulated so much  
of the worker's labor  
that they do no longer  
find it profitable  
to buy the workers' labor  
then the workers  
can no longer sell their labor  
to the capitalists  
or accumulators of labor  
And when the workers  
can no longer  
sell their labor  
to the capitalists  
or accumulators of labor  
they can no longer buy  
the products of their labor.  
And that is what the workers  
get  
for selling their labor.  
\*\* 2 \*\*



# THE BISHOPS' MESSAGE

## *Quotations and Comments*

[These excerpts *from*, the Bishops' *Message of 1934*, with Peter Maurin's comments, were published in the issue of May, 1934. The quotations are *printed here in Roman type and Peter's comments in italics.*]

In tracing the remote causes  
of the present misery of  
mankind  
we must listen to him who  
as a loving father views  
from an eminence all the  
nations of the world.

Quoting St. Paul, our Holy  
Father says: "The desire  
for money is the root of all  
evil." From greed arises  
mutual  
distrust  
that casts a blight  
on all human beings.

From greed arises envy  
which makes a man  
consider the advantages of  
another  
as losses to himself.  
From greed arises  
narrow individualism  
which orders and subordi-  
nates everything  
to its own advantage.

People looking  
for a rainy day  
have put so much money  
into business  
that they have brought about  
an increase  
in producing power  
and a decrease  
in purchasing power.

*So there is a rub  
between the rich  
who like to get  
richer and the  
poor who don't  
like to get  
poorer.*

In common with other nations  
we have brought about our  
present unhappy conditions  
by divorcing education,  
industry, politics, business  
and economics from  
morality and religion and by  
ignoring for long  
decades  
the innate dignity of man  
and trampling on his human  
rights.

*We have taken religion out of  
everything and have put  
commercialism into  
everything.*

***That we are an industrial  
nation  
is our public boast.  
Industry is considered to  
be  
of more importance than  
the moral welfare of  
man.  
The lord of all is Industry.  
"Save Industry!" is the cry.  
"Put business on its feet  
and all will be well as it  
was in the past."***

*We are beginning to learn  
that to put big business  
on its feet  
does not necessarily put  
the forgotten man on his  
feet.*

The philosophy which has  
ruled governments, groups  
and individuals for the past  
three hundred  
years  
has not taken as its guide the  
moral law, has not  
considered the rights  
of men.  
Money, not men, has been  
the supreme  
consideration and the  
justifying end.

*When people care for  
money they do not  
care for culture. And  
when people do not  
care for culture they  
return to barbarism.*

That philosophy permits  
individuals to accumulate as  
much wealth  
as they can  
according to unfair methods  
of modern business and to  
use such accumulated  
wealth  
as they see fit.  
This extreme of individualism  
has led to the extreme of  
Communism. We rightly  
fear its spread  
in our country and see an  
especial menace

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in its insidious presentation  
of fundamental troubles for  
its own destructive ends.

*When modern society  
made the bank account  
the standard of values  
people ceased  
to produce for use  
and began  
to produce for profit.  
Rugged individualism  
leads to  
rugged nationalism,  
which leads to  
rugged collectivism.*

The brotherhood of man is  
loudly proclaimed. Energetic  
protest is made against  
injustice done to the working  
class. The abuses of the  
capitalist  
system  
are vigorously condemned.  
It is insisted that man shall  
not exploit his  
fellow man  
and that all shall be dedicated  
to a life of service.

*In a capitalist society  
where man is  
inhuman to man  
people cannot keep  
from dreaming about  
a society where man  
would be human to  
man.*

A program of social reform  
couched in such language  
and with such aims and  
purposes is  
unassailable

because it is distinctly  
Christian in origin and  
purport, but in the  
hands of the  
Communists it is  
merely a snare to allure  
those who are  
oppressed by the prevailing  
economic  
maladjustment into  
accepting the iniquitous  
social and religious tenets  
of Lenin and Stalin. There  
is a very grave and  
subtle danger of infection  
from Communism.

*According to St. Thomas  
Aquinas, man is more  
than an individual with  
individual rights; he is a  
person with personal  
duties toward God  
Himself and his fellow  
man.*

*As a person man  
cannot serve God  
without serving the  
common good.*

Special efforts are being made  
to win Negroes  
who are the victims of  
injustice. The Communists  
have as their  
objective  
a world war on God and the  
complete destruction of all  
supernatural and even  
natural religion.

*The Negroes  
are beginning to find out  
that wage slavery.  
is no improvement  
on chattel slavery.  
The Communists say  
that Christianity is a failure,  
but it is not a failure  
for the very good reason  
that it has not been tried.*



**THE SPIRIT  
OF THE MASS**

Men always ring a little bell  
When the sacring time is near,  
And then shalt thou do  
reverence To Christ Jesus'  
own high  
presence; That thou may  
lose all sinful  
bonds Kneel and hold up  
both thy  
hands,  
For this is He that Judas sold  
That lifted up thou dost  
behold. And He was  
scourged and trod  
the way To shed His blood  
for all  
mankind. He died, He rose,  
He went to  
Heaven Whence He comes  
to judge  
mankind For all that each of  
us has  
done. This same is He thou  
lookst  
upon, This is the truth of  
Holy  
Church.

—*From a lay-folks' Mass  
Book, Thirteenth Century.*

**THE SPIRIT**

**FOR THE MASSES**

The central act of devotional  
life  
in the Catholic Church is the  
Holy Sacrifice of the  
Mass.

The Sacrifice of the Mass is  
the unbloody repetition of  
the Sacrifice of the Cross.

On the Cross of Calvary  
Christ gave His life to redeem  
the world.

The life of Christ was a life of  
sacrifice.

The life of a Christian must  
be I a life of sacrifice.

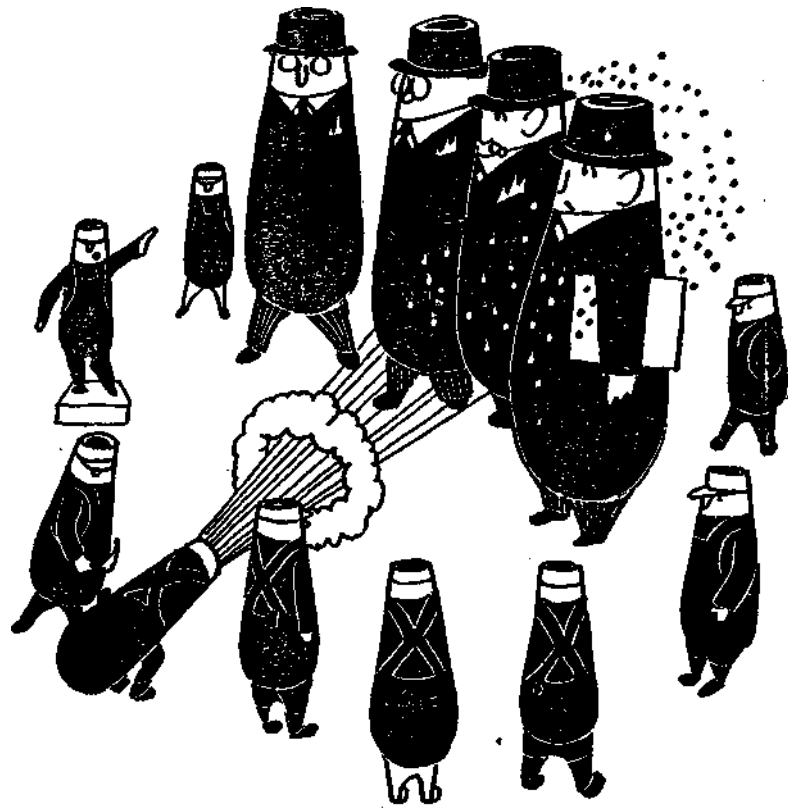
We cannot imitate the sacri-  
fice of Christ on Calvary by  
trying to get all we can.

We can only imitate the sacri-  
fice of Christ on Calvary by  
trying to give all we can.

—*Peter Maurin.*



# BOOK 2





## BIG SHOTS AND LITTLE SHOTS

America is all shot to pieces  
since the little shots  
are no longer able  
to become big shots.  
When the little shots  
are not satisfied  
to remain little shots  
and try to become  
big shots,  
then the big shots  
are not satisfied  
to remain big shots  
and try to become  
bigger shots.  
And when the big shots  
become bigger shots  
then the little shots  
become littler shots.  
And when the little shots  
become littler shots  
because the big shots  
become bigger shots  
then the little shots

get mad at the big shots.  
And when the little shots  
get mad at the big shots,  
because the big shots  
by becoming bigger shots  
make the little shots  
littler shots  
they shoot the big shots  
full of little shots.  
But by shooting the big shots  
full of little shots  
the little shots  
do not become big shots;  
they make everything all shot.  
And I don't like  
to see the little shots  
shoot the big shots  
full of little shots;  
that is why  
I am trying to shoot  
both the big shots  
and the little shots  
full of hot shots.

## FOR CATHOLIC ACTION

### **A Modern Plague**

Glenn Frank,  
president of Wisconsin Uni-  
versity,  
says:

"What ails modern society  
is the separation of the  
spiritual from the material."

Pope Pius XI  
calls this separation  
"a modern plague,"  
or to speak more plainly  
"a pest."

This separation of the spirit-  
ual from the material  
is what we call "secularism."  
Everything has been secular-  
ized,  
everything has been divorced  
from religion.

We have divorced religion  
from education, we have  
divorced religion  
from politics,  
we have divorced religion  
from business.

### **Secularism**

When religion has nothing to  
do with education,  
education is only information,  
plenty of facts  
and no understanding.

When religion has nothing to  
do with politics,  
politics is only factionalism—  
"Let's turn the rascals out  
so our good friends can get  
in."

When religion has nothing to  
do with business,  
business is only commercial-  
ism.

And when religion has noth-  
ing to do with either educa-  
tion, politics or business,  
you have the religion of busi-  
ness taking the place of the  
business of religion.

### **Spiritualizing**

Our modern educators,  
our modern politicians,  
our modern business men  
have taken religion from  
everything  
and have put commercialism  
into everything.

And now we have to take  
commercialism out of every-  
thing  
and to put religion into  
everything.

The way to take commercial-  
ism out of everything  
and to put religion into every-  
thing  
is not through political action.  
The way to take commercial  
ism out of everything  
and to put religion into every-  
thing  
is through Catholic Action.

### **Business-Like**

Catholic Action is action by  
Catholics  
for Catholics and non-  
Catholics,  
Catholic Action is action by  
Catholic laymen  
in co-operation with the  
clergy.  
Catholic laymen and women  
have told the clergy,  
"Mind your own business

and don't butt into our business."  
So Catholic clergymen have ceased to mind the layman's business and the laymen have made a mess of their own business. And Catholic clergymen have tried to mind their business with a business-like technique borrowed from business-minded people.

#### **Roosevelt's Experiment**

And now business is bankrupt and Catholic clergymen don't know what is to be done about it. Not knowing what is to be done about it, Catholic clergymen have made up their mind to let George do it, to let the politicians do it, to let Roosevelt do it. So President Roosevelt is trying to do it with the help of college professors. So with the help of college professors President Roosevelt is making a stab at it through a hit-and-miss policy, through a policy of experiments, through a policy of muddling through. And while President Roosevelt is experimenting Catholic clergymen are wondering.

#### **The Forgotten Man**

The forgotten man has been forgotten

because clergymen have forgotten to rub shoulders with the forgotten man. And clergymen have forgotten to rub shoulders with the forgotten man because clergymen have forgotten to use logic to find what is practical. And because clergymen have forgotten to use logic to find what is practical they have failed to give us a sociology that has something to do with theology. If there was a sociology that had something to do with theology it was the sociology of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Thomas Aquinas and Blessed Thomas More. But the sociology of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Thomas Aquinas and Blessed Thomas More was an Utopian sociology, and clergymen are not interested in Utopias, not even Christian Utopias.

#### **Rome or Moscow**

And because clergymen are not interested in the sociology of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Thomas Aquinas and Blessed Thomas More, the forgotten man is becoming interested in the sociology of Karl Marx, Lenin and Stalin.

And because clergymen are  
not interested  
in a technique of leadership  
the forgotten man is becom-  
ing interested  
in a technique of dictatorship.

And because clergymen are  
not interested  
in Dynamic Catholic Action  
the forgotten man is becom-  
ing interested in Dynamic  
Bolshevik Action.

## IS POLITICAL ACTION AN ANSWER?

[In a letter to Peter, John J. Cummings urged the establish-  
ment of a Catholic political party. Peter's reply follows. (June,  
1934.)]

*Dear John Cummings:*  
As Father Fulton Sheen says:  
"The issue is between  
Christianity and paganism."  
The Communists say  
that Christianity is a failure.  
But it is not a failure,  
and this for the very good  
reason  
that it has not been tried.  
You would like to see the  
formation  
of a Catholic political party.  
Our Holy Father does not ask  
us  
to reconstruct the social order  
through Catholic political  
action,  
but through Catholic social  
action.  
Catholic political parties  
have been done away with  
in Italy, as well as Germany.  
You would like to stop Com-  
munism,  
but a Catholic political party  
cannot stop Communism.  
Fascism, whether Catholic or  
Protestant,  
cannot stop Communism.  
Fascism is only a stop-gap  
between the rugged individ-  
ualism

of bourgeois capitalism and  
the rugged collectivism of  
Bolshevik Communism.  
There is no substitute for  
Catholic Social Action.  
Fascist dictatorship makes the  
bed for Bolshevik  
dictatorship  
to lie in. A German  
Catholic in Canada  
writes us that the German  
Catholic  
Party which his father  
helped to  
found did a lot of  
harm to the  
Church.  
The Catholic Worker's School  
is a clearing-house of thought,  
and, therefore, welcomes the  
expression of any opinion.  
The Catholic Worker Move-  
ment  
fosters Catholic social action  
and not Catholic political  
action.  
While we disagree with you,  
We offer you the opportunity  
to freely express your views  
and win people to your cause.  
*Your co-worker in Christ's  
Kingdom.*  
PETER MAURIN,

## COMMUNIST ACTION IN SCHOOLS A CHALLENGE TO CATHOLICS

### **I Was Told**

I was told  
by a young Puerto Rican that  
the president of his school's  
study club was a Communist,  
and that in the meetings of  
the school's study club the  
Communist president did  
most of the talking and that  
the school teacher was an  
interested listener to the  
Communist president of the  
school's study club. I was  
told  
by the dean of a Catholic col-  
lege  
that Catholic professors  
of Catholic colleges have  
neither the knowledge  
nor the  
courage to bring  
Catholic social  
thought to the man of  
the street.

### **Looking for Light**

So while Catholic professors  
of Catholic colleges  
do not have  
enough knowledge or courage  
to bring Catholic social  
thought  
to the man of the street,  
Communist propagandists yet  
in their 'teens find enough  
knowledge or  
courage  
to bring Communist social  
thought  
to the men of the school.

The schools used to teach: "If  
you want peace prepare for  
war"; we prepared for war  
and are still looking for peace.  
The schools used to teach: "If  
you want prosperity save  
your money"; people saved  
their money, and we are still  
looking for  
prosperity. The modern man  
looks for  
thought  
so he can have light, and  
is unable to find it in our  
modern schools.

### **Shouting With Rotarians**

According to Glenn Frank,  
president of the University of  
Wisconsin,  
"Schools reflect the environ-  
ment,  
they do not create it."  
According to Professor  
Meiklejohn,  
of the same university,  
students go to school  
not to be educated,  
but to be business men.  
Shortly after their graduation  
school graduates can be  
heard  
shouting with Rotarians:  
"Service for profits,  
Time is money,  
Cash and carry,  
Keep smiling,  
Business is business,  
Watch your step,  
How is the rush?"

How are you making out?  
How is the world treating  
you? The law of supply  
and  
demand, Competition is the  
life of  
trade, Your dollar is your  
best  
friend."

#### **Things Have Changed**

A few years ago  
I went to the campus  
of New York universities  
to try to find out  
if I could make an impression  
on the depression  
by starting a rumpus  
on the campus.  
But I found out  
that agitation  
was not rampant  
on the campus;  
only business was rampant  
on the campus,  
although business  
is the bunk.  
But things have changed  
and Bolshevik agitation  
is now rampant  
on the campus.  
So thanks to our Bolshevik  
agitators, public schools,  
colleges and  
universities  
can now be made centers of  
Catholic agitation.

#### **Only Twenty-Five Cents**

But while Communist propa-  
gandists  
yet in their 'teens  
are learning the art  
of Communist agitation,  
Catholic teachers  
teaching in Catholic or public  
schools

have a terrible sense of  
inferiority complex when it  
comes to Catholic agitation.  
While Communist propagan-  
dists  
yet in their 'teens are  
enough interested in  
Communist propaganda to  
buy the daily Communist  
paper  
named the *Daily Worker*, a  
great number of Catholic  
teachers teaching in  
Catholic or public  
schools  
have not yet found the way  
to gather twenty-five cents  
for a yearly subscription to  
the monthly CATHOLIC  
WORKER.

#### **A Protestant Agitator**

Catholic teachers teaching in  
Catholic or public  
schools  
who do not know how to pre-  
sent  
Catholic social thought either  
to the men on the street or to  
the pupils in the schools will  
be interested to learn that a  
Protestant agitator well  
known in Union Square is  
presenting the Thomistic  
doctrine  
of the Common Good to the  
men of the street in the  
streets of Harlem. H.  
Hergenhan, such is his  
name,  
does not believe in the  
rugged individualism of  
capitalism  
or in the rugged nationalism  
of Fascism

or in the rugged collectivism of Bolshevism.

### **The Common Good**

He believes in the gentle personalism

of gentlemen who are gentle, gentleness that finds its roots in the common doctrine of the Common Good. H.

Hergenhahn believes that the doctrine of the Common Good is common

to humanists who are human, to Jews who are orthodox, to Protestants who are Christian and to Catholics who are Catholic.

The Common Good movement is not a movement that divides,

it is a movement that unites. The Common Good movement is not a new deal, it is an old game. The Common Good movement

is not a revolution to the left, it is a revolution to the right.

### **Tawney's Book**

When in 1891 Pope Leo XIII wrote his encyclical on the condition of labor he emphasized the lack of ethics

in modern society. When in 1899 Thorstein

Veblen wrote "The Theory of the

Leisure Class"

he emphasized the same thing. R. H. Tawney, then an Oxford student, learned that when the Canon

Law, that is to say, the law of the

Church, was the law of the land there were high ethics in society. So R. H. Tawney

decided to study

how society has passed down from the high ethics of the

Canon Law to the no ethics of today.

What R. H. Tawney found out about the history of ethics of the last five hundred years is embodied in his book, "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism."

# SOCIAL STUDY SCHOOLS NEEDED

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how a path can be made from things as they are to things as they should be. A School of Social Studies would give us Catholic Action based on Catholic Thought realized in Catholic Institutions.

## Catholic Social Research

"When a system fails to feed the poor it is time to look out for one that does," says Archbishop Keating of Liverpool. And because Archbishop Keating realized that our modern social order fails to feed the poor he founded in Oxford a Catholic Labor College. And the Catholic Labor College conducted in Oxford has been going on for the last twenty-five years. At its last general meeting Cardinal Bourne declared that we are badly in need of Catholic social research. If there had been more Catholic social research Catholics would not now pass the buck to the politicians.

## School of Social Studies

To found a School of Social Studies, such was the aim of Father Patrick Sheely, S.J. In a School of Social Studies we would be able to learn why things are what they are In a School of Social Studies we would be able to learn how things would be if they were as they should be. In a School of Social Studies we would be able to learn

## Putting Patches

Having no School of Social Studies, we don't know how to pass from things as they are to things as they should be. Having no School of Social Studies, we have no Catholic social program based on Catholic social i thought. Having no School of Social Studies, we try to put patches to the existing social order and call it a New Deal. Having no School of Social Studies, we let college professors carry on costly experiments at the expense of the taxpayers. Having no School of Social Studies, we are not occupied in reconstructing the social order as the Holy Father wants us to be.

## I Agree

I agree with seven Bishops, three of whom are Archbishops,



that the Communist criticism of modern rugged individualism is a sound criticism. I agree with seven Bishops, three of whom are Archbishops, that the main social aim of the Communist Party is a sound social aim. I agree with seven Bishops, three of whom are Archbishops, That the Communists are not sound when they advocate class struggle in order to realize their sound social aim. I agree with the Apostolic Delegate when he advocates the practice of the Seven Corporal and Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy as the best practical means of making man human to man.

**Personal Sacrifice** To be our brother's keeper is what God wants us to do. To feed the hungry at a personal sacrifice is what God wants us to do. To clothe the naked at a personal sacrifice is what God wants us to do.

To shelter the homeless at a personal sacrifice is what God wants us to do. To instruct the ignorant at a personal sacrifice is what God wants us to do. To serve man for God's sake is what God wants us to do.

**Reconstruction**

The Holy Father asks us to reconstruct the social order. The social order was once reconstructed after the fall of the Roman Empire. The Irish scholars were the leaders in the reconstruction of the social order after the fall of the Roman Empire. Through Round Table Discussions scattered all over Europe as far as Constantinople the Irish scholars brought thought to the people. Through Houses of Hospitality the Irish scholars exemplified Christian charity. Through Farming Communes the Irish scholars made workers out of scholars and scholars out of workers.

Dr. C. Roper, Secretary of Commerce, suggested some time ago the establishment in Washington of a "Laboratory for Leadership in Public Affairs."

H. McCall, assistant to Secretary Roper, says that "youth movements have occupied dominant and aggressive positions in the social and governmental changes that have taken place throughout the world since the World War."

H. McCall proposes the establishment in Washington "of a forum for study and training in public affairs."

Colleges and universities have failed to give their students technique of leadership based on scholarship.

And because colleges and universities have failed to make leaders out of their students, politicians propose to make bureaucrats out of them. College professors

College professors have failed to train their students in a technique of leadership, so their students wish to be trained in a technique of dictatorship. In Cuba, Germany, China, Mexico, Italy, Russia, dictators have found their greatest support among college students eager for action. Academic college professors are interested in thought, not in action. So we have, on one hand | thought without action and on the other hand action without thought.

People go to Washington asking the Federal Government to solve their economic problems, while the Federal Government was never intended to solve men's economic problems. Catholic Action based on Catholic thought is the Catholic solution of men's economic problems. To impart Catholic thought

and train in Catholic Action,  
such is the function of  
Catholic universities. [Some  
way ought to be found [to  
send Catholic workers to  
Catholic universities; or to  
bring Catholic workers  
to Catholic workers.  
Catholic scholars and  
Catholic workers become  
acquainted with each other  
Catholic workers

will cease to be politically  
minded  
and begin to be scholarly  
minded.  
When Catholic scholars  
are dynamic  
and not academic  
and Catholic workers  
are scholars  
and not politicians  
we will have dynamic Cath-  
olic Action.  
Yours for dynamic Catholic  
Action,

PETER MAURIN.

## WHEN CHRIST IS KING

### On Being Crazy

People went crazy for  
Democracy,  
majority rule, mob rule, I  
Then they went crazy for the  
War for Democracy, trying to  
bring Peace through War.  
Then they went crazy for  
Normalcy; then they  
went crazy for  
Technocracy; then they  
went crazy for the  
NRA  
and they say that I am crazy.  
They say that I am crazy  
because I refuse to be crazy  
the way everybody else is  
crazy.  
For, if I tried to be crazy the  
way everybody else is  
crazy  
I know that I would be crazy.  
So I persist in being crazy in  
my own crazy way and I am  
trying to make other people  
crazy

my way.

### Not a Liberal

They say that I am a radical.  
If I am a radical  
then I am not a liberal.  
The future will be different  
if we make the present differ-  
ent.  
But to make the present dif-  
ferent  
One must give up old tricks  
and start to play new tricks.  
But to give up old tricks  
and start to play new tricks  
one must be a fanatic.  
Liberals are so liberal about  
everything  
that they refuse to be fanat-  
ical  
about anything.  
And not being able to be  
fanatical  
about anything,  
Liberals cannot be liberators.  
They can only be liberals.  
Liberals refuse to be

religious, philosophical or economic fanatics and consent to be the worst kind of fanatics, liberal fanatics.

#### **Not a Conservative**

If I am a radical,  
then I am not a conservative.  
Conservatives try to believe  
that things are good enough  
to be let alone.  
But things are not good  
enough  
to be let alone. Conservatives  
try to believe that the world  
is getting  
better  
every day in every way. But  
the world is not getting  
better  
every day in every way. The  
world is getting worse every  
day in every way. And  
the world is getting  
worse  
every day in every way  
because the world is upside  
down. And conservatives do  
not  
know  
how to take the upside down  
and to put it right side up.  
When conservatives and radicals  
will come to an understanding  
they will take the upside  
down and they will put it  
right side  
up.

**A Radical Change** The  
order of the day is to talk  
about the social  
order.

Conservatives would like to  
keep it from changing

but they don't know how.

Liberals try to patch it  
and call it a New Deal.

Socialists want a change,  
but a gradual change.

Communists want a change,  
an immediate change, but a  
Socialist change.

Communists in Russia do not  
build Communism, they build  
Socialism. Communists want  
to pass from capitalism to  
Socialism and from Socialism  
to Communism.

I want a change, and a  
radical change. I want a  
change from an acquisitive  
society to a functional  
society, from a society of go-  
getters to a society of go-  
givers.

#### **When Bankers Rule**

Modern society has made the  
bank account

the standard of values.

When the bank account  
becomes the standard of  
values

the banker has the power,

When the banker has the  
power

the technician has to super-  
vise

the making of profits.

When the banker has the  
power

the politician

has to assure law and order  
in the profit-making system.

When the banker has the  
power

the educator trains students  
in the technique of profit  
making.

When the banker has the  
power  
the clergyman is expected to  
bless the profit-making  
system  
or to join the unemployed.  
When the banker has the  
power  
the Sermon on the Mount is  
declared unpractical. When  
the banker has the  
power  
we have an acquisitive,  
not a functional society.

#### **When Christ Is King**

When the Sermon on the  
Mount  
is the standard of values  
then Christ is the Leader.  
When Christ is the Leader  
the priest is the mediator.  
When Christ is the Leader  
the educator  
trains the minds of the pupils  
so that they may understand  
the message of the priest.  
When Christ is the Leader  
the politician  
assures law and order  
according to the priest's  
teachings.  
When Christ is the Leader  
the technician  
devises ways and means  
for the economical production  
and distribution of goods.  
When Christ is the Leader  
the administrator adminis-  
trates  
according to the directions  
from the technicians.  
When Christ is the Leader  
we have a functional,  
not an acquisitive society.

#### **Rebellion IB Rebellion**

Boloney is boloney,  
no matter how you slice it,  
and rebellion is rebellion  
no matter when it happens,  
whether it is  
the religious rebellion  
of the 16th century  
or the political rebellion  
of the 18th century  
or the economic rebellion  
of the 20th century  
Someone said  
that the Catholic Church  
stands for rum, Romanism  
and rebellion. But the  
Catholic Church does  
not stand for rum,  
Romanism and rebellion. The  
Catholic Church stands for  
Rome, Reunion, and Re-  
construction.  
The Catholic Church stands,  
as Rome used to stand, for  
law and order. The Catholic  
Church stands for the reunion  
of our separated brothers  
The Catholic Church stands  
for the reconstruction, not  
the patching up, of the social  
order.

#### **Constructing the Social Order**

The Holy Father asks us to  
reconstruct the social order.  
The social order was con-  
structed  
by the first Christians  
through the daily practice of  
the Seven Corporal and  
Seven Spiritual Works of  
Mercy. To feed the hungry

at a personal sacrifice,  
to clothe the naked at a  
personal sacrifice, to  
shelter the homeless at  
a personal sacrifice, to  
instruct the ignorant at  
a personal sacrifice;  
such were the works of  
the first Christians in  
times of persecution.

If you want to know more  
about it  
read the two following books:  
(a) "The Great Command  
ment of the Gospel"  
by the Apostolic Delegate,  
(b) "The Valerian Persecu-  
tion,"  
by Father Patrick Healy, of  
the Catholic University.  
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## CARL SCHMITT THE ARTIST

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### **Flying From America**

In his book entitled  
"Rediscovery of America"  
Waldo Frank says that  
America is a lost continent.  
And the way for America  
to rediscover itself is to go  
back to Mediterranean  
culture.

According to Waldo Frank,  
Mediterranean culture  
embodied Greek philosophy  
plus the Roman system of law  
plus Christian morality.  
There are still a few spots  
around the Mediterranean Sea  
where the rugged individ-  
ualism  
of bourgeois capitalism has  
not yet penetrated. In one of  
these rare spots an American  
artist has decided to make his  
home.

### **Carl Schmitt the Artist**

American Catholics thought  
that no one but Al Smith  
could save America. But it  
seems that Al Smith ' is as  
much at sea

as President Roosevelt. But  
while Roosevelt is ex-  
perimenting  
and Al Smith is wondering,  
Carl Schmitt is planning.  
Carl Schmitt the artist plans  
to go to some Dalmatian  
island  
where people still combine  
cult, that is to say liturgy,  
with culture, that is to say  
literature,  
with cultivation, that is to say  
agriculture.

### **What America Needs**

Carl Schmitt the artist does  
not want his ten children to  
be super salesmen, he wants  
them to be cultured  
peasants. Carl Schmitt the  
artist is far from thinking  
that all America needs is a  
good five-cent cigar, as Vice  
President Marshall was in  
the habit of saying. Carl  
Schmitt the artist thinks  
that America needs to be  
revitalized with healthy  
peasant blood from those  
parts of Europe

where the rugged individualism of bourgeois commercialism has not yet penetrated. Carl Schmitt the artist is not interested in any kind of New Deal; he is interested in the old Catholic game of the Seven Corporal and Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy.

#### **Carl Schmitt Believes**

Carl Schmitt believes that Catholicism has the solution of all man's problems. Carl Schmitt believes that the Catholic religion is the hope of the people, not the dope of the people. Carl Schmitt believes that the mysticism of the faith should not be separated from the mysteries of the faith. Carl Schmitt believes in ascetic theology as well as he believes in dogmatic theology. Carl Schmitt believes in a functional society and he does not believe in an acquisitive society. Carl Schmitt believes

in a democratic aristocracy and he does not believe in a plutocratic democracy.

#### **What Makes Man Human**

Charles Peguy used to say "There are two things in this world, politics and mysticism." Politics is just politics and is not worth bothering about and mysticism is mysterious and is worth all our striving. To give and not to take, that is what makes man human. To serve and not to rule, that is what makes man human. To help and not to crush, that is what makes man human. To nourish and not to devour, that is what makes man human. And if need be to die and not to live, that is what makes man human. Ideals and not deals, that is what makes man human. Creed and not greed, that is what makes man human.

## **FIGHTING COMMUNISM**

The Catholic Worker proposes fighting Communism the way the first Christians fought pagan Romanism, through the works of mercy.

The Catholic Worker proposes fighting Communism the way the Irish scholars fought pagan feudalism, through Round-Table Discussions,

Farming Communes.  
 The Communists do not build  
 Communism, they build  
 Socialism. The Catholic  
 Worker does not build  
 Catholic  
 Socialism,  
 it builds Catholic Com-  
 munism.  
 The Catholic Worker builds  
 Catholic Communism the  
 way the first Christians and  
 the Irish scholars built  
 Catholic Communism. The  
 Catholic Worker believes that  
 there is no better Com-  
 munism  
 than Catholic Communism,  
 and that there is no better  
 way  
 to build Catholic Communism  
 than by building Catholic  
 Communes. Catholic  
 Communes are not a new  
 thing, they are an old thing.  
 Catholic Communes are so old  
 that Catholics have forgotten  
 them.

vented anything, not even  
 the name Commune. The  
 Communist ideal is the  
 Common Good ideal— the  
 ideal of Blessed Thomas  
 More, the ideal of St.  
 Thomas  
 Aquinas,  
 the ideal of the Irish scholars,  
 the ideal of the first Chris-  
 tians. The doctrine of the  
 Common  
 Good  
 of St. Thomas Aquinas is still  
 a Catholic doctrine. We don't  
 need a new doctrine, we need  
 an old technique. We need  
 the old technique of the first  
 Christians and the Irish  
 scholars. What was good for  
 the first  
 Christians  
 and the Irish scholars ought  
 to be good enough for  
 us.  
 What was practical for them  
 ought to be practical for us.

## HUMAN REHABILITATION

### Listening to the Pope

Lincoln Steffens says: "The  
 political problem is not a  
 political problem; it is an  
 economic problem." Peter  
 Kropotkin says: "The  
 economic problem is not an  
 economic problem; it is an  
 ethical problem." Thorstein  
 Veblen says: "There are no  
 ethics in modern society."

R. H. Tawney says:  
 "There were high ethics  
 in society  
 when the Canon Law  
 was the law of the land."  
 The high ethics of the Canon  
 Law  
 are at the base of the Pope's  
 encyclicals. So as George N.  
 Shuster says: "It is a case of  
 listening to the Pope



or listening to nobody." For nobody but the Pope dares to talk ethics in terms of economics.

#### **Robertson's Book**

When, in 1891, Pope Leo XIII, sent out his famous encyclical on "The Condition of Labor," the rugged individualists of bourgeois capitalism paid little attention to what he had to say. When the year after, in 1892, a wealthy Englishman, John M. Robertson, published his book on "The Fallacy of Saving" he received still less attention. Whether they be financial magnates or captains of industry or distinguished economists, or plain college professors, they are perfectly willing to let disturbing prophets talk in the wilderness.

#### **Before the Crash**

Two years before the crash, in 1927, I spoke to a Rotary Club on "The Fallacy of Saving," the same subject that John M. Robertson expounded in his book thirty-five years before. Like John M. Robertson, thirty-five years before, I told business men that if they continued to put money into business they would put business out of business. But business men thought that America had found the secret

of mass distribution as well as the secret of mass production and that the day had come of a two-car-garage, a chicken in every pot and a sign "To Let" in front of every poorhouse.

#### **The Great Folly**

While John M. Robertson and I were telling people: "If you want prosperity, don't save your money," nobody paid any attention. People preferred to listen to President Coolidge, who was telling them just the opposite. On the fallacy of saving a great boom was promoted which was bound to be followed by a great depression, as was pointed out by a Minneapolis business man

as far back as 1926. On the wave of the great boom people got crazy for stocks and stock promoters stocked people with stocks till they got stuck. So in October, 1929, stocks ceased to go up and went down with a bang.

#### **We Were Told**

We were told in 1929 that "business would go on as usual."

We were told in 1930 that "the economic system was fundamentally sound." We were told in 1931

that "prosperity was around the corner." We were told in 1932 that "the depression was fought on one hundred fronts." We were told in 1933 that "most of the unemployed would be employed by Labor Day."

And now we are told that "it is not a question of bringing back prosperity," that "it is not a question of economic recovery," that "it is not a question of emergency relief," that "it is a question of human rehabilitation."

#### **What Is Needed**

Our experienced business men,  
our clever politicians,  
our distinguished college professors,  
had to have the experiments of the NRA, AAA, CCC, PWA, CWA, and what not before they were able to learn that "it is not a question of economic recovery," that "it is a question of human rehabilitation."  
I am saying now to our experienced business men,  
our clever politicians,  
our distinguished college professors,  
that the way to make an impression on the depression is self-expression.  
I am saying now that the best thing

to give to labor is a philosophy of labor.

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#### **Farming Communes**

The unemployed need free rent; they can have that on a Farming Commune. The unemployed need free fuel; they can cut that on a Farming Commune. -The unemployed need free food; they can raise that on a Farming Commune. The unemployed need to acquire skill; they can do that on a Farming Commune. The unemployed need to improve their minds; they can do that on a Farming Commune. The unemployed need spiritual guidance; they can have that on a Farming Commune.

#### **Professors of a Farming Commune**

Professors of a Farming Commune do not look for endowments; they leave that to the Farming Commune. Professors of a Farming Commune do not tell their students what to do; they show them how to do it. Professors of a Farming Commune do not tell their students

to master subjects;  
 they enable them  
 to master situations.  
 Professors of a Farming Com-  
 mune  
 do not prepare their students  
 for a position  
 where they will have to play  
 somebody else's game;  
 they train them  
 for a profession,  
 where they will be able to  
 play  
 their own game.  
 Professors of a Farming Com-  
 mune  
 do not teach their students  
 how to make  
 profitable deals;  
 they teach them  
 how to realize  
 worthy ideals.

**Laborers of a Farming  
 Commune**

Laborers of a Farming Com-  
 mune  
 do not work for wages; they  
 leave that to the Farming  
 Commune.

Laborers of a Farming Com-  
 mune  
 do not look  
 for a bank account;  
 they leave that  
 to the Farming Commune.  
 Laborers of a Farming Com-  
 mune  
 do not look  
 for an insurance policy;  
 they leave that  
 to the Farming Commune.  
 Laborers of a Farming Com-  
 mune  
 do not look  
 for unemployment insurance,  
 they leave that  
 to the Farming Commune.  
 Laborers of a Farming Com-  
 mune  
 do not look  
 for an old-age pension;  
 they leave that  
 to the Farming Commune.  
 Laborers of a Farming Com-  
 mune  
 do not look for economic  
 security;  
 they leave that  
 to the Farming Commune.

## ESSAY ON COMMUNISM

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**Not Communists**

There is nothing wrong with  
 Communism, but there is  
 something wrong with  
 Bolshevism. The wrong thing  
 with Bolshevism is that  
 Bolshevists are not  
 Communists; they are  
 Socialists. For if the  
 Bolshevists

were Communists,  
 they would build Com-  
 munistism.  
 And the Bolshevists  
 do not build Communism;  
 they build Socialism;  
 they build State Socialism.  
 The Bolshevists probably  
 hope  
 that the State  
 "will wither away,"

and *that* they will be able to pass from State Socialism to Communism without State.

### **Two Reds**

Some time ago I was discussing in Harlem with a Russian Red and an Irish Red. And the Russian Red understood me sooner than the Irish Red. Having understood what I was saying, the Russian Red started to explain to his friend, the Irish Red, what I was talking about. When the Russian Red had finished explaining, the Irish Red turned toward me and said that while he agreed with most of what I said he still believed that the Catholic Church was not the friend of the working-men. Many Catholics are much disappointed when Wall Street corporations or political organizations or Catholic associations fail to provide them with economic security.

### **Looking for a Boss**

A Catholic working-man once said to me: "There is only one thing between me and the Reds, and that is a good job." Everybody is looking for a boss, and nobody wants

to be his own boss. And because everybody looks for a boss the Reds want the State to be the boss of everybody. Because everybody consents to play somebody else's game for the sake of a pay-envelope the Reds try to find the way to assure a pay-envelope to everybody so as to force everybody, to act like everybody. But nothing will be changed when the Reds will force everybody to act like everybody, since nobody is nobody when everybody tries to keep up with everybody.

### **America and Russia**

American Republicans want their friends on the public payroll, but only *their* friends. American Democrats want their friends on the public payroll, but only *their* friends. But the Reds want everybody on the public payroll, not only their friends. The American idea is to keep the Government out of business and to put everybody into business. The Russian idea is to put the Government into business and to keep everybody out of business. But business

is only business,  
whether it is  
the State business  
or private business;  
and I am trying  
to make it my business  
to put all business  
out of business,  
including the State business,  
which is a big business.

#### **Red and Green**

Our business managers have  
made such a mess of  
things  
that people are inclined  
to see Red.  
And when people see Red it  
is useless to present to them  
the Red, White and Blue,  
because they can no longer  
see  
the White and the Blue of  
the Red, White and Blue; all  
they can see is Red. The  
only way to keep people  
from seeing Red is to make  
them see Green. The only  
way to prevent a Red  
Revolution is to promote a  
Green Revolution. The only  
way to keep people from  
looking up to Red Russia of  
the twentieth century is to  
make them look up to Green  
Ireland of the seventh  
century.

#### **Then and Now**

Three thousand years ago

when a Jew  
met a Jew  
he asked him  
"What can I do for you?"  
Now, when a Jew  
meets a Jew,  
he asks him  
"What can I get out of you?"  
Two thousand years ago,  
when a Greek  
met a Greek  
they started to philosophize.  
Now when a Greek  
meets a Greek  
they start a business.  
A thousand years ago  
when an Irishman  
met an Irishman  
they started a school.  
Now when an Irishman  
meets an Irishman  
you know what they start—  
I don't have to tell you.

#### **Thousand Years Ago**

When Irish were Irish a  
thousand years ago, the  
Irish were scholars. And  
when the Irish were  
scholars  
the Irish were Greek scholars.  
And when the Irish were  
Greek scholars the Irish  
spoke Greek as well as Irish.  
And when the Irish spoke  
Greek  
as well as Irish,  
Greek was Irish  
to the Irish.  
Greek was Irish  
to the Irish and  
now Irish is  
Greek to the  
Irish.

Irish is Greek to the Irish  
now and Hebrew is Chinese  
to the Jews.

**Shouting With Anglo-Saxons**

Now that Irish is Greek  
to the Irish.  
and Jewish is Chinese  
to the Jews,  
they shout with the Anglo-  
Saxons:

Service for profits  
Time is money  
Cash and carry  
Business is business  
Keep smiling  
Watch your step  
How is the rush?  
How are you making out?  
How is the world treating  
you?  
The law of supply and  
demand  
Competition is the life of  
trade  
Your dollar is your best  
friend  
So is your old man.  
So the Jews  
are no longer Jews.  
So the Irish  
are no longer Irish.

So the Jews and the Irish  
are no longer green.  
And that is  
what makes the Reds  
Red.

**Palestine, Ireland, America**

It was forbidden to the Jews  
to hold title to land  
in Palestine.

But it is not forbidden to the  
Jews

to hold title to land  
in America.

It was forbidden to the Irish  
to lend money at interest in  
Ireland But it is not  
forbidden to the

Irish  
to lend money at interest in  
America. The Prophets of  
Israel and the Fathers of the  
Church wanted the Jews and  
the Irish to try to become  
better;' but the American  
politicians

don't mind  
if the Jews and the Irish are  
trying to become better off in  
America.

But America is not better off  
since the Jews and the Irish  
are trying to become better off  
in America.



# A PROGRAM FOR IMMEDIATE NEEDS

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## **Social Missionaries**

A School of Social Studies would be the training ground for Social Missionaries, priests, laymen and women.

As Al Smith says:  
"The social problem is not a problem for politicians, business men, and lawyers."

The social problem is a problem for Social Missionaries, The task of Social Missionaries is not to help people to adjust themselves to the existing environment. The task of Social Missionaries is to teach people the difficult art of creating order out of chaos.

To be a Social Missionary requires social-mindedness, historical-mindedness and practical idealism.

## **Study Clubs**

Social Missionaries would be official leaders of Study Clubs. The conduct of a Study Club does not require a fluent speaker.

As Bishop O'Hara says:  
"The purpose of Study Clubs is to make people articulate; and lectures do not help to make people articulate."

Social Missionaries would be able

to impart their knowledge through easy conversations. Easy conversations about things that matter would keep people from going to the movies, from talking politics, from cheap wisecracking. Easy conversation about things that matter would enable Catholics to understand Catholicism, to give an account of their faith, and to make non-Catholics curious about Catholicism

## **Works of Mercy**

The best kind of apologetics is the kind of apologetics people do not have to apologize for.

In the first centuries of Christianity pagans said about Christians:  
"See how they love each other."

The love for God and neighbor was the characteristic of the first Christians. This love was expressed through the daily practice of the Works of Mercy. To feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to shelter the homeless, to instruct the ignorant at a personal sacrifice was considered by the first Christians as *the right thing to do*. Surplus goods were considered

to be superfluous,  
and therefore  
to be used  
to help the needy members  
of the Mystical Body.

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#### **Self-Employing Centers**

The remedy for unemployment  
is employment,  
and there is no better employment  
than self-employment.  
Self-Employing Centers  
are small shops  
where repairs can be made  
and workers can be found  
to do work outside.  
With the Self-Employing  
Centers

could be connected Houses  
of Hospitality where the  
self-employing workers  
could find shelter. This  
complicated world is too  
complicated to be dealt with  
in an efficient manner by  
specialized technicians.  
Specialized technicians  
knowing more and more  
about less and less do not  
know , how to simplify a  
complicated world. We need  
fewer specialists and more  
encyclopedists, fewer  
masters of one trade and  
more jacks-of-all trades.

\*\* 10 \*\*

## **FIVE DEFINITIONS**

[The following is an analysis by Peter Maurin of definitions given by John Strachey (Comrtmnist), Lawrence Dennis (Fascist) , Norman Thomas (Socialist) and Stanley High (Democrat) of their respective beliefs. (February, 1935.) ]

#### **What Communists Say They Believe**

Communists believe that the capitalist system has reached the point where it does no longer work. Communists believe that when the workers come to the realization of the downfall of capitalism they will no longer tolerate it. Communists believe that the capitalist class will resort to all means that may be in its power to maintain its existence. Communists believe

that the Communist Party knows how to assure | the production and distribution in an orderly manner according to a predesigned plan.

#### **What Fascists Say They Believe**

Fascists believe in a national economy for the protection of national and private interests. Fascists believe in the regulation of industries so as to assure



a wage for the worker and a dividend for the investor. Fascists believe in class collaboration under State supervision. Fascists believe in the co-operation of employers' unions and workers' unions.

**What Socialists Say They Believe**

Socialists believe in a gradual realization of a classless society. Socialists believe in the social ownership of natural resources and the means of production and distribution. Socialists believe in a transition period under democratic management between two economic systems, the system of production for use and the one of production for profits. Socialists believe in freedom of the press, freedom of assemblage, freedom of worship.

**What Democrats Say They Believe**

Democrats believe in universal suffrage, universal education, freedom of opportunity. Democrats believe in the right of the rich

to become richer and of the poor to try to become rich. Democrats believe in labor unions and financial corporations. Democrats believe in the law of supply and demand.

**What the Catholic Worker Believes**

The Catholic Worker believes in the gentle personalism of traditional Catholicism. The Catholic Worker believes in the personal obligation of looking after the needs of our brother. The Catholic Worker believes in the daily practice of the Works of Mercy. The Catholic Worker believes in Houses of Hospitality for the immediate relief of those who are in need. The Catholic Worker believes in the establishment of Farming Communes where each one works according to his ability and gets according to his need. The Catholic Worker believes in creating a new society within the shell of the old with the philosophy of the new, which is not a new philosophy but a very old philosophy, a philosophy so old that it looks like new.

## A LETTER TO JOHN STRACHEY AND HIS READERS

### **Force and Violence**

You say that "no Communist believes in or favors the use of force and violence." But the Communists believe in class war in the same way that the capitalists believe in class war. The capitalists believe in keeping what they have and in getting what other capitalists have. The Communists believe in getting what the capitalists have. To keep what they have the capitalists use all the means that the modern State allows them to use. To get what the capitalists have the Communists are not afraid to use all the means that the capitalists are allowed to use.

### **Taking Over**

The aim of the Communists is to take over the control of the means of production and distribution. The means of production and distribution are now in the hands of capitalists. The class war is a war between Communists

and capitalists over the control of the means of production and distribution. Patriots believe that the way to peace is to prepare for war. Communists believe that the way to bring about a classless society is a class war between the capitalist class and the working class.

### **What Is Communism?**

Communists believe in capturing the State so as to be able to use it as a club to prevent anybody from becoming a capitalist. The Communist Manifesto defines Communism as "a state of society where each one works according to his ability and gets according to his needs." Using the power of the State will enable Communists to prevent anybody from becoming a successful capitalist but it will not make anybody Communist at heart. To be a Communist according to the definition of the Communist Manifesto is to be willing to give one's labor

for the benefit  
of a Communist community.

**What Labor Needs**

A Communist community.  
is a community  
with a common unity.  
A common belief  
is what makes the unity  
of a community.  
Norman Thomas says  
that "Ramsay MacDonald  
has failed to give to Labor  
a philosophy of labor."  
What Labor needs  
is not higher wages,  
shorter hours,  
sickness insurance,  
unemployment insurance,  
old age pensions.  
What Labor needs  
is not economic security.  
What Labor needs  
is a philosophy of labor.  
\*\* 11 \*\*

**An Old Philosophy**

Norman Thomas  
as well as Ramsay MacDonald  
has failed to give to Labor  
a philosophy of labor.  
While the Communist Party  
carries on a class war,  
it is not giving to Labor  
a philosophy of labor.  
The Catholic Worker  
is trying to give to Labor  
a philosophy of labor  
and a technique  
in harmony  
with the philosophy.  
For we believe  
that we can create  
a new society  
Within the shell of the old,  
with the philosophy of the  
new,

which is not a new philosophy  
but an old philosophy, a  
philosophy so old that it looks  
like new. **Going Back** You  
realize,  
as Robert Briffault realizes,  
that the British Empire is  
breaking down. Not only the  
British Empire, but all the  
other empires are breaking  
down. You realize as we  
realize that modern society  
"is parked in a blind-alley."  
And when one is parked in a  
blind-alley the only thing to  
do is to turn back. By giving  
to Labor a philosophy of  
labor we can go back to the  
time when people tried to be  
gentle personalists and refused  
to be rugged individualists,  
when gentlemen tried to be  
gentle living on the sweat of  
their own brow and not  
living on the sweat of  
somebody else's brow.

**Esprit**

The French magazine Esprit  
carried on a campaign for  
Communitarianism. In the  
January issue Emmanuel  
Mounier has a 32-page article  
on "Communitarian  
Revolution."  
Other articles are entitled:  
"Russian Communitarian  
Tradition,"

"German Communitarian Tradition," "French Communitarian Tradition."

The last article is entitled: "Christian Communities." The magazine Esprit is not a Catholic magazine. It is a magazine where Catholics, Protestants, Jews and Humanists are trying to promote a kind of society where man will be human to man.

#### **Communist Ideal**

Communism is an ideal but the Russian brand of Communism is not the ideal of Communism. The ideal of Communism is Irish Communism. Through Round-Table Discussions the Irish scholars brought thought to the people. Through Houses of Hospitality the Irish scholars emphasized Christian charity. Through Farming Communes the Irish scholars made scholars out of workers and workers out of scholars. You are trying

to make a case for Russian Communism, which is not Communism but Socialism. I am trying to make a case for Irish Communism, which is the Communism of Christian communities.

#### **The Hope of the People**

We believe that religion is the hope of the people, not the dope of the people. We believe that the world would be better off if people tried to become better and that people would become better if they stopped trying to become better off. We believe that the best way

to be  
is to be  
what we want  
the other fellow to be.  
We believe that to be  
what we want  
the other fellow to be  
is to be  
what St. Francis  
wants us to be.  
We believe that to be  
what St. Francis  
wants us to be  
is to be  
real Christians. *Your  
fellow worker in  
Christ's Kingdom,*  
PETER MAURIN.

## WHY NOT BE A BEGGAR?

### Share Your Wealth

God wants us to be  
our brother's keeper.  
To feed the hungry,  
to clothe the naked,  
to shelter the homeless,  
to instruct the ignorant,  
at a personal sacrifice,  
is what God  
wants us to do.  
What we give to the poor  
for Christ's sake  
is what we carry with us  
when we die.  
As Jean Jacques Rousseau  
says:  
"When man dies he  
carries  
in his clutched hands only  
that which he has given  
away."

### Why Not Be a Beggar?

People who are in need and  
are not afraid to beg give to  
people not in need the  
occasion to do good for  
goodness' sake. Modern  
society calls the beggar bum  
and panhandler and gives him  
the bum's rush. The Greeks  
used to say that people in  
need

are the ambassadors of the  
gods.

We read in the Gospel: "As  
long as you did it to one of  
the least of my brothers,  
you did it to me." While  
modern society calls the  
beggars bums and  
panhandlers, they are in  
fact the Ambassadors of  
God. To be God's  
Ambassador is something to  
be proud of.

\*\* 12 \*\*

### The Wisdom of Giving

To give money to the poor  
is to enable the poor to buy.  
To enable the poor to buy  
is to improve the market.  
To improve the market is to  
help business. To help  
business is to reduce  
unemployment. To reduce  
unemployment is to reduce  
crime. To reduce crime is to  
reduce taxation. So why not  
give to the poor for  
business' sake, for  
humanity's sake, for God's  
sake?

\*\* 13 \*\*

## IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

\*\* 14 \*\*

### **The Communist Party**

The criticism of bourgeois capitalism by the Communist Party is the criticism of Victor Considerant used by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto. The definition of Communism of the Communist Manifesto is the definition of Proudhon borrowed by Marx and Engels. The technique of class struggle is the technique advocated by Marx and Engels. The technique of proletarian dictatorship is the technique advocated by Lenin.

### **The Catholic Worker**

The Catholic Worker criticism of bourgeois society is the criticism of St. Thomas More. The Catholic Worker aims are the aims of St. Thomas Aquinas in his doctrine of the Common Good. The Catholic Worker means are the daily practice of the Works of Mercy and the fostering of Farming Communes where scholars become workers and workers

become scholars.

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### **1200—Guild System**

In 1200 A. D. there was no capitalist system, there was the guild system. The doctrine of the guilds was the doctrine of the Common Good. People used to say, as they do now, "What can I do for you?" but they meant what they said. Now they say one thing and they mean another. They did not look for markets, they let the markets look for them.

### **1400—Middle Men**

Around 1400 A. D. appears the middle man. He offers to buy the goods and to find a market. The guildsman thinks about the money offered for his goods and forgets the common good. And the middle man is not interested in selling useful goods but in making money on any kind of goods. And the consumer never meets the producer and the producer ceases to think in terms of service and begins to think in terms of profits.

### **1600—Banker**

Before John Calvin people were not allowed to lend money at interest. John Calvin decided to legalize money lending at interest in spite of the teachings of the Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church.

Protestant countries tried to keep up with John Calvin and money-lending at interest became the general practice. And money ceased to be a means of exchange and began to be a means to make money. So people lent money on time and started to think of time in terms of money and said to each other, "Time is money."

### **1700—Manufacturer**

With the discovery of steam the factory system made its appearance.

To take drudgery out of the home was supposed to be the aim of the manufacturer. So the guildsman left his shop and went to the factory. But the profit-making

manufacturer found it more profitable to employ women than to employ men. So the women left the home and went to the factory. Soon the children followed the women

in the factory.

So the men have to stay at home while the women and children work in the factory.

### **1800—Economist**

Since Adam Smith, who published his book in 1776, we have been told that competition is the life of trade and that it is a case of the survival of the fittest. So since 1776 looking for markets has engaged men's activities. And since trade follows the

flag, industrial nations have also become imperialist nations. The fight for markets between two industrial nations, England and Germany, was the main cause of the World War.

### **1914—World War**

As President Wilson said, the World War was a commercial war. But a commercial war had to be idealized, so it was called a War for Democracy. But the War for Democracy did not bring Democracy, it brought Bolshevism in Russia, Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany.

### **1929—World Depression**

After the World War people tried to believe

that a New Era  
had dawned upon the world.  
People thought  
that they had found a solution  
to the problem  
of mass distribution.  
People thought  
that the time had come  
of a two-car garage,  
a chicken in every pot  
and a sign "To Let"  
in front of every poorhouse.  
And everybody  
wanted to cash in  
on the future prosperity.  
So stock promoters got busy  
and stocked people with  
stocks till they got  
stuck.

#### **1933—New Deal**

We were told in 1929  
that business would go on  
as usual.  
We were told in 1930  
that the economic system  
was fundamentally sound.  
We were told in 1931  
that prosperity  
was around the corner.  
We were told in 1932  
that the depression was  
fought  
on one hundred fronts.  
We were told in 1933  
that five million men

would be employed  
by Labor Day.  
And in 1934  
people went crazy  
for the NRA.  
And in 1935  
the NRA is scrapped  
and economic recovery  
is a long way off.

#### **1933—The Catholic Worker**

The aim of the Catholic  
Worker  
is to create order out of  
chaos. The aim of the  
Catholic  
Worker  
is to help the unemployed to  
employ themselves. The aim  
of the Catholic  
Worker  
is to make an impression on  
the depression through  
expression. The aim of the  
Catholic  
Worker  
is to create a new society  
within the shell of the old  
with the philosophy of the  
new, which is not  
a new  
philosophy,  
but a very old philosophy, a  
philosophy so old that it  
looks like new.





## TEACHERS, TRADERS AND TRICKSTERS

### No Recourse

Politicians used to say: "We make prosperity through our wise policies." Business men used to say: "We make prosperity through our private enterprise."

The workers did not seem to have anything to do about the matter. They were either put to work or thrown out of employment. And when unemployment came the workers had no recourse against the professed makers of prosperity—politicians and business men.

### Politics Is Politics

A politician is an artist in the art of following the wind of public opinion. He who follows the wind of public opinion does not follow his own judgment. And he who does not follow his own judgment cannot lead people out of the beaten path. He is like the tail end of the dog trying to lead the head. When people stand back of politicians

and politicians stand back of the people, people and politicians go around in a circle and get nowhere.

### Maker of Deals

A business man is a maker of deals. He wants to close a profitable deal in the shortest possible time. To close a profitable deal in the shortest possible time he tells you what a good bargain you are getting. And while he tells you what a good bargain you are getting he is always thinking what a good bargain he is getting. He appeals to the selfishness in you to satisfy the selfishness in him.

### Business Is Selfishness

Because everybody is naturally selfish business men say that business must be based on selfishness. But when business is based on selfishness everybody is busy becoming more selfish. And when everybody is busy becoming more selfish

we have classes and clashes.

### **Teaching Subjects**

Our business managers don't know how to manage the things they try to manage because they don't understand the things they try to manage. So they turn to college professors in the hope of understanding the things they try to manage. But college professors do not profess anything; they only teach subjects. As teachers of subjects college professors may enable people to master subjects. But mastering subjects has never enabled anyone to master situations.

### **Specialization**

A few years ago, I asked a college professor to give me the formulation of those universal concepts embodied in the universal message of universal universities that will enable the common man to create a universal economy. And I was told by the college professor: "That is not my subject." Colleges and universities give to the students plenty of facts but very little understanding. They turn out specialists knowing more and more about less and less.

### **Another Experiment**

General Johnson says that the NRA was like a horse trying to pull in different directions. And when the Supreme Court examined the "whole thing" it came to the conclusion that the "whole thing" did not make sense. The Prohibition Law was called by Hoover "A noble experiment." The National Recovery Act was considered by all "A noble experiment." To live by experiment is known in philosophy under the name of pragmatism.

The doctrine of pragmatism was exploded by Van Wyck Brooks. If the doctrine of pragmatism is wrong philosophically it must also be wrong economically.

### **Christianity Untried**

Chesterton says: "The Christian ideal has not been tried and found wanting. It has been found difficult and left untried." Christianity has not been tried because people thought it was impractical. And men have tried everything except Christianity. And everything that men have tried has failed.

And to fail  
in everything  
that one tries  
is not to be practical.  
Men will be practical  
when they try to practice  
the Christianity  
they profess  
to believe in.

**The Wisdom of Giving**

General Johnson used to say:  
"The problem of the  
depression is to increase  
the buying power and  
decrease the producing  
power." When people invest  
money

they increase  
the producing power.  
When people spend money  
or give it to the poor  
they increase  
the buying power.  
To feed the hungry,  
clothe the naked,  
shelter the homeless  
at a sacrifice  
is what God  
wants us to do.  
"When man dies,  
he carries  
in his clutched hands  
only that  
which he has given away,"  
says Jean Jacques Rousseau.

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY VS. THE CATHOLIC WORKER

**Historical Mission**

The Communist Party  
credits bourgeois capitalism  
with an historical mission.  
The Catholic Worker does  
nothing of the kind; it  
condemns it on general  
principles. The Communist  
Party throws the monkey-  
wrench of class-struggle into  
the economic machinery and  
in doing so delays the  
fulfilling of the historical  
mission it credits to  
capitalism. The Catholic  
Worker aims to create a new  
society  
within the shell of the old,  
with the philosophy of the  
new,

which is not a new  
philosophy,  
but a very old philosophy, a  
philosophy so old that it  
looks like new. The  
Communist Party stands for  
proletarian dictatorship.  
The Catholic Worker  
stands for personalist  
leadership.

**Taking Back Our Thunder**

Announcing the coming out  
of the CATHOLIC WORKER, the  
editor of *Columbia* said that  
the CATHOLIC WORKER was  
stealing the thunder of the  
Communist Party. And seven  
American Bishops said in  
1933 that the criticism of  
the Communist Party

is a sound criticism. Writing about the Catholic Church, Albert Jay Nock said, "Rome will have to do more than to play a waiting game; she will have to make use of some of the dynamite inherent in her message." The CATHOLIC WORKER is making use of some of the dynamite inherent in the message of the Catholic Church.

#### **Taking Back Our Name**

The name Communism does not come from Karl Marx, it comes from Proudhon. Proudhon was a Frenchman and France is a country with a Catholic tradition. And Catholic tradition gave to Proudhon the word Communism. The word commune exists in French history since the eleventh century. The Communist Party has taken the word Communism from Catholic tradition and has failed to give us a sample of Communism. No member of the Communist Party has ever said that there was Communism in Soviet Russia. What they have in Soviet Russia is State Socialism. State Socialism is not part of Catholic tradition, but Catholic Communism is.

When we call ourselves Catholic Communists we reclaim our own.

#### **Confused Marxists**

The Catholic Worker is accused of confusing the workers. We do not confuse the workers, they are already confused. Not only are the workers confused but Marxists themselves are confused. That's why we have a Communist Party a Workers' Party a Socialist Party a Socialist Labor Party. And Marxists are confused because Karl Marx himself was confused. So they write books to help to understand Karl Marx.

But the writers of these books have not thrown any light on Karl Marx's confusion.

#### **Confused Catholics**

That the Catholic Worker confuses Marxists is an admitted fact. But many Catholics say that the Catholic Worker confuses also Catholics. But modern Catholics were always confused. Because they were confused modern Catholics listened to modern economists who were telling them that the time had come, at least in America, for a two-car garage, a chicken in every pot,

and a sign "To Let"  
in front of every poorhouse.  
And when the depression  
came  
they believed with everybody  
that prosperity was just  
around the corner. And when  
it failed to appear they tried  
to bring it back by backing  
the NRA.

#### **From a Non-Catholic**

A French non-Catholic,  
Andre Siegfried, says: The  
Puritan is proud to be rich. If  
he makes money he likes to  
tell himself that Divine  
Providence sends it to him.  
His wealth itself becomes in  
his eyes, as well as the eyes  
of others, a mark of God's  
blessing. A time comes when  
he no longer knows if he acts  
for duty's sake or for  
interest's sake. It becomes  
difficult

in those conditions to make a  
demarcation between  
religious aspiration and the  
pursuit of wealth.

#### **From a Catholic**

An English Catholic, Henry  
Sommerville, says that those  
who want to  
find out  
the intellectual errors  
from which England is  
suffering  
ought to read the book of R.  
H. Tawney, a non-Catholic,  
entitled "Religion and the  
Rise of Capitalism." The  
religion taught by Christ  
does not make wealth a  
desirable objective.  
Puritanism, the most virile  
form of Protestantism, made  
the mistake of indorsing the  
pursuit of  
wealth in the name of  
religion.

## **BOURGEOIS COLLEGES**

#### **Catholic Bourgeois**

A bourgeois is a man  
who tries to be somebody,  
by trying to be like everybody,  
which makes him a nobody.  
Catholic bourgeois  
try to be  
like non-Catholic bourgeois  
and think they are  
just as good  
as non-Catholic bourgeois  
Right after the war  
Catholic bourgeois  
tried to believe

what non-Catholic bourgeois  
tried to believe,  
that the time had come  
in America  
for a two-car garage  
a chicken in every pot  
and a sign "To Let"  
in front of every poorhouse.  
And Catholic colleges  
as well as non-Catholic  
colleges  
turned out stock promoters,  
stock brokers and stock  
salesmen

who stocked people with  
stocks  
till they got stuck.

\*\* I5A \*\*

### **Shouting With Rotarians**

Modern colleges  
give you  
a bit of this,  
a bit of that,  
a bit of something else  
and a degree.  
The act of giving a degree  
is called a commencement.  
And after the commencement  
the student commences  
to look for a job.  
In order to get a job  
he 'commences  
to shout with Rotarians:  
"Service for profits,  
Time is money,  
Cash and carry,  
Keep smiling, Business is  
business, Watch your  
step, How's the rush?  
How is the world treating  
you? Competition is the  
life of  
trade, Your dollar is  
your best  
friend." So's your  
old man.

### **College Graduates**

Sociology is not a science, it  
is an art. The art of sociology  
is the art of creating order  
out of chaos. Bourgeois  
colleges turn out college  
graduates into a changing  
world without ever telling  
them how to keep it from  
changing

or how to change it  
so as to make it fit  
for college graduates.  
College graduates  
think in terms of jobs,  
not in terms of work.  
Since the world is upside  
down,  
taking the side down  
and putting it up should  
be the task of college  
graduates. But college  
graduates would rather  
play somebody else's game in  
a position than to create  
order out of chaos.

### **An Unhappy Lot**

But the job providers  
are not on the job  
and college graduates  
are disappointed.  
They have degrees,  
but their degrees  
do not give them jobs.  
They had been told  
that the road to success  
is a college education.  
They have a college education  
and they do not know  
what to do  
with themselves.  
The overproduction  
of college graduates  
is a fertile ground  
for social demagogues.  
The unemployed college  
graduates are getting sore  
at their parents for sending  
them into colleges which have  
not prepared them for a  
changing world. And they  
ask themselves



if their educators  
know what it is to be  
educated.

### **Houses of Hospitality**

In the *New Masses*  
a Communist cartoonist  
represents  
a line of college graduates  
receiving their degrees from  
the Alma Mater and joining  
a soup line on the other side  
of the square. Social  
reconstruction will be the  
result of social indoctrination.  
But unemployed college  
graduates  
cannot be indoctrinated  
without first being fed,  
as well as clothed, as well  
as sheltered. Houses of  
Hospitality for  
unemployed college  
graduates are a  
pressing need

### **Indoctrination**

In Houses of Hospitality  
unemployed college graduates  
will be fed, clothed, sheltered,  
as well as indoctrinated.  
Unemployed college  
graduates must be  
told why the things  
are

what they are,  
how the things would be  
if they were  
as they should be  
and how a path  
can be made  
from the things  
as they are  
to the things  
as they should be.  
Unemployed college graduates  
must be told  
how to create  
a new society  
within the shell of the old  
with the philosophy of the  
new,  
which is not a new philosophy  
but a very old philosophy, a  
philosophy so old that it  
looks like new.

### **On Farming Communes**

When unemployed college  
graduates  
will have been indoctrinated  
they will be moved to  
Farming Communes. On  
Farming Communes  
unemployed college graduates  
will be taught how to build  
their houses, how to gather  
their fuel, how to raise their  
food, how to make their  
furniture;

that is to say,  
how to employ themselves.  
Unemployed college gradu-  
ates  
must be taught  
how to use their hands.  
Unemployed college gradu-  
ates  
have time  
on their hands.

And while time is on the  
hands  
of college graduates their  
heads don't function as they  
should function. On Farming  
Communes unemployed  
college graduates will learn  
to use both their hands and  
their heads.

### ***SOCIAL WORKERS AND WORKERS***

The training of social workers  
enables them to help people  
to adjust themselves  
to the existing environment.  
The training of social workers  
does not enable them  
to help people  
to change the environment.  
Social workers  
must become social-minded  
before they can be critics  
of the existing environment

and free creative agents of  
the new environment. In  
Houses of Hospitality social  
workers can acquire that art  
of human contacts and that  
social-mindedness or  
understanding of social  
forces  
which will make them critical  
of the existing environment  
and the free creative agents  
of a new environment.





# BOOK 3



# BACK TO CHRIST- BACK TO THE LAND!

## **On the Level**

Owen Young says: "We will never have prosperity as long as there is no balance between industry and agriculture." The farmer sells in an open market and is forced to buy in a restricted market.

When the farmer gets a pair of overalls for a bushel of wheat the wheat and the overalls are on the level.

When the farmer has to give two bushels of wheat for a pair of overalls the wheat and the overalls are not on the level. Wheat and overalls must be on the level.

## **Industrialization**

Lenin said:  
"The world cannot be half industrial and half agricultural."  
England, Germany  
Japan and America  
have become  
industrialized.

Soviet Russia is trying to keep up with England, Germany, Japan and America. When all the world will be industrialized every country will be looking for foreign markets. But when every country will be industrialized you will not have foreign markets.

## **Mechanized Labor**

Gandhi says: "Industrialism is evil." Industrialism is evil because it brings idleness both to the capitalist class and the working class. Idleness does no good either to the capitalist class or to the working class. Creative labor is what keeps people out of mischief. Creative labor is craft labor. Mechanized labor is not creative labor.

## **No Pleasure in Their Work**

Carlyle says: "He who has found his work,

let him look  
 for no other blessedness."  
 But workmen cannot find  
 happiness in mechanized  
 work. As Charles Devas says,  
 "The great majority having  
 to perform some mechanized  
 operation which requires  
 little thought and allows no  
 originality and which  
 concerns an object in the  
 transformation of which,  
 whether previous or subse-  
 quent,  
 they have no part, cannot  
 take pleasure in their work."  
 As D. Marshall says,  
 "Previously the workman  
 fashioned every article with  
 his own hands, bringing to  
 bear on it all the skill of the  
 craft which was his; now all  
 of this is done by the  
 machine."

#### **Industrialism and Art**

Eric Gill says: "The notion  
 of work has been separated  
 from the notion of art. The  
 notion of the useful has  
 been separated from the  
 notion of the beautiful.  
 The artist, that is to say, the  
 responsible workman, has  
 been separated from all  
 other workmen. The factory  
 hand has no responsibility

for what he produces.  
 He has been reduced  
 to a sub-human condition  
 of intellectual irresponsibility.  
 Industrialism  
 has released the artist  
 from the necessity  
 of making anything useful.  
 Industrialism  
 has also released the work-  
 man  
 from making anything amus-  
 ing."

#### **From a Chinese**

A Chinese says  
 "I thought I had become Wes-  
 ternized  
 but how I am becoming re-  
 patriated.  
 The material progress of  
 America  
 had dazzled me.  
 I wished while there  
 to transplant what I saw  
 to China.  
 But now that I am home again  
 I see that our two civilizations  
 have irreconcilable differ-  
 ences.  
 Yours is a machine civiliza-  
 tion;  
 ours is a handicraft civiliza-  
 tion.  
 Your people work in  
 factories; our people  
 work in shops.  
 Your people  
 produce quantity things  
 that are alike;  
 our people  
 produce quality things  
 that are different.

What would Western industrialism do to us? Our people would become robots. Our cultural traditions would be destroyed."

#### **Regard for the Soil**

Andrew Nelson Lytle says: "The escape from industrialism is not in Socialism or in Sovietism. The answer lies in a return to a society where agriculture is practiced by most of the people. It is in fact impossible for any culture to be sound and healthy without a proper respect and proper regard for the soil, no matter how many urban dwellers think that their food comes from groceries and delicatessens or their milk from tin cans. This ignorance does not release them from a final dependence

upon the farm."

#### **Up to Catholics**

Ralph Adams Cram says "What I propose is that Catholics should take up this back-to-the-land problem and put it into operation. Why Catholics? Because they realize more clearly than any others the shortcomings of the old capitalist industrial system. They, better than others, see the threat that impends. They alone understand that while the family is the primary social unit, the community comes next. And there is no sound and righteous and enduring community where all its members are not substantially of one mind in matters of the spirit—that is to say, of religion."

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## INSTITUTIONS VS. CORPORATIONS

In the first issue  
of the CATHOLIC WORKER  
appeared this, essay:

### **Institutions and Corporations**

Jean Jacques Rousseau says:

"Man is naturally good,  
but institutions make him  
bad,

so let us  
overthrow institutions."

I say: Man is partly good  
and partly bad,

,but corporations,

not institutions,

make him worse.

"An institution," says Emerson,

"is the extension  
of the soul of a man."

Institutions are founded  
to foster the welfare  
of the masses.

Corporations are organized  
to promote wealth  
for the few.

So let us found  
smaller and better  
institutions

and not promote  
bigger and better  
corporations.

### **Some Institutions**

Round-Table Discussions to  
learn from scholars how the  
things would be if they were  
as they should be. Champion  
Propaganda Committees  
for the indoctrination of the  
man of the street.

Maternity Guilds for the  
welfare of needy  
mothers bringing young  
children into the world.  
Houses of Hospitality to  
give to the rich the  
opportunity to serve the  
poor. Farming  
Communes where the  
scholars may become  
workers so the workers  
may be scholars.

### **American Institutions**

The American  
Constitution,  
the American Congress,  
the American Supreme Court  
are also considered  
as institutions.

The American Constitution  
was devised

by the American Founders  
to protect the individual  
against the majority,  
whether in Congress  
or government.

The American Supreme Court  
was established by the

Founders  
to watch over the Constitu-  
tion

so as to prevent  
its misrepresentation  
and its misapplication.

And when the NRA  
was brought to the Supreme  
Court

for examination  
the Supreme Court found out  
that it did not harmonize

with the Constitution.

### The NRA

The National Recovery Act  
promised Recovery  
and pursued Reformation.  
General Johnson says  
that the NRA  
was like a horse  
trying to pull  
in different directions.  
At the head of the horse  
stood Recovery,  
at the tail of the horse  
stood Reformation.  
The tail "wanted to be the  
head,  
the head did not want  
to be the tail, and the  
Supreme Court could not  
make head or tail out of  
it.

The Supreme Court seems to  
admit that social reform  
cannot be brought about by  
promising Recovery and  
making the eagle scream.

### Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy has failed,  
whether in America,  
in France or Germany.  
The failure of the NRA  
is a striking example  
'n America.  
In France we say:  
"Plus ca *change*,  
Plus c'est la *meme chose*."  
[ The more it changes,  
the more it remains  
the same thing. ]  
Governments change,  
but the bureaucracy remains.

Political corruption  
has made the French people  
disgusted with their politi-  
cians.

The most, efficient bureau-  
cracy  
was the German bureaucracy.  
And the faith in bureaucracy  
was so great  
that they failed  
to create a public opinion  
for democratic reform.  
So the Nazis beat them to it.  
and created a public opinion  
for racial demagoguery.  
The Catholic Worker  
is trying to create  
a public opinion  
for Communitarian reform.

### Five Definitions

A Bourgeois  
is a fellow  
who tries to be somebody  
by trying to be  
like everybody,  
which makes him  
a nobody.  
A Dictator  
is a fellow  
who does not hesitate  
to strike you over the head  
if you refuse to do  
what he wants you to do.  
A Leader  
is a fellow  
who refuses to be crazy  
the way everybody else is  
crazy  
and tries to be crazy in  
his own crazy way. A  
Bolshevist is a fellow  
who tries to get

what the other fellow has  
and to regulate  
what you should have  
A Communitarian  
is a fellow  
who refuses to be  
what the other fellow is  
and tries to be  
what he wants him to be.

### **They and We**

People say: "They don't  
do this, they don't do  
that, they ought to do  
this, they ought to do  
that." Always "They"  
and never "I." People  
should say: "They are  
crazy for doing this and  
not doing that but I  
don't need to be crazy  
the way they are crazy."  
The Communitarian Revolu-  
tion  
is basically a personal  
revolution. It starts  
with I,

not with They.  
One I plus one I  
makes two I's  
and two I's make We.  
We is a community,  
while "they" is a crowd.

### **A New Movement**

The Nazis, the Fascists  
and the Bolsheviks  
are Totalitarians.  
The Catholic Worker  
is Communitarian.  
The principles of Communi-  
tarianism  
are expounded every month  
in the French magazine  
Esprit (the Spirit).  
Emmanuel Mounier,  
editor of the magazine,  
has, a book entitled  
*"La Revolution Personnaliste  
et Communautaire."*  
Raymond de Becker  
is the leader in Belgium  
of the Communitarian move-  
ment.  
The Premier of Belgium,  
van Zeeland,  
is a Communitarian.

## **A NEW SOCIAL ORDER**

### **The Hope of the People**

The Marxists say  
that religion  
is the dope of the people.  
Religion  
is not the dope of the people  
it is the hope of the people.  
Modern society  
is a materialist society  
because Christians have failed  
to translate the spiritual

into the material. If  
Christians knew how to make  
a lasting impression  
on the materialist depression  
through spiritual expression  
Marxists would not say that  
religion  
is the dope of the people. As  
Raymond de Becker says: "The  
social task of the laity



Is the sanctification  
of secular life,  
or more exactly,  
the creation  
of a Christian secular life."

### **The Christian Front**

The Christians who  
consider religion  
the hope of the people  
should not unite  
with the Marxists  
who consider religion  
the dope of the people.  
As the editors of the  
*Christian Front* say:  
"Marxism not only falsifies  
the origin and the end of man  
but it seeks to make of him  
an anonymous animal,  
a servant  
of the proletarian State."  
The editors of the *Christian  
Front*  
are not liberals, they think  
that men "must take their  
choice to stand for  
Christianity or to stand for  
what opposes  
it."  
They ask the Christians "to  
dissociate themselves from an  
un-Christian social  
order  
and prepare the way for a  
social order compatible with  
their beliefs."

The New Apologetics to  
his lectures on the New  
Christendom Jacques  
Maritain emphasizes the  
necessity of laying the  
foundations of a new social  
order.

Laying the foundations  
of a new social order  
is the task of the laity.  
The task of the laity  
is to do the pioneer work  
of creating order  
out of chaos.  
The clergy teach the princi-  
ples;  
the task of the laity  
is to apply them  
without involving the clergy  
in the application.  
The application to the social  
problems  
by the Catholic laity  
of the Catholic principles  
taught by the Catholic clergy  
is a new kind of apologetics,  
a kind of apologetics  
Catholics will not have  
to apologize for.

### **Putting Idle Land to Use**

"The letter 'Putting the  
Land to Use'  
is worth a thousand  
of the panaceas  
and fantastic schemes  
of Upton Sinclair,  
Father Coughlin,  
Dr. Townsend  
and the whole bunch  
of brainless trustees  
who have been telling the  
President  
how to abolish unemployment  
and to restore prosperity  
by issuing more currency  
or by cutting down produc-  
tion.  
It is what I have been advo-  
cating  
for nearly fifty years.  
Give to the people

access to the millions of acres  
of vacant land  
held out of use by speculators  
and the burden  
on public relief funds  
would be quickly cut down  
at least one-half.

If the principles behind  
the policy were fully  
applied it would  
altogether abolish  
unemployment."

BOLTON HALL  
("Three Acres and Liberty")

## IDLE HANDS AND IDLE LANDS

### **Rendering a Great Service**

On my last trip west  
I was asked several times  
what I thought  
of Father Coughlin.  
My answer was  
that Father Coughlin  
was rendering  
a great service  
by taking from the bankers  
a prestige  
that was not due them.  
I was told  
by a Catholic banker  
that this prestige,  
given to the bankers  
by almost everybody,  
did no good  
to the bankers.  
Bankers knew  
that they did not know  
what it was all about,  
but thanks to Father Coughlin  
now everybody knows  
that the bankers  
never did know.

### **Bolton Hall's Panacea**

In the January issue  
reference was made  
"to that whole bunch  
of brainless trustees."  
I was away  
when the paper was printed

and was not able  
to correct the proofs.  
If I had been in New York  
I would have said  
that the last part  
was a quotation  
from a letter  
to the *New York Times*  
by Bolton Hall,  
author of "Three Acres and  
Liberty."  
Bolton Hall's panacea  
is ruralism,  
and I prefer ruralism  
to industrialism.  
The industrial revolution  
did not improve things;  
it made them worse.  
The industrial revolution  
has given us  
technological unemployment.  
And the best way  
to do away  
with technological unemploy-  
ment  
is to place idle hands  
on idle land.

### **Brainless Trustees**

It was not through the trust  
in the brains  
of Father Coughlin  
that the NRA  
became a flop.

It was through the trust in the brains "of that whole bunch of brainless trustees," as Bolton Hall puts it. According to General Johnson, the NRA was like a horse trying to pull in different directions and therefore had to stand still. That "whole bunch of brainless trustees"

were pragmatists; they were not Aristotelians. They would do better to go back to Aristotle and learn something about philosophy. And when they know something about Aristotelian philosophy they may become interested in Thomistic philosophy and Augustinian theology.

## YES! I AM A RADICAL!

### **Down to the Roots**

I was once thrown out of a Knights of Columbus meeting because, as the K. of C. official said,

I was radical.

I was introduced as a radical before the college students of a Franciscan college, And the Franciscan Father added

"I am as radical as Peter Maurin." Speaking in a girls' college near St. Cloud, Minnesota, I was told by Bishop Busch, "Conservatives are up in a tree and you are trying to go down to the roots."

### **Poor Conservatives**

After another meeting I was told by a sociologist

"I still think that you are a radical."

And I told the sociologist "We have to pity those poor conservatives who don't know what to conserve; who find themselves living in a changing world while they do not know how to keep it from changing or how to change it to suit themselves."

### **Radically Wrong**

Monsignor Fulton Sheen says: "Modern society is based on greed."

Father McGowan says: "Modern society is based on systematic selfishness."

Professor John Dewey says: "Modern society is based on rugged individualism."

When conservatives try to conserve a society based on greed,

systematic selfishness and rugged individualism they try to conserve something that is radically wrong, for it is built on a wrong basis. And when conservatives try to conserve what is radically wrong they are also radically wrong.

### **A New Society**

To be radically right is to go to the roots by fostering a society based on creed, systematic unselfishness and gentle personalism. To foster a society based on creed instead of greed, on systematic unselfishness instead of systematic selfishness, on gentle personalism instead of rugged individualism, is to create a new society within the shell of the old with the philosophy of the new

which is not a new philosophy but a very old philosophy, a philosophy so old that it looks like new.

### **Creating Order**

Modern society is in a state of chaos. And what is chaos if not lack of order? Sociology is not a science, it is an art, the art of creating order out of chaos. All founders of orders made it their personal business to try to solve the problems of their own day. If religious orders made it their business to try to solve the problems of our own day by creating order out of chaos, the Catholic Church would be the dominant social dynamic force in our day and age. \*\* 17 \*\*

## **COLONIAL EXPANSION**

### **Right or Wrong**

Some people say,  
"My country is  
always right."  
Some people say:  
"My country is  
always wrong."  
Some people say:  
"My country

is sometimes right  
and sometimes wrong,  
but my country,  
right or wrong."  
To stick up for one's country  
when one's country is wrong  
does not make  
the country right.  
To stick up for the right

even when the world is wrong  
is the only way we know of  
to make everything right.

#### **Protecting France**

To protect French citizens  
living in Algeria the French  
took Algeria from the  
natives. To protect Algeria  
the French took control of  
Tunisia. To protect Senegal  
the French took Dahomey,  
the Gabon and the Congo. To  
protect the Isle of Reunion the  
French took Madagascar.  
They took Madagascar for  
another reason. The other  
reason was that the English  
wished to take it. When the  
English take something the  
French say, "The English do  
that because they are  
grabbers." When the French  
take something,  
the French say  
"We do that  
because we are  
good patriots."

#### **Protecting England**

To protect the British Isles  
the English took the sea.  
To protect the sea  
the English took Gibraltar,  
Canada and India.  
To protect India  
the English went to Egypt  
To protect Egypt  
the English took the Soudan.  
To protect the Soudan  
the English forced the French

to leave Fashoda.  
To protect the Cape and Natal  
the English took the  
Transvaal. So  
the English are  
just as good or  
just as bad as  
the French.

#### **Civilizing Ethiopia**

The French believe  
that trade follows the flag.  
So do the English,  
so do the Germans,  
so do the Japanese,  
so do the Italians.  
Italy is in Ethiopia  
for the same reason  
that the French  
are in Algeria,  
the English in India,  
the Japanese in Manchuria.  
The Italians say  
that the Ethiopians  
are not civilized.  
The last war proves  
that Europeans  
are no more civilized  
than the Africans.  
So Europeans  
ought to find the way  
to become civilized  
before thinking  
about the best way  
to civilize Africans.

#### **League of Nations**

The League of Nations  
did not keep Japan from  
going to Manchuria or  
Italy  
from going to Ethiopia.  
The League of Nations is  
not a League based on  
right.

It is a League based on might. It is not a protection for poor nations against rich nations. It is a protection for rich nations against poor nations.

#### **Moral Disarmament**

Theodore Roosevelt used to say:

"If you want peace, prepare for war." So everybody prepared for war,

but war preparations did not bring peace; they brought war.

Since war preparations brought war, why not quit preparing for war?

If nations prepare for peace instead of preparing for war, they may have peace.

Aristide Briand used to say: "The best kind of disarmament

is the disarmament of the heart."

The disarmament of Germany by the Allies

was not the product of a change of heart on the part of the Allies toward Germany.

#### **Room Could be Found**

There is too much wheat in the United States. There is too much cattle in Argentina. There are too many sheep in Australia.

There are too many Germans in Germany, too many Italians in Italy, too many Japanese in Japan.

Room could be found in the United States for the Germans, in Argentina for the Italians, in Australia for the Japanese. To make room for Germans, Italians, Japanese is a better way to establish peace than to build more battleships, more submarines and more airplanes.

# THE COMMUNISM OF COMMUNITARIANISM

## Not Communists

There is nothing wrong with Communism, but there is something wrong with Communists, The wrong thing with Communists is that they are not Communists, they-are Socialists. There is no Communism in Soviet Russia; there is State Socialism in Soviet Russia. Communism is a state of society where each one works according to his ability and gets according to his needs.

The State has not withered away,  
the wage system prevails,  
and you can buy  
7% government bonds  
in Soviet Russia.

By selling 7% government  
bonds  
they are creating  
a parasitic class  
in Soviet Russia.

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## Communitarian Movement

Communitarianism  
is the rediscovery  
and the exemplification  
of what the Kiwanis  
and Rotarians  
used to talk about,  
namely,

the community spirit.  
Communitarianism  
is expounded every month  
in the French magazine Esprit.  
Emmanuel Mounier,  
the editor of the magazine,  
has a book entitled  
*"La Revolution Personnaliste  
et Communautaire."*  
Raymond de Becker  
is the leader in Belgium  
of the Communitarian Move-  
ment.  
Dr. Kagawa,  
the Japanese co-operator,  
is truly imbued  
with the Communitarian  
spirit.

The C. P. and C. M.

The Communist Party  
credits bourgeois capitalism  
with an historical mission.  
The Communitarian Move-  
ment  
condemns bourgeois capital-  
ism  
on general principles.  
The Communist Party  
throws the monkey-wrench  
of class-struggle  
into the economic machinery  
and by doing so  
delays the fulfilling  
of the historical mission  
which it credits  
to bourgeois capitalism.  
The Communitarian Move-  
ment  
aims to create a new society  
within the shell of the old

with the philosophy of the  
new,  
which is not a new philosophy  
but a very old philosophy, a  
philosophy so old that it  
looks like new.

The Communist Party  
stands for proletarian dicta-  
torship.  
The Communitarian Move-  
ment  
stands for personal responsi-  
bility.

## FEEDING THE POOR

At a Sacrifice  
In the first centuries  
of Christianity  
the hungry were fed  
at a personal sacrifice,  
the naked were clothed  
at a personal sacrifice,  
the homeless were sheltered  
at personal sacrifice.  
And because the poor  
were fed, clothed and shel-  
tered  
at a personal sacrifice,  
the pagans used to say  
about the Christians  
"See how they love each,  
other."  
In our own day  
the poor are no longer  
fed, clothed and sheltered  
at a personal sacrifice  
but at the expense  
of the taxpayers.  
And because the poor  
are no longer  
fed, clothed and sheltered  
at a personal sacrifice

the pagans say about the  
Christians "See how they  
pass the buck."

**Four Million Catholics**  
Four million Catholics are  
fed, clothed and sheltered by  
the politicians at the expense  
of the taxpayers. And those  
four million Catholics  
are badly fed, badly  
clothed and badly  
sheltered, by the  
politicians at the  
expense of the  
taxpayers. And  
because  
those four million Catholics  
are badly fed, badly clothed,  
badly sheltered, by the  
politicians at the expense of  
the taxpayers, they are  
indoctrinated by the  
Marxists in the Unemployed  
Councils,



## RADICALS OF THE RIGHT

### Shouting a Word

Father Parsons says:  
"There is  
confusion of mind."  
When there is  
confusion of mind  
someone has only to  
shout a word and people  
flock. When Mussolini -  
shouted discipline  
people flocked. When  
Hitler shouted  
restoration people  
flocked.

### The Bight Word

Mussolini's word is  
discipline.  
Hitler's word is  
restoration.  
My word is  
tradition.  
I am a radical  
of the right.  
I go right to the right  
because I know  
it is the only way  
not to get left.  
Sound principles  
are not new,  
they're very old;  
they are as old  
as eternity.  
The thing to do  
is to restate  
the never new  
and never old principles  
in the vernacular  
of the man of the street.  
Then the man of the street  
will do

what the intellectual  
has failed to do;  
that is to say,  
"do something about it."

### \*\* 19 \*\* Philosophy and

#### Sophistry

Mortimer Adler says:  
"Modern philosophers  
have not found  
anything new since  
Aristotle."

Modern philosophers  
are not philosophers;  
they are sophists.  
Aristotle  
had to deal  
with sophists  
in his day and age.  
What Aristotle said  
to the sophists  
of his own day  
could be read  
with profit  
by modern philosophers.

#### The City of God

Jacques Maritain says:  
"There is more in man  
than man."  
Man was created  
in the image of God;  
therefore  
there is the image of God  
in man.  
There is more to life  
than life  
this side of the grave;  
there is life  
the other side of the grave.  
Science leads to biology,  
biology to psychology,  
psychology to philosophy,

philosophy to theology.  
Philosophy  
is the handmaid  
of theology.  
To build up the City of God,  
that is to say,  
to express the spiritual  
in the material  
through the use  
of pure means,  
such as the task  
of professing Christians  
in this day and age.

#### **Integral Humanism**

Through the influence of  
Maxim Gorki the  
Marxists  
have come to the conclusion  
that Marxist writers should  
be more than proletarian  
writers; that they should be  
cultural writers. Waldo Frank  
thinks that the cultural  
tradition must be brought to  
the proletarian masses, who  
will appreciate it much more  
than the acquisitive classes.  
What the Marxists call  
culture Maritain calls  
Socialist Humanism. But  
Socialist Humanism

is not all Humanism,  
according to Maritain. In a  
book entitled  
*"L'Humanisme integral"*  
Jacques Maritain points out  
what differentiates Integral  
Humanism from Socialist  
Humanism.

#### **Thought and Action**

Integral Humanism is the  
Humanism of the Radicals  
of the Right. The Radicals of  
the Left are now talking  
about Cultural Tradition.  
The bourgeois idea is that  
culture is related to leisure.  
Eric Gill maintains that  
culture is related to work,  
not to leisure. Man is saved  
through faith and through  
works, and what one does  
has a lot to do with what  
one is. Thought and action  
must be combined. When  
thought is separated from  
action, it becomes academic.  
When thought is related to  
action it becomes dynamic.

## **GO-GETTERS**

### **Two Bourgeois**

The bourgeois capitalist  
believes in rugged individual-  
ism;  
The Bolshevik Socialist  
believes in rugged collectiv-  
ism.

## **VS. GO-GIVERS**

There is no difference  
between the rugged individ-  
ualism  
of bourgeois capitalism and  
the rugged collectivism of  
Bolshevist Socialism. The  
bourgeois capitalist

tries to keep  
what he has,  
and tries to get  
what the other fellow has.  
The Bolshevist Socialist  
tries to get  
what the bourgeois capitalist  
has.  
The Bolshevist Socialist is the  
son  
of the bourgeois capitalist,  
and the son is too much  
like his father. All the sins of  
the father are found in the  
son.

#### **Bourgeois Capitalist**

The bourgeois capitalist  
calls himself conservative  
but has failed to conserve  
our cultural tradition.  
He thinks that culture  
is related to leisure.  
He does not think that culture  
is related to cult  
and to cultivation.  
He believes in power,  
and that money  
is the way to power.  
He believes that money  
can buy everything,  
whether it be labor or brains.  
But as the poet Emerson says,  
"People have only  
the power we give them."  
When people will cease  
selling their labor power  
or their brain power  
to the bourgeois capitalist,  
the bourgeois capitalist  
will cease being  
a gentleman of leisure  
and begin being  
a cultured gentleman.

#### **Bolshevist Socialist**

The Bolshevist Socialist is the  
spiritual son of the bourgeois  
capitalist; he credits  
bourgeois capitalism  
with an historic mission  
and fails to condemn it  
on general principles.  
The bourgeois Socialist  
does not believe in the  
profit system, but he does  
believe in the wage  
system. The bourgeois  
capitalist and his spiritual  
son, the Bolshevist  
Socialist, believe in  
getting all they can get  
and not in giving all they  
can give. The bourgeois  
capitalist and his spiritual  
son, the Bolshevist  
Socialist, are go-getters,  
not go-givers.

#### **The Personalist Communitarian**

A personalist  
is a go-giver,  
not a go-getter.  
He tries to give  
what he has,  
and does not  
try to get  
what the other fellow has.  
He tries to be good  
by doting good  
to the other fellow.  
He is altro-centered,  
not self-centered.  
He has a social doctrine  
of the common good  
He spreads the social doctrine

of the common good through words and deeds. He speaks through deeds as well as words, for he knows that deeds speak louder than words. Through words and deeds he brings into existence a common unity, the common unity of a community.

#### **Community Spirit**

Communitarianism is the rediscovery and the exemplification of what the Kiwanis and Rotarians used to talk about, namely, the community spirit. The community spirit is no more common than common sense is common. Everybody knows that common sense is not common, but nobody believes that common sense should not be common. The community spirit should be common as well as common sense should be common. If common sense was common, Bolshevik Socialists would not be rugged collectivists; they would be Communitarian personalists.

#### **Franciscans and Jesuits**

Franciscans and Jesuits believe in the community spirit

just as much as Kiwanis and Rotarians. While Kiwanis and Rotarians used to talk about the common spirit, Franciscans and Jesuits did something about it. Kiwanis and Rotarians used to talk about service but never forgot profitable service. Franciscans and Jesuits may not say much about service, but continue to render unprofitable service. Franciscans and Jesuits believe in the responsibility of private property but they believe also in the practicality of voluntary poverty.

#### **Counsels of the Gospel**

Someone said that the Catholic Worker is taking monasticism out of the monasteries. The Counsels of the Gospel are for everybody, not only for monks. Franciscans and Jesuits are not monks. Franciscans are Friars, and the world is their monastery. Jesuits are the storm troops of the Catholic Church, and ready to be sent where the Holy Father wishes to send them. The Counsels of the Gospel are for everybody, and if everybody tried to live up to it

we would bring order  
out of chaos,  
and Chesterton would not

have said  
that the Christian ideal  
has been left untried.

## COMMUNITARIAN PERSONALISM

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### Basic Power

Bourgeois capitalism is based on the power of hiring and firing. Fascist Corporatism and Bolshevist Socialism are based on the power of life and death. Communitarian Personalism is based on the power of thought and example.

### Thinking Is Individual

Thinking is individual, not collective. Fifty million Frenchmen may be wrong, while one Frenchman may be right. One thinks better than two, and two better than two hundred. The national thinking of Benito Mussolini, the racial thinking of Adolph Hitler and the mass thinking of Joseph Stalin are not what I mean by thinking. Read "The Crowd," by Gustave LeBon.

### Social Power

Social power is more important than political power.

And political power is not the road to social power. The road to social power is the right use of liberty. Read "Our Enemy the State" by Albert Jay Nock.

### Give Me Liberty

Patrick Henry said, "Give me liberty, or give me death!" What makes man a man is the right use of liberty. The rugged individualists of the Liberty League, the strong-arm men of the Fascist State and the rugged collectivists of the Communist Party have not yet learned the right use of liberty. Read "Freedom in the Modern World," by Jacques Maritain.

### Leadership

Everybody looks for a leader and nobody likes to be dictated to. Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin try to be at the same time leaders and dictators. A leader is a fellow who follows a 'cause

in words and deeds. A  
follower is a fellow who  
follows the leader because he  
sponsors the cause that the  
leader follows. Head  
"Leadership or Domination,"  
by Paul Piggors.  
Paul Piggors  
makes a case for domination  
in times of crisis, and in this  
he is wrong. Domination is  
not the way to create order  
out of chaos.  
Leadership is always the way  
to create order out of chaos.

#### **Communitarian Personalism**

"A man is a man for all  
that," says Robert Burns. To  
bring out the man in man,  
such is the purpose of the  
Communitarian Movement.  
A Communitarian is a fellow  
who refuses to be what the  
other fellow is, and chooses  
to be what he wants the  
other fellow to be.  
Read "Easy Essays,"  
by Peter Maurin.

#### **The Forgotten Man**

The forgotten man  
is forgotten  
because clergymen  
have forgotten  
to rub shoulders  
with the forgotten man.  
And clergymen  
have forgotten  
to rub shoulders  
with the forgotten man  
because clergymen  
have forgotten  
to use logic  
to discover what is practical.  
And because clergymen  
have forgotten  
to use logic  
to discover what is practical,  
they have failed  
to give us a sociology  
that has something to do  
with theology.  
The minimum standard  
has been emphasized,  
and the maximum standard  
has been minimized.  
Which makes Chesterton say  
that the Christian ideal  
has not been tried  
and found wanting,  
it has been found difficult  
and left untried.  
Read "Fire on the Earth,"  
by Rev. Paul Hanly Furfey.

## SUPERFLUOUS GOODS

### The Problem of Today

General Johnson says that the problem of today is not to increase producing power, but to increase the consuming power. Saving to invest is considered a bourgeois virtue, while spending to consume is considered a bourgeois vice. While the thrifty bourgeois increases the producing power the bourgeois spendthrift increases the consuming power.

### With Our Superfluous Goods

Bishop von Ketteler says that we are bound under pain of mortal sin to relieve the extreme needs of our needy brother with our superfluous goods. With our superfluous goods we build white elephants like the Empire State Building. With our superfluous goods we build power houses which increase the producing power and therefore increase unemployment. With our superfluous goods we build colleges which turn out students into a changing world without telling them now to keep it from changing or how to change it

to suit college graduates.

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### Ambassadors of God

What we give to the poor for Christ's sake is what we carry with us when we die. We are afraid to pauperize the poor because we are afraid to be poor. Pagan Greeks used to say that the poor "are the ambassadors of the gods." To become poor is to become an Ambassador of God.

### We Seem to Think

St. Francis thought that to choose to be poor is just as good as if one should marry the most beautiful girl in the world. We seem to think that poor people are social nuisances and not the Ambassadors of God. We seem to think that Lady Poverty is an ugly girl and not the beautiful girl that St. Francis of Assisi says she is. And because we think so, we refuse to feed the poor with our superfluous goods and let the politicians feed the poor

by going around  
like pickpockets,  
robbing Peter  
to pay Paul,  
and feeding the poor  
by soaking the rich.

**If**

If Spanish Catholics  
had fed the poor  
with their superfluous goods,  
the Reds would not now-

want to relieve them of  
their superfluous goods. If  
American Catholics were  
building churches in rural  
districts with their  
superfluous goods they  
would increase the  
consuming power and make  
an impression on the  
depression through the  
expression of their Catholic  
faith.

#### ***Fourth Open Letter to Father Lord, S.J.***

*Dear Father:*

We are living  
in a period of chaos.  
Our task must be  
to create order  
out of chaos.  
Creating order  
out of chaos  
ought to be the task  
of religious orders.  
The Jesuit Order  
would do well  
to open up  
Houses of Hospitality  
for the benefit  
of all college graduates,  
non-Catholics  
as well as Catholics.  
In those Houses of Hospitality  
unemployed college graduates  
would be given  
an historical background.  
Professor Carlton Hayes says  
that our religion  
is the only historical religion.

A Catholic historical back-  
ground  
given the unemployed  
college graduates  
in Houses of Hospitality  
would be  
the best antidote  
to Marxist materialism.  
It ought also to be  
that kind of historical back-  
ground  
that would make them  
Co-operators  
or Guildists  
or Distributists  
or. Communitarians.  
It would make them  
look up to the individual,  
not to the State,  
for the solution  
of social problems.

*Yours for the Green Revolution,*

PETER MAURIN.



## THE PLURALIST STATE

### Secularism Is a Pest

"What ails modern society is the separation of the spiritual from, the material," says Glenn Frank. That separation of the spiritual from the material is what we call secularism. "Secularism is a pest," says Pope Pius XI. Education without religion is only information. Politics without religion is only factionalism. Business without religion is only commercialism. Religion is good for weekdays as well as Sundays.

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### Utilitarian Thought

When English philosophers broke away from medieval thought they formulated what is called a utilitarian philosophy. Locke, Hobbes and Hume, the utilitarian philosophers, had for disciples the futilitarian economists of the Manchester School. Since the advent of the Manchester School, the School of Laissez Faire, religion has nothing to do with political economy because political economy has nothing to do

with social ethics.

### Futilitarian Economics

The Futilitarian Economists of the Manchester School thought that the general interest of human society would be well served if everybody was always mindful of his material interest. The Futilitarian Economists of the Manchester School thought that everything would be lovely if everybody took in each other's washing. The Futilitarian Economists of the Manchester School believed in the law of supply and demand and could never conceive of the possibility of too much supply and not enough demand.

### Futilitarian States

The Futilitarian Economists of the Manchester School thought that business is just business and that politics should keep out of business. The Futilitarian Economists of the Manchester School thought that the State is only useful when it helps business men to collect their debts. The war of 1914 and the peace of 1919 are the logical result of the foolish notions

of the Futilitarian Economists  
of the Manchester School.  
England, France and America,  
our Futilitarian States,  
are now busy  
trying to solve the problems  
brought about  
by the lack of understanding  
of the Futilitarian Economists  
of the Manchester School.

#### **Totalitarian States**

England, France and America  
think they can muddle  
through with their  
eighteenth-century  
politics.

Russia, Italy and Germany  
have given up the idea  
of two, three or more  
political parties  
and have adopted the idea  
of one political party.  
In the Futilitarian States  
everybody is told  
"Mind your own business."  
In the Totalitarian States  
everybody is told  
"Do what we tell you  
or out you go to the  
Concentration Camp."

#### **Pluralist Thought**

Humanists believe  
with Robert Burns  
that "a man is a man  
for all that."  
Theists believe  
that God created the world,  
that He is our Father,  
and that we are all brothers.  
Protestants believe  
that God, our Father,  
sent His only begotten Son  
to save the world  
from sin.

Catholics believe  
that Jesus Christ  
established a Church,  
and that this Church  
is the Catholic Church.  
Humanists  
are just Humanists.  
Theists are Humanists  
plus Theists.  
Protestants are Humanists  
plus Theists  
plus Christians.  
Catholics are Humanists  
plus Theists  
plus Christians  
plus Catholics.

#### **Pluralist State**

The belief in human  
personality  
is the common belief of  
Humanists, Theists,  
Protestants, Catholics. On  
this common belief of  
human personality  
Humanists, Theists,  
Protestants, Catholics, could  
very well build up a  
Pluralist State. Futilitarian  
States, as well as  
Totalitarian States, are not  
based on the cultural  
tradition of the Western  
World. The Pluralist State  
is a State where Humanists  
try to be human, Orthodox  
Jews try to be Jews,  
Christian Protestants try to  
be Christians, and Catholics  
try to be Catholics.

Allied Techniques  
Social movements

based on personal responsibility are not hindered by the Pluralist State. The Co-operative Movement, the Guildist Movement, the Agrarian Movement, the Communitarian Movement, find themselves at home in the Pluralist State. The Pluralist State does not try

to solve the social problem by passing laws or creating bureaus, but by removing from the statute book all the laws that hinder the activities of the social movements based on personal responsibility. The Pluralist State stands for leadership, not dictatorship.

## BACK TO NEWMANISM

### About Textbooks

President Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, says: "How can we call a man educated who has not read any of the great books of the Western World? Yet today, it is entirely possible for a student to graduate from the finest American colleges without having read any of them, except perhaps Shakespeare. Of course the student may have read of those books, or at least of their authors. But this knowledge is gained in general through textbooks. And the textbooks have probably

done as much to degrade American intelligence as any single force."

### It Must Be Used

Cardinal Newman says: "If the intellect is a good thing, then its cultivation is an excellent thing. It must be cultivated not only as a good thing, but as a useful thing. It must not be useful in any low, mechanical, material sense. It must be useful in the spreading of goodness. It must be used by the owner for the good of himself and for the good of the world."

## OUTDOOR UNIVERSITIES

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### On to the Street

Father Bede Jarrett says:  
"The truths of a generation  
become the platitudes  
of the next generation."  
Henrik Ibsen says:  
"Thought must be rewritten  
every twenty years."  
That is to say  
eternal principles  
must at all times  
be presented  
in the vernacular  
of the man on the street.  
Emerson says  
that the way  
to acquire the vernacular  
of the man of the street  
is to go to the street  
and listen  
to the man of the street.  
The way to become dynamic  
and cease to be academic  
is to rub shoulders  
with the men on the  
\*\* street.  
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### Hands and Heads

Some one said  
that the Catholic Worker  
is a movement  
for down-and-outs.  
And it is a movement  
for down-and-outs,  
including  
down-and-out business men,  
down-and-out college gradu-  
ates  
and down-and-out college  
professors.  
In the Catholic Worker,  
besides being fed,

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clothed and sheltered,  
people learn to use their  
hands as well as their heads.  
And while they learn to use  
their heads to guide their  
hands, the use of their  
hands, improves a great  
deal the working of their  
heads.

### Silver Springs

In Silver Springs, a  
few miles  
from Washington, D. C., the  
Missionaries of the Holy  
Trinity combine manual  
labor with intellectual  
pursuits. They go to the  
Catholic

University in the  
morning, build their own  
campus or cultivate their  
land in the afternoon and  
do their homework in the  
evening. While they do  
manual labor their mind is  
taken off their studies,  
which is to the benefit both  
of their health and their  
studies. In Silver Springs  
scholars  
try to be workers  
and workers try to  
be scholars.

**Three Books** The  
machine is not an  
improvement on man's  
skill; it is an imitation of  
man's skill. Read "Post-  
Industrialism"

by Arthur Penty. The best means are the pure means and the pure means are the heroic means. Read "Freedom in the Modern World" by Jacques Maritain. The future of the Church is on the land,

not in the city; for a child is an asset on the land and a liability in the city. Read "The Church and the Land" by Father Vincent McNabb, O. P.

## SO-CALLED COMMUNISTS

*(Written for Bolshevik Socialists)*

### **Bolshevik Socialists**

I am criticized for saying that there is nothing wrong with Communism but that there is something wrong with Communists. The wrong thing with

Communists is that they are not Communists, they are State Socialists. "Communism," according to the definition of the Communist Manifesto, "is a state of society where each one works according to his ability and gets according to his needs." According to this definition there is no Communism in Soviet Russia. Communists do not deserve the name "Communists." They should be called "Bolshevik Socialists."

### **In Bolshevik Russia**

The State withers away in a Communist society, but the State has not withered away

in Bolshevik Russia. There is no wage system in a Communist society, but there is a wage system in Bolshevik Russia. There is no dictatorship in a Communist society, but there is a dictatorship in Bolshevik Russia. There is no investing class in a Communist society, but they sell Government bonds in Bolshevik Russia.

### **Economic Determinism**

Bolshevik Socialists stand for economic determinism. According to the theory of economic determinism, bourgeois capitalism creates bourgeois ideology and Bolshevik Socialism creates Bolshevik ideology. According to the same theory, Bolshevik ideology can never be the product of bourgeois capitalism. But Marx and Lenin expressed Bolshevik ideology while living under bourgeois capitalism.

Marx and Lenin  
must be a mystery  
to Bolshevik Socialists.

### **Class Struggle**

Bolshevik Socialists credit  
bourgeois capitalism with an  
historical mission. If  
bourgeois capitalism fulfills  
an historical mission, it  
should not be interfered  
with  
in the fulfilling of that  
historical mission. When  
Bolshevik Socialists foster the  
class-struggle, they delay the  
fulfilling of the historical  
mission which they credit to  
bourgeois capitalism. There  
is no sense in delaying the  
fulfilling of the historical  
mission of bourgeois  
capitalism by throwing the  
monkey-wrench  
of class-struggle into the  
economic machinery.

### **Proletarian Dictatorship**

Bolshevik Socialists stand for  
proletarian dictatorship.  
A bourgeois without money  
may be as bourgeois as a  
bourgeois with money. The  
bourgeois-minded proletarian  
and the bourgeois-minded  
capitalist  
are spiritually related.  
The bourgeois-minded  
proletarian  
is a chip off the old block—  
the bourgeois-minded  
capitalist. All the sins of the  
father—

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the bourgeois-minded  
capitalist—  
are found in the son—  
the bourgeois-minded  
proletarian.  
The bourgeois-minded  
proletarian  
is no more fit to rule  
than the bourgeois-minded  
capitalist.  
Proletarian dictatorship,  
as well as  
capitalist dictatorship,  
is no substitute  
for personalist leadership.

### **Personalist Leadership**

A Leader is a fellow  
who follows a cause  
A Follower is a fellow  
who follows the Leader,  
because he sponsors the cause  
that the Leader follows.  
Thought must be expressed  
in words and deeds,  
and deeds speak louder  
than words.  
To be a Leader  
requires thought  
as well as technique.  
The thought must appeal to  
reason,  
and the technique must be  
related to the  
thought.

### **The Catholic Worker**

The Catholic Worker does  
not credit bourgeois  
capitalism with an historical  
mission. It condemns it on  
the general principle that  
labor is a gift, not a  
commodity. The Catholic  
Worker does not throw

the monkey-wrench of class-  
struggle  
into the economic machinery.  
It aims to create  
a new society  
within the shell of the old  
with the philosophy of the  
new,  
which is not a new  
philosophy,

but a very old philosophy,  
a philosophy so old that it  
looks like new. The  
Catholic Worker does not  
stand for proletarian  
dictatorship. It stands for  
personalist leadership.

## THE THINKING JOURNALIST

### **It Is Bad News**

Mark Hanna used to say,  
"When a dog bites a man, it  
is not news; but when a  
man bites a dog, it is news."  
To let everybody know that  
a man has bitten a dog is  
not good news; it is bad  
news.

### **Good Journalism**

To tell everybody  
that a man died  
leaving two million dollars,  
may be journalism,  
but it is not  
good journalism.  
But to tell everybody  
that the man died  
leaving two million dollars  
because he did not know  
how to take them with-him  
by giving them to the poor  
for Christ's sake  
during his lifetime  
Is good journalism.  
Good journalism  
is to give the news  
and the right comment  
on the news.  
The value of journalism

is the value of the comment  
given with the news.

### **Public Opinion**

To be a good journalist  
is to say something interesting  
about interesting things  
or interesting people.  
The news is the occasion  
for the journalist  
to convey his thinking  
to unthinking people.  
Nothing can be done  
without public opinion,  
and the opinion  
of thinking people  
who know how  
to transmit their thinking  
to unthinking people.

### **Recorded Thinking**

A diary is a journal  
where a thinking man records  
his thinking. The *Journal  
Intime of Frederic Amiel* is  
the record of the thinking of  
Frederic Amiel. The thinking  
journalist imparts his  
thinking through a newspaper  
by relating his thinking to the  
news of the day. By relating  
his thinking to the news of  
the day,

the thinking journalist  
affects public opinion.

**Maker of History**

By affecting public opinion,  
the thinking journalist is a  
creative agent in the  
making of news that is fit  
to print.

The thinking journalist  
is not satisfied to be  
just a recorder of  
modern history. The  
thinking journalist  
aims to be a maker-of  
that kind of history  
that is worth recording.

**CAESARISM OR PERSONALISM**

**Caesar or God**

Christ says:  
"Render to Caesar  
the things that are Caesar's  
and to God  
the things that are God's."  
The Fascist Caesar,  
the Nazi Caesar,  
the Bolshevik Caesar  
are not satisfied  
with the things  
that are Caesar's;  
they also want  
the things that are God's.  
When Caesar sets up a claim  
to the things that are God's  
he sets himself up  
as God.  
And when Caesar  
sets himself up as a god  
he sets himself up  
as a faker.  
When Caesar  
sets himself up as a faker  
he should be denounced  
as a faker.

**Fascist Caesar**

The Fascist Caesar claims  
that the child belongs to the  
State. The child does not  
belong to the State; it  
belongs

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to the parents.  
The child  
was given by God  
to the parents;  
he was not  
given by God  
to the State  
The parents  
must teach the child  
to serve God,  
from whom  
they received the child.  
When the parents  
allow the State  
to grab the child  
and to act  
toward the child  
as if God  
did not matter  
they lose their claim  
to the allegiance  
of the child.

**The Nazi Caesar**

The Nazi Caesar  
claims that there are  
superior races  
and inferior races.  
The superior race  
is always the one  
one happens to belong to.  
The inferior race  
is always the one  
that refuses to recognize



that superiority  
and claims to be  
the superior race.  
If a race is superior  
to another race  
then the extermination  
of the inferior race  
is the moral duty  
of the superior race.  
The superior race  
tries to believe  
that God works  
through the superior race.  
The superior race  
conceives God  
as a racial god.

#### **The Bolshevik Caesar**

The Bolshevik Caesar  
says that there is no God,  
but that there is  
a messianic class  
and that the working class  
needs to be guided  
by those who are aware  
of the messianic mission  
of the working class.  
The Communist Party  
claims to be the guide  
of the working class  
in the fulfilling  
of its messianic mission.  
Those who contest  
the superior wisdom  
of the master minds  
of the Communist Party  
are considered  
as the enemies  
of the Bolshevik revolution.  
Many old-timers  
in the Bolshevik movement  
are now considered  
the worst enemies  
of the Bolshevik revolution.  
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#### **The Use of Liberty**

Patrick Henry said;  
"Give me liberty  
or give me death."  
Liberty is a great thing,  
but few people  
know how to use it.  
Some use liberty  
to become  
rugged individualists.  
Some would like to be  
rugged individualists,  
but don't know how,  
and choose to be  
rugged collectivists.  
Some use liberty  
by serving their  
fellowmen  
for God's sake.  
Some are moved by  
greed,  
some are moved by  
grudge,  
and some are moved by  
creed.

#### **Modern Education**

Thomas Jefferson said  
that  
the less government  
there is,  
the better it is.  
If the less  
government  
there is,  
the better it is,  
then the best kind of  
government  
is self-government.  
To teach people  
to govern themselves,  
such is the purpose  
of education.  
If we are threatened  
with Caesarism  
it is because educators  
have failed  
to educate.  
Modern educators  
do not educate  
because they lack  
unity of thought.

Modern educators  
ought to read  
Maritain's book,

"Freedom in the Modern  
World."  
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## THE SIT-DOWN TECHNIQUE

### On Gandhi Lines

Strike news doesn't strike me, but the sit-down strike is a different strike from the ordinary strike. In the sit-down strike you don't strike anybody either on the jaw or under the belt, you just sit down. The sit-down strike is essentially a peaceful strike. If the sit-down strike remains a sit-down strike, that is to say, a strike in which you strike by just sitting down, it may be a means of bringing about desirable results. The sit-down strike must be conducted on Gandhi lines, that is to say, according to the doctrine of pure means as expressed by Jacques Maritain.

### In the Middle Ages

The capitalist system is a racketeering system. It is a racketeering system because it is a profiteering system. It is a profiteering system because it is

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a profit system. And nobody has found the way to keep the profit system from becoming a profiteering system. Harold Laski says: "In the Middle Ages the idea of acquiring wealth was limited by a body of moral rules imposed under the sanction of religious authority." But modern business men tell the clergy: "Mind your own business and don't butt into our business."

### Economic Economy

In the Middle Ages they had a doctrine, the doctrine of the Common Good. In the Middle Ages they had an economy which was economical. Their economy was based on the idea that God wants us to be our brothers' keepers. They believed in the right to work for the worker. They believed in being fair to the worker as well as the consumer. They believed

in doing their work the best they knew how for the service of God and men.

### **Proper Property**

Leon Harmel, who was an employer, not a labor leader, says: "We have lost the right concept of authority since the Renaissance." We have not only lost the right concept of authority, we have also lost the right concept of property. The use of property to acquire more property is not the (proper use of property. The right use of property is to enable the worker to do his work more effectively. The right use of property is not to compel the worker, under threat of unemployment, to be a cog in the wheel of mass production.

### **Speed-up System**

Bourgeois capitalists believe in the law of supply and demand. Through mass production, bourgeois capitalists increase the supply and decrease the demand. The speed-up system and the extensive use of improved machinery has given us technological unemployment. AS a Catholic worker

said to me:  
"Ford speeds us up,  
making us do  
in one day  
three times as much work  
as before,  
then he lays us off."  
To speed up the workers  
and then lay them off  
is to deny the worker  
the right to work.

### **Makers of Depressions**

Business men used to say:  
"We make prosperity through  
our private enterprise."  
According to business men,  
the workers have nothing to  
do with the making of  
prosperity. If the workers  
have nothing to do with the  
making of prosperity, they  
have nothing to do with the  
making of business  
depressions. The refusal of  
business men to accept the  
responsibility for business  
depressions is what makes the  
workers resort to sit-down  
strikes. If business men  
understood business they  
would find the way to  
increase the demand for  
manufactured products,  
instead of increasing the  
supply  
through the speed-up system  
and the extensive use of  
improved machinery.

### **Collective Bargaining**

Business men  
have made

such a mess of things  
without workers' co-operation  
that they could do no worse  
with workers' co-operation.  
Because the workers  
want to co-operate  
with the business men  
in the running of business  
is the reason why  
they sit down.  
The sit-down strike  
is for the worker  
the means of bringing about  
collective bargaining.  
Collective bargaining  
should lead  
to compulsory arbitration.  
Collective bargaining  
and compulsory arbitration  
will assure the worker  
the right to work.

#### **In the Bumble Seat**

There is nothing wrong with  
the sit-down strike if it is  
used to bring about  
collective bargaining. The  
aim of the NRA was to bring  
about collective bargaining  
but, as Father Parsons said:  
"The NRA made the mistake  
of placing labor in the  
rumble seat." Labor must sit  
in the driver's seat— not in  
the rumble seat. Bourgeois  
capitalists are not such good  
drivers as to be able to drive  
without the co-operation of  
organized labor.

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#### **The Modern Mind**

Organized labor,  
whether it be  
the A. F. of L.  
or the C. I. O.,  
is far from knowing  
what to do  
with the economic setup.  
Organized labor,  
as well as  
organized capital,  
is the product  
of the modern mind.  
The modern mind  
is in such a fog  
that it cannot see the forest  
for the trees.  
The modern mind  
has been led astray  
by the liberal mind.  
The endorsement  
of liberal economics  
by the liberal mind  
has given us  
this separation  
of the spiritual  
from the material,  
which we call  
secularism.

#### **Paul Chanson**

Organized labor,  
organized capital,  
organized politics  
are essentially  
secularist minded.  
We need leaders  
to lead us  
in the making of a path  
from the things as they are  
to the things as they should be.  
I propose the formation  
of associations  
of Catholic employers  
as well as associations

of Catholic union men.  
Employers and employees  
must be indoctrinated with  
the same doctrine. What is  
sauce for the goose is  
sauce for the gander. Paul  
Chanson,

President of the Employers'  
Association  
of the Port of Calais, France,  
has written a book  
expounding this doctrine,  
"Workers' Rights and the  
Guildist Order."

## THE LAW OF HOLINESS

### Christ's Message

"No man can serve two  
masters,  
God and Mammon."  
"Be perfect  
as your Heavenly Father is  
perfect." "If you want to be  
perfect sell all you have, give  
it to the poor and follow me."

—*New Testament.*

"These are hard words," says  
Robert Louis Stevenson, "but  
the hard words of a book  
were the only reason why  
the book was written."

### The Law of Holiness

In his encyclical  
on St. Francis of Sales  
the Holy Father says:  
"We cannot accept the belief  
that this command of Christ  
concerns only  
a select and privileged group,  
and that all others  
may consider themselves  
pleasing to Him  
if they have attained  
a lesser degree  
of holiness.  
Quite the contrary is true,

as appears from the  
generality of His  
words. The law of  
holiness embraces all  
men and admits of no  
exception."

### Rich and Poor

There is a rub  
between the rich  
who like  
to get richer  
and the poor  
who don't like  
to get poorer.  
The rich,  
who like  
to get richer,  
turn to the Church  
to save them  
from the poor  
who don't like  
to get poorer.  
But the Church  
can only tell the rich  
who like  
to get richer,  
"Woe to you rich,  
who like  
to get richer,  
if you don't help the poor  
who don't like  
to get poorer."

# UTILITARIANS, FUTILITARIANS, TOTALITARIAN

## **Utilitarian Philosophers**

After a century  
of Protestantism,  
England and Scotland  
saw the coming out  
of a philosophical thought  
known in history  
as Utilitarian Philosophy.  
While Luther and Calvin  
discarded the authority of the  
Church  
the Utilitarian Philosophers  
discarded the authority  
of Divine Revelation.  
They tried to convince them-  
selves  
and convince other people  
that the Church and the Bible  
were a handicap,  
rather than a help,  
in man's striving  
towards the good life.

## **Futilitarian Economists**

The Utilitarian Philosophers,  
Hobbes, Locke, Hume, were  
followed by the Futilitarian  
Economists,  
Adam Smith, Ricardo. The  
Futilitarian Economists  
thought that religion had  
nothing to do with business.  
They thought that everything  
would be lovely if everybody  
took in each other's washing.  
They thought that everybody  
should try to sell what he has  
to sell

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to the highest bidder. So  
people started to think of  
time in terms of money,  
and ended by shouting:  
"Time is money!"

## **Harold Laski Says**

Harold Laski,  
professor of Political Science  
in the London School of Eco-  
nomics,  
has this to say:  
"In the Middle Ages  
the idea of acquiring wealth  
was limited  
by a body of moral rules  
imposed under the sanction  
of religious authority.  
After 1500  
those rules were evaded,  
criticized, abandoned.  
New concepts were needed to  
legalize  
the new potentialities of  
wealth.  
The liberal doctrine  
is the philosophical justifica-  
tion  
of the new practices."

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## **Fascism and Marxism**

Now that economic liberalism  
is dying out,  
modern liberals  
find themselves  
on the spot.  
They try to escape,  
from what they consider to be  
an untenable position.  
In their attempt to escape

the shifting sands of liberalism,  
they look for authority; not  
the authority of the teaching  
Church, but the authority of  
the political State, whether it  
be the Marxist State or the  
Fascist State. Fascism is a  
stop-gap between the  
dictatorship of bourgeois  
capitalism and the  
dictatorship of Marxian  
Socialism.

**Capitalism, Fascism,  
Communsim**

In an article  
published in the *Christian  
Front*,  
Charles P. Bruehl says:  
"Those who fondly believe

that Fascism  
will save the world  
from Communism  
are laboring  
under a fatal delusion.  
The ideologies  
of those two  
are closely allied.  
They have too much in  
common  
and their differences  
can be readily effaced.  
The three, capitalism,  
Fascism, Communism are  
three in a chain.  
Imperceptibly one passes  
into the other. All three are  
fundamentally materialistic,  
secularistic, totalitarian."

## THE WAY TO FIGHT COMMUNISM

**Without Comments**

"I understand Catholic  
apologetics  
but I don't understand  
Catholic sociology."

—*A Catholic Editor*. "Your  
stuff is new to us." —*A  
Catholic Layman*.

"There is nothing new about  
it; it is Catholic doctrine."

—*A Catholic Priest*. "You  
are an idealist and I am a  
materialist, but I like to  
listen to you." —*A  
Communist*.

**Twenty and Forty**

A. Dutch convert

used to say:

"When one is not a Socialist  
at twenty,  
there is something wrong  
with his heart;

but if one is a Socialist  
at forty  
there is something wrong  
with his head."

Dorothy Day,  
Grace Branham  
and Marguerite Gage  
were Socialists  
at twenty.

And they did not  
wait to be forty  
to give up Socialism.  
So there is nothing wrong  
either with their hearts

or with their heads.

### **Works of Mercy**

The order of the day in Catholic circles is to fight Communism. To denounce Communism in Catholic halls is not an efficient way to fight Communism. The daily practice of the Works of Mercy is a more efficient way to fight Communism. The daily practice of the Works of Mercy by the first Christians made the pagans say about the Christians "See how they love each other."

### **Irish Scholars**

When the Irish scholars decided to lay the foundations of medieval Europe, they established: Centers of Thought in all the cities of Europe as far as Constantinople, where people could look for thought so they could have light. Houses of Hospitality where Christian charity was exemplified. Agricultural Centers where they combined

- (a) Cult— that is to say Liturgy
- (b) with Culture— that is to say Literature
- (c) with Cultivation— that is to say Agriculture.

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### **Chinese Catholics**

Chinese Catholics are showing us the way to fight Communism. Non-Catholic writers are writing about the mode of living of the Brothers of St. John

Baptist. Chinese Communists went to visit the Brothers and told them that their mode of living is more perfect than the mode of living of the Communist Party. The Brothers of St. John Baptist try to exemplify the Sermon on the Mount. The Sermon on the Mount is considered practical by the Brothers of St. John

Baptist.

### **Five Books**

If you want to know what industrialism has done to man, read "Man the Unknown," by Dr. Alexis Carrel. If you want to know how we got that way, read "A Guildsman's Interpretation of History," by Arthur Penty. If you want to know what it is to be a bourgeois, read "The Bourgeois Mind," by Nicholas Berdyaev. If you want to know what religion has to do with culture,



read "Enquiries Into Religion and Culture," by Christopher Dawson. If you want to know

what to do with freedom, read "Freedom in the Modern World" by Jacques Maritain.

## AGAINST CLASS WAR

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### **The Trouble Has Been**

Hilaire Belloc says the modern proletarian works less hours and does far less than his father. He is not even primarily in revolt against insecurity. The trouble has been that the masses of our towns lived under unbearable conditions. The contracts they were asked to fulfill were not contracts that were suitable to the dignity of man. There was no personal relation between the man who was exploited and the man who exploited him. Wealth had lost its sense of responsibility.

### **Twin Cities**

In St. Paul  
there are few strikers  
and few Reds.  
In Minneapolis  
there are plenty of strikes  
and plenty of Reds.  
In St. Paul

the employers try to play fair with the workers and the workers with the employers. In Minneapolis the employers choose to be rugged individualists and the workers consent to be rugged collectivists. Rugged individualists and rugged collectivists are spiritually related.

### **Class-Consciousness**

Georges Sorel thought that violence is the midwife of existing societies. When the employers believe in violence the workers also believe in it. Class-consciousness among employers brings class-consciousness among the workers. To do away with class struggle we must first of all do away with class-consciousness among employers. The workers are what the employers make them.

When employers are moved by greed the workers are inclined to carry a grudge.

**Paul Chanson Says:**  
Whether we like it or not the economic system is necessarily related to the regime of appropriation of the tools of production. If Bourgeois capitalism appropriates the ownership the worker becomes a serf. If Bolshevick Socialism monopolizes the ownership

the worker's condition is not better. He is reduced to a state of slavery. Only a Guildist' and Communitarian economy will bring about the worker's emancipation. Paul Chanson, who says those things, is not a labor leader. He is the President of the Employers Association of the Port of Calais in France.

### ***FAITH AND REASON***

St. Thomas Aquinas believed in reason with faith. Martin Luther believed in faith without reason. Thomas Paine believed in reason without faith. Modern Liberals believe neither in faith nor reason. Modern Fascists believe in blood-thinking. Modern Marxists believe'

in dialectic materialism. Mortimer Adler believes that philosophers have not found anything new since Aristotle. And St. Thomas Aquinas believed what Aristotle believed as well as what St. Augustine believed.

### ***UNPOPULAR FRONT***

**Four in One**  
The Unpopular Front is a front composed of: Humanists, who try to be human to man; Theists, who believe that God wants us

to be our brother's keeper; Christians, who believe in the Sennon on the Mount as well as the Ten Commandments; Catholics, who believe in the Thomistic Doctrine of the Common Good.

# BOOK 4



## WAR AND PEACE

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### **Barbarians and Civilized**

We call barbarians  
people living  
on the other side of the  
border.  
We call civilized  
people living  
on this side of the border.  
We civilized, living on this  
side of the  
border,  
are not ashamed to arm  
ourselves to the teeth so as  
to protect ourselves against  
the barbarians living on the  
other side. And when the  
barbarians born on the other  
side of the  
border invade us, we do not  
hesitate to kill them before  
we have tried to civilize them.  
So we civilized exterminate  
barbarians without civilizing  
them. And we persist in  
calling ourselves civilized.

### **Germans and French**

After the fall  
of the Roman Empire  
German barbarians

invaded Gaul, now called  
France. The German  
barbarians came as invaders  
and were civilized by the  
invaded. The Gallo-  
Gerrnans living in Gaul,  
now called France, were  
Christians. Through a  
Christian  
technique the Gallo-  
Romans made Christians  
out of the German invaders.  
So the German invaders  
gave up their religion as  
well as their language and  
took up the religion as  
well as the language of the  
invaded.

### **Italians and Ethiopians**

Italian soldiers  
went to Ethiopia  
to civilize the Ethiopians.  
The Italian soldiers  
still think  
that invaders  
can civilize the invaded.  
But the Ethiopians  
do not like the way  
the Italian soldiers  
try to civilize them.  
The best way

to civilize the Ethiopians  
is to prepare  
Ethiopian young men  
for the priesthood.  
As Christopher Dawson says,  
culture  
has a lot to do  
with religion.

#### **Spaniards and Moors**

Moors from Morocco  
ruled part of Spain  
for eight hundred years.  
They imposed Mohammedanism  
on the Spaniards  
through the power of the  
sword.  
After eight hundred years,  
the Spanish Christians  
decided to give the Moors  
a dose of their own medicine.  
So the Spanish Christians  
drove the Moors out of Spain  
through the power of the  
sword.  
Before the war,  
Spanish Christians

failed to make use  
of the power of the word.  
Spanish Christians  
seem to have more faith  
in the power of the sword  
than the power of the word.  
So had the Moors  
when ruling part of Spain  
for eight hundred years.

#### **Stalinites and Trotskyites**

Eugene Lyons says that  
Lenin and Trotsky accepted  
the idea that the end  
justifies the means. They  
thought that an idealistic  
end could be reached by  
bloody means. Because they  
resorted to bloody means,  
Stalin resorts to bloody  
means. The State has not  
yet withered away and the  
Communist ideal is still out  
of sight.

## **BUSINESS IS THE BUNK**

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#### **Money Making**

Business men are not  
in business for their  
health. They are in  
business to make  
money. Because  
business men are in  
business to make  
money they replace  
men with machinery.  
But as Mussolini says  
"Machines

do not eat."  
Because machines  
do not eat  
they decrease  
the consuming power  
and increase  
the producing power.  
Our economic system  
is out of joint  
because  
people with money  
do not buy  
and people without money  
cannot buy

what they wish to buy.

### **Providing Jobs**

In the years  
of prosperity  
the employers  
were providing jobs.  
But the job providers  
do no longer  
provide jobs.  
And the job hunters  
are sore  
because the job providers  
do no longer know  
how to provide jobs.  
And the job hunters  
turn to the State  
and ask the State  
to do for them  
what business men  
fail to do.  
Because business men  
do no longer know  
how to provide jobs,  
the State  
takes up the job  
of providing jobs.

### **WPA**

Some one said  
that what is needed  
is a machine  
that could do the work  
of one man  
and would take ten men  
to run it.  
But as somebody else said,  
"We don't need it;  
we have it already:  
the WPA."  
In England  
they have the dole.  
Here, we don't have the dole;  
we have the WPA.  
WPA jobs  
cost three times as much  
as home relief.

That money comes  
from taxpayers  
or investors  
in Government bonds.  
And because of it  
the Government  
is no longer able  
to balance the budget.

### **Government Control**

Because the job providers  
sat down on the job of  
providing jobs, the  
Government took up the  
job. The job providers  
who talk about service  
and think about profits  
were told by technicians  
that the profit system  
could be made more  
profitable if machines  
were substituted. And  
now politicians are doing  
their best to take the  
profits out of the profit  
system. But you cannot  
take profits  
out of the profit system  
and still have the profit  
system. What you have is  
more and more  
Government control and  
less and less personal  
control.

### **State Supervision**

Some one said: "There is  
no vision in Washington."  
I say: "There is a lot of  
supervision in  
Washington." Glenn  
Frank says:

"Where there is too much supervision people perish." State supervision leads to State bureaucracy. State bureaucracy leads to the Totalitarian State. In the Totalitarian State the individual exists for the State and not the State for the individual.

#### **Jeffersonian Democracy**

The Founders of America wrote a Declaration

of the Independence of the individual. They established a Constitution for the protection of the individual. They set up nine watch-dogs to protect the Constitution against misinterpretation. Thomas Jefferson says that the less government there is, the better it is. The Totalitarian State is not a substitute for Jeffersonian Democracy.

## **PEACE PREPAREDNESS**

### **1638-1938**

In 1638—  
France and Sweden were helping Protestant Germany against Catholic Germany and Catholic Austria. In 1938—  
Protestant Germany is helping Catholic Spain. In 1638—  
Germany was divided into 300 principalities. In 1938—  
Germany and Austria form a united nation. After 300 years the French policy of 1638 to keep Germany divided has proved to be a complete failure.

#### **Ethiopia and Austria**

France believes

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in colonial expansion and denies to Germany colonial expansion. France went to Tunisia with the approval of Bismarck, who did not deny to France colonial expansion. The Treaty of Versailles reduced Germany's colonial expansion as well as Continental expansion. The colonial expansion of Fascist Italy in Ethiopia and the Continental expansion of Nazi Germany in Austria is the result of the colonial expansion of both France and England.

#### **France and England**

President Wilson stood for a peace treaty



without annexations or  
indemnities.  
Clemenceau and Lloyd  
George  
wanted to have their way  
and kept President Wilson  
from having his way In  
1919— Clemenceau and  
Lloyd  
George  
had their way  
and now Mussolini and Hitler  
have their way. France and  
Italy, who have failed to  
revise the Treaty of  
Versailles, talk about good  
will whi^e Italy and  
Germany talk about force.

**Disarmament of the Heart**  
Pope Benedict XV and  
Aristide Briand  
spoke about  
the disarmament of the heart.  
France and England, who  
refused to follow Wilson,  
refused also to follow Pope  
Benedict XV and  
Aristide Briand.  
They are increasing  
armaments in the fallacious  
hope that they will preserve  
peace

by preparing for war.  
Before 1914  
they prepared for war  
and got it.  
Nations have too long  
prepared for war;  
it is about time  
they prepared for peace.

**A Practical Question**  
Archbishop McNicholas says:  
"Governments  
have no fixed standards  
of morality  
and consequently  
no moral sense.  
They can scarcely settle  
the question of war  
for Christians.  
Christians see and know  
the injustice  
of practically all wars  
in our modern pagan world.  
There is the very practical  
question  
for informed Christians  
who acknowledge the  
supreme dominion  
of God.  
Will such Christians  
in our own country  
form a mighty league  
of conscientious non-  
combatants?"

## THE RACE PROBLEM

The Jews think  
that they are better  
than the Negroes.  
The Germans think  
that they are better  
than the Jews. I  
don't think that  
the Jews are better

than the Negroes  
or the Germans  
better than the Jews.  
The way for the Jews  
to be better  
than the Germans  
is to behave  
the way the Prophets  
want the Jews

to behave.  
The way for the Negroes  
to be better  
than the Jews  
or the Germans  
is to behave  
the way St. Augustine  
wants everybody  
to behave.

#### **Germans and Irish**

Hitler wants all the Germans  
to join the German Reich.  
Hitler seems to think that  
only the German Reich can  
make good Germans out of  
the Germans. According to  
Hitler's way of thinking, to  
make good soldiers out of  
the Germans is to make good  
Germans out of the  
Germans. When the Irish  
were Irish they did not try  
to make good soldiers out of  
the Irish, they tried  
to make good scholars  
out of the Irish.

#### **Soldiers and Scholars**

Soldiers rely on the power  
of the sword. Scholars rely  
on the power of the word.  
Soldiers think in terms of  
empire. Scholars think in  
terms of culture. When after  
the fall of the Roman  
Empire the Irish scholars  
made up their mind

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to lay the foundations  
of medieval Europe,  
they established  
agricultural centers  
where they combined  
cult—  
that is to say liturgy, with  
culture— that is to say  
literature, with  
cultivation— that is to say  
agriculture.

#### **The Negro Problem**

There is in America a  
Negro problem. White  
people in America have  
not yet found the right  
solution of the Negro  
problem. It is up to the  
Negroes to find the right  
solution of the Negro  
problem. When the  
Negroes try to force  
themselves on white  
people or to imitate white  
people they do not solve  
the Negro problem. The  
way for Negroes to solve  
the Negro problem is  
to behave not the  
way  
the white people behave  
but the way St. Augustine  
wants the white people to  
behave.

#### **The Power of Example**

The white people are in a  
mess and the Negro people  
will be in a mess as long  
as they try to keep up

with white people.  
When the Negro people  
will have found the way  
out of their mess  
by evolving a technique  
in harmony  
with the ideology  
of St. Augustine  
the white people  
will no longer  
look down

on Negro people  
but will look up  
to Negro people.  
When the white people  
will look up  
to the Negro people  
they will imitate  
the Negro people.  
The power of Negro people  
over white people  
will then be  
the power of example.

## NO PARTY LINE

### **The Outstretched Hand**

The Marxists  
of Western Europe  
are stretching out  
their hand  
to Catholic Bishops.  
Referring  
to that outstretched hand,  
the Holy Father  
in an address  
to eleven French Bishops  
said last Fall  
to offer the outstretched hand  
because the Marxists  
do not have the truth  
and that our duty  
is to bring to them  
the Catholic truth.  
With the giving of the truth  
we must give to them  
assistance,  
said the Holy Father,  
through the practice  
of the Works of Mercy.

### **Cardinal Verdier**

Cardinal Verdier  
has never been called a  
Fascist  
by Reds or Pinks. He  
was called to Rome

by the Holy Father,  
who wanted to give him  
personal instructions  
on how to deal  
both with the Reds  
and the Fascists.  
What Cardinal Verdier,  
Archbishop of Paris,  
has to say  
about modern problems  
deserves much consideration,  
for he expresses the views  
of the Holy Father.

### **Cardinal Lienard**

The Bishop of Lille was  
not satisfied with  
company unions which  
were fostered by Catholic  
employers. Bishop  
Lienard made up his  
mind to organize unions  
of Catholic workers. The  
existence of Catholic  
unions did not satisfy  
Catholic employers.  
Catholic employers  
accused Catholic unions  
of being Red unions.

The Church in Rome gave its approval to the Catholic unions founded by Bishop Lienard and the Holy Father made him a Cardinal.

**Cardinal Hinsley**  
Archbishop Hinsley of Westminster took cracks at Mussolini while he waged a war in Ethiopia. Archbishop Hinsley was made a Cardinal last Fall. The Holy Father does not seem to object to the criticism of Mussolini

by Archbishop Hinsley during the Ethiopian War.

**No Party Line**

The Catholic Worker is a free-lance movement, not a partisan movement. Some of the Bishops agree with our policies and some don't. We are criticized by many Catholics for some of our policies and especially our Spanish policy. The Communist Party has a party line. The Catholic Worker has no party line. There is no party line in the Catholic Church.

***THE CURSE OF LIBERALISM***

**Three Jews**

Harold Laski,  
an English Jew,  
says that liberals  
have endorsed  
bourgeois capitalism  
in the name of liberalism.  
Julien Benda,  
a French Jew,  
says that liberals  
have given up  
the search for truth  
and consented to become  
paid propagandists  
for nationalism  
as well as capitalism.  
Mortimer Adler,  
an American Jew,  
says that liberals  
are sophists  
and not philosophers.

**Let's Be Liberators**

The present

would be different  
if they had made the past  
different.  
The future  
will be different  
if we make the present  
different.  
To make the present different  
one must give up  
old habits  
and start to contract  
new habits.  
To give up  
old habits  
and start to contract  
new habits  
is to liberate oneself.  
To liberate oneself  
is to show others  
how to liberate themselves.  
Why be a liberal  
when you can be  
a liberator?

### **Looking for Dictators**

Patrick Henry said:  
"Give me liberty  
or give me death."  
Men have liberty  
but intellectual liberals  
have failed to tell people  
what to do with it.  
And because men don't know  
what to do with liberty  
they look for dictators  
to tell them what to do.

And the dictators tell them  
"You do what I tell you or I  
will knock your head off."  
Men look for dictators  
because intellectual liberals  
through their so-called liberal  
education have made man  
unknown to man. Intellectual  
liberals ought to read the  
book of Dr. Alexis Carrel,  
"Man the Unknown."

## ***BEYOND MARXISM***

### **U.S.S.R.**

The U.S.S.R. means the  
Union of Socialist Soviet  
Republics. There is no  
Communism in Soviet  
Russia. According to Karl  
Marx, "Communism is a  
society wherein one works  
according to his ability and  
gets  
according to his needs."  
Such a society is found in  
Catholic monasteries but not  
in Soviet Russia. That is  
why Strachey was told by  
Father McNabb, an English  
Dominican, "I am a  
Communist;

you are only an amateur."

### **Primitive Christianity**

In the beginning of  
Christianity the hungry  
were fed, the naked were  
clothed, the homeless were  
sheltered, the ignorant were  
instructed at a personal  
sacrifice. And the pagans  
used to say about the  
Christians, "See how they  
love each  
other."  
Father Arthur Ryan, born  
in Tipperary, used to call  
this period of history  
"Christian Communism."  
But it is  
a long, long way to  
Tipperary.

## BUSINESS AND SUCH

### **Priests and Policemen**

Jean Jacques Rousseau said:

"Man is naturally good."

Business men say:

"Man is naturally bad;

you can do nothing  
with human nature."

If it is true,

as business men say,  
that you can do nothing  
with human nature,

then we need fewer priests  
and more policemen.

But if God the Father  
sent His own begotten Son  
to redeem men,

then we need more priests  
and fewer policemen.

### **More Profitable**

Business men believe  
in the profit system.

Because they believe  
in the profit system

they try to make the  
profit system more  
profitable. In order to  
make the profit

system more  
profitable business  
men replace men with  
machinery. It is true

that machines

don't strike,

but neither do they eat.

By replacing men

with machinery

business men

increase

the producing power

and decrease

the consuming power.

### **Sit-Downers**

In putting more machines  
into factories

business men

have given up their job

of providing jobs.

The job providers

have to admit

that they sit down

on their job

of providing jobs.

Because the job providers

have sat down

on their job

of providing jobs,

the Government

has taken up the job

of providing jobs.

But the Government

can only rob Peter

to pay Paul,

and by doing so

endanger its own credit.



## FROM RICHELIEU TO HITLER

### **100% Frenchman**

Cardinal Richelieu was a Cardinal of the Catholic Church and Prime Minister to a Catholic King. He ought to have been 100% Catholic. He chose to be 100% Frenchman. As a 100% Frenchman he wanted France stronger and Austria weaker. He wanted France to be the dictator of Continental Europe.

### **Thirty Years' War**

It was during the Thirty Years' War. Northern Germany and Sweden were fighting against Austria and Southern Germany. It was a civil war between Protestant Germany and Catholic Germany. To make France stronger and Austria weaker Cardinal Richelieu took the side of Protestant Germany and Sweden against Catholic Germany and Austria.

### **Treaty of Westphalia**

Protestant Germany and Sweden won the war with the help of France. The Treaty of Westphalia, signed in 1648,

gave to France part of Alsace. While France was united the Treaty of Westphalia kept Germany divided in 300 principalities. The acquisition of part of Alsace by France did not keep Alsace from remaining a bone of contention between France and Germany.

### **Birth of Prussia**

While France was united and the King used to say, "I am the State," Germany was divided in 300 principalities. But Germany did not remain divided. Around 1700 the Principality of Hohenzollern, the Margravate of Brandenburg and the Dukedom of Prussia formed a new kingdom which they called Prussia. Eager to receive recognition, the new kingdom took the side of England and Austria against Spain and France in the War of Spanish Succession. It was in this war that England got Gibraltar.

### **Seven Years' War**

During the Seven Years' War, known in America

as the French and Indian War,  
Prussia was again  
on the side of England.  
While during  
the Thirty Years' War  
France was fighting  
against Austria,  
during the Seven Years' War  
France was fighting  
on the side of Austria.  
In the war game  
friends of today  
become the enemies  
of tomorrow  
and enemies of today  
become the friends  
of tomorrow.  
During this war  
Austria lost prestige  
and France  
lost Canada  
as well as  
colonies in India.

#### **Place in the Sun**

In the meantime  
France as well as Austria  
was becoming weaker  
and England  
as well as Prussia  
was becoming stronger.  
The war against Denmark  
and the war against France  
made Prussia stronger,  
and in 1871  
the King of Prussia  
was made German Emperor  
at Versailles.  
The new German Empire  
became envious  
of French and English  
colonial empires  
and started to cry  
for a place in the sun.  
But the place in the sun  
had been taken

by France and England,  
who were bragging about  
the fact that the sun never  
set on their domains.

United Germany  
The Great War was an  
attempt on the part of  
Germany to get a place in  
the sun. But Germany  
failed to get its place in  
the sun, while France and  
England succeeded in  
getting a bigger place in  
the sun. The Germans  
still think that they  
should have a bigger and  
better place in the sun.  
They have annexed the  
Austrian Germans and  
the Sudeten Germans on  
the ground that it is for  
the good of the Austrian  
Germans and the Sudeten  
Germans.

Nations and Notions  
The French are united,  
the English are united, the  
Italians are united, the  
Russians are united, the  
Germans are united but  
the world is still divided.  
The League of Nations is  
a failure because nations  
have wrong notions. Right  
notions must be spread  
among nations before we  
can have a genuine  
League of Nations.



Germany and Italy are  
now on the level of  
France and England.  
Germany and Italy

cannot be expected to be  
on the level when France  
and England are not on  
the level.

## NON-CATHOLIC CATHOLICS

### **Apologetic Catholics**

Some Catholics  
like to apologize  
for being Catholics.  
Since Catholicism  
is the truth,  
it is foolish  
to apologize  
for being Catholics.  
Since Catholicism  
is the truth,  
then Catholics  
ought to let non-Catholics  
apologize  
for not being Catholics.  
To let non-Catholics  
apologize  
for not being Catholics  
is good apologetics.  
To apologize  
for being Catholics  
is bad apologetics.

### **Led by the Nose**

Non-Catholics say  
that Catholics  
are led by the nose  
by the clergy.  
Real Catholics  
are not led by the nose  
by the clergy.  
Real Catholics  
follow their consciences.  
I must admit  
that some Catholics  
are led by the nose.  
These Catholics  
who are led by the nose  
are not led by the nose

by the clergy.  
They are led by the nose  
by non-Catholics.  
These Catholics  
who allow themselves  
to be led by the nose  
by non-Catholics  
ought to be called  
non-Catholic Catholics.

### **A Wrong Way**

Non-Catholic Catholics  
tell us  
that one cannot lead  
a Catholic life  
in a Protestant country.  
The protestation  
of Protestants  
is not a protestation  
against the Catholicism  
of non-Catholic Catholics.  
It is a protestation  
against the lack  
of Catholicism  
of non-Catholic Catholics.  
Non-Catholic Catholics  
are giving to Protestants  
a wrong view  
of Catholicism.  
To give to Protestants  
a wrong view  
of Catholicism  
is not the right way  
to make Catholics  
out of Protestants.

### **Catholic Principles**

Protestants have  
principles but  
Catholics

have more principles  
than Protestants.  
But principles  
must be applied.  
To have principles  
and not to apply them  
is worse  
than not having any.  
Non-Catholic Catholics  
fail to bring  
Catholic principles  
to Protestants  
because  
they do not dare  
to exemplify  
those Catholic principles  
that Protestants  
do not have.

**Imitators**

Non-Catholic Catholics

like to tell  
their Protestant friends,  
"we are just as good  
as you are."  
They ought to tell  
their Protestant friends,  
"we are just as bad  
as you are."  
Their Protestant friends  
ought to tell  
the non-Catholic Catholics,  
"you are not  
just as bad  
as we are;  
you are much worse  
than we are  
for you are  
our imitators,  
you are not yourselves."

***NOT LIBERALS BUT RADICALS***

**The Word Liberal**  
The word liberal is  
used in Europe in a  
different way from the  
way it is used in  
America. In Europe a  
liberal is a man who  
believes in liberty  
without knowing what  
to do with it. Harold  
Laski accuses liberals  
of having used their  
intelligence without  
knowing what to do  
with it.

is to go to the roots. Liberals  
don't go to the roots; they  
only  
scratch the surface. The  
only way to go to the roots  
is to bring religion into  
education, into politics, into  
business. To bring religion  
into the profane is the best  
way to take profanity out of  
the profane. To take  
profanity out of the profane  
is to bring sanity into the  
profane. Because we aim to  
do just that we like to be  
called radicals.

**Radicals**

Liberals are too  
liberal to be  
radicals. To be a  
radical

## TWO LETTERS FROM PETER

Portland, Ore. Jan. 19,  
1939

*Dear Dorothy:*

I just received your letter and read the January issue of the CATHOLIC WORKER I had written a letter when I arrived in Seattle which I failed to send to you. I am sending it to you with a fifty-dollar check. I am now leaving for San Francisco and will write to you when I arrive there.

*Your fellow worker in  
Christ,*

PETER MAURIN.

Seattle, Wash. Dec. 28,  
1938

*Dear Dorothy:*

I arrived in Seattle safe and sound except for a couple bruises on the chin. We were driving back to Spokane from the Jesuit House of Studies. Father Robinson, dean of Gonzaga College, was the driver. I was sitting in the back with a Jesuit scholastic. Our conversation was so interesting for Father Robinson that he forgot to stop at a red light and ran into the middle of a city bus.

The head of his car was smashed.

His nose was cut, while his glasses, which he was wearing, were not broken.

The Jesuit scholastic had a cut

above the left eye.

I was hurt

by bumping my chin against the front seat.

The schools being closed,

I was only able

to talk to the scholastics in the House of Studies.

It was Bishop White who phoned Father Robinson about me being in town.

I am coming back to Spokane the 9, 10, 11 January.

I spent Christmas in Butte with Elias Seaman.

With a Catholic Hindu student in the School of Mines

we went to midnight Mass at a Croatian Church.

This Croatian pastor is a great friend of the Catholic Worker.

I am sending you a fifty-dollar check.

to help pay the debts.

While in St. Paul

I paid fifty-two dollars and forty cents

for a 5,569-mile trip.

That trip takes me from St. Paul to Seattle,

then to Los Angeles,

then to Denver,

then to Omaha,

then to St. Paul.

I can stop  
 anywhere I want  
 and it is good  
 for 150 days.  
 They intend  
 to start a Catholic Worker  
 group  
 in Minneapolis. It is also  
 a question of a farming  
 commune. Father Le  
 Beau at St. Thomas  
 College, Father Loosen  
 at St. Mary's Hospital,  
 Sister Helen Angelica at  
 St. Joseph's Hospital are  
 great boosters of the  
 Catholic Worker. Dr.  
 John Giesen is actively  
 connected with a  
 Mexican center. Dr.  
 Bauer,  
 a German sociologist, is  
 now at St. Thomas and is  
 eager to co-operate

with the Catholic Worker.  
 Before leaving St. Paul  
 I made a short trip  
 to Eau Claire  
 and La Crosse.  
 The pastor of Eau Claire  
 agrees with us:  
 the youth needs a cause.  
 A Y. M. C. A. secretary  
 in La Crosse  
 is very much in sympathy  
 with the idea  
 of an Unpopular Front  
 on Personalist Democracy.  
 I found that the reaction  
 to the Catholic Worker  
 propaganda is very  
 favorable. There was very  
 little talk either about  
 Franco or Father Coughlin. I  
 wish you all a Happy New  
 Year.  
 Yours in *Christ the Worker*,  
 PETER MAURIN.

## LOOKING BACKWARD

### In New England

There are three kinds of  
 people  
 in New England:  
 the foreigners,  
 the Irish  
 and the Yankees.  
 The foreigners of New Eng-  
 land  
 have given up  
 their own traditions  
 to keep up  
 with the Irish.  
 The Irish of New England  
 have given up  
 their own scholarship  
 to keep up  
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with the Yankees.  
 The Yankees of New  
 England  
 have given up  
 their New England  
 conscience to keep up  
 with the utilitarian,  
 futilitarian  
 political economists of the  
 Manchester School of  
 political economy. So what  
 can you expect from New  
 England?

### In Louisiana

Waldo Frank says  
 that America  
 is a lost continent  
 and that to rediscover itself

America must go back  
to Mediterranean thought.  
Mediterranean thought  
was brought to Louisiana  
by the founders of Louisiana,  
but the people of Louisiana  
have turned over the  
State of Louisiana  
to greedy corporations.  
The Catholic people  
of the State of Louisiana  
had to have  
a Baptist lawyer  
by the name of Huey Long  
to save them  
from the grip  
that greedy corporations  
had on the Catholic people  
of the State of Louisiana.

#### **In Texas**

Spanish Franciscans  
went to Texas  
when Texas was part  
of Old Mexico.  
Spanish Franciscans  
taught the Indians  
to build churches,  
to build schools,  
to build mission-storehouses.  
The ruins of those churches,  
the ruins of those schools,  
the ruins of those mission-  
storehouses  
can still be seen  
in the State of Texas.  
But the Catholic people  
of Texas  
are not interested  
in the ideology  
of the Spanish Franciscans.  
They are interested  
in keeping up  
with the Yankees.

#### **In California**

The Yankees were  
not able

to make wage-slaves  
out of the Indians.  
The Yankees used to say:  
"A good Indian  
is a dead Indian."  
By combining cult,  
that is to say liturgy,  
with culture,  
that is to say literature,  
with cultivation,  
that is to say agriculture,  
the Spanish Franciscans  
who went to California  
succeeded in making willing  
workers  
out of the Indians.  
The Catholics of California  
have not found the way  
to do for the Catholic un-  
employed  
what the Spanish Fran-  
ciscans  
did for the Indians.  
In the meantime  
the people of California  
are looking for a panacea  
at the expense  
of the taxpayers.

#### **Going to the Right**

Frey of the A. F. of L.  
says that the Communist  
Party  
is pushing Roosevelt to  
the left. The A. F. of L.  
does not know enough to  
push Roosevelt to the  
right. Going to the left is  
going towards the  
Industrial Socialism of  
Stalin.  
Going to the right is  
going towards

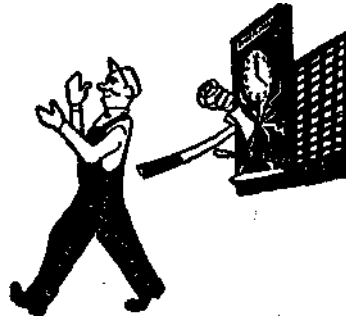
the Rural Communism of the Franciscan Founders who founded Rural Communes

in what are now the State of Texas, the State of New Mexico, the State of California.

### ***FIRING THE BOSS***

The C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. help the worker fight the boss. But the worker must have a boss before the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. can be of help to the worker in fighting a boss. If it is a good thing to be a boss,

it is a good thing to help the worker to be his own boss. If it is a bad thing to exploit the worker, it is a good thing to help the worker exploit himself. "Fire the boss and be your own boss" is a good slogan for the worker.



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# BOOK 5

**LET'S  
KEEP  
THE  
JEWS FOR  
CHRIST'S  
SAKE**



Salonika, which was then under the Turkish flag. Spanish is still spoken by Jewish workmen in Salonika,

**In the Papal States**

The Popes never did start a crusade ~ to drive the Jews out of the Papal States. Jews have lived in Rome and the adjoining territory since the Roman Empire. The Roman Empire protected the Jews living under its rule, and so did the Popes in the Papal States. The Jews themselves admit the fairness with which they were treated in the Papal States.

**In the Shadow of the Cross**

While the Spaniards refused to keep the Jews the Popes consented to keep the Jews. The Jews were the chosen people and they are still, for God does not change.

**A Mystery**

The Jews are a mystery to themselves.

They are not a nation, although the Zionists try to build up one in Palestine. They are not a race, for they have intermarried ' with many other races. They are not a religion, since their belief calls for one Temple and the Jewish Temple has not been in existence for nearly 2,000 years.

**In Spain**

St. Vincent Ferrer, a Spanish Dominican, succeeded in converting 25,000 Jews.

When the Spaniards decided to drive the Moors out they also decided to drive the Jews out. St. Vincent Ferrer tried to convert the Jews; he did not start a crusade to drive them out. Driven out of Spain, the Jews found a refuge in

Because the Jews  
did not recognize Christ  
is not a good reason  
for acting towards them  
in a non-Christian manner.  
The presence of the Jews  
all over the world  
is a reminder to the world  
of the coming of Christ.  
The Jews who refused  
to accept the Cross  
find their best protection  
in the shadow  
of the Cross.

**In Germany**

Under the shadow of the  
Cross  
the Jews were protected;  
under the Swastika  
they are persecuted.  
The Cross  
stands for one thing,  
the Swastika  
for another thing.  
The Cross stands  
for race equality;  
the Swastika stands  
for race superiority.  
The Catholic Church  
stands for human brother-  
hood,  
the Nazi regime  
stands for the expansion  
of one race  
at the expense  
of the other races.

**In America**

The English Puritans

found a refuge  
in America.  
The French Huguenots  
found a refuge  
in America.  
The Irish Catholics  
found a refuge  
in America.  
The German Liberals  
found a refuge  
in America.  
America  
is big enough  
to find a refuge  
for persecuted Jews  
as well as  
persecuted Christians.

**In Palestine**

America can produce more than it  
can consume. What America needs is  
more consumers. More Jews in  
America means more consumers for  
America. It is said that the Jews flock  
to the cities and become middle men,  
and that there are too many middle  
men in America. But in Palestine the  
Jews are building both cities and  
country. What the Jews are doing in  
Palestine they can do also in  
America.

## THE EUROPEAN MESS

### **Safe for Dictators**

America went into the last war to make the world safe for democracy. But England was not interested in helping America to make the world safe for democracy. Because England as well as France was not interested in Wilson's 14 points the world is in the process of being made safe for dictators. Because the Treaty of

Versailles was not based on Wilson's 14 points it did not make for peace; it made for war.

### **League of Nations**

To please Wilson the Allies established the League of Nations. But the League of Nations failed to impart notions to the nations of the League of Nations. In spite of the League of Nations Japan went to Manchuria as well as China. In spite of the League of Nations Italy went to Ethiopia as well as Albania.

In spite of the League of Nations

Poland took Vilna from Lithuania.

### **German Extension**

The Treaty of Versailles disarmed Germany, but Germany refused to stay disarmed. And the League of Nations was powerless to keep Germany from rearming. Once rearmed, Germany started to revise the Treaty of Versailles, by going to Austria as well as Czechoslovakia. And now Germany is in Poland.

### **Nations and the Pope**

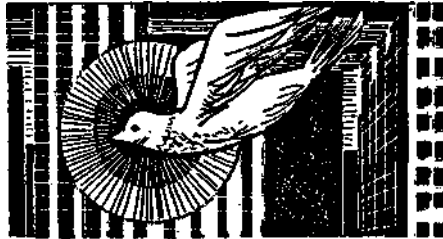
The English believe in colonial expansion. The French believe in colonial expansion. The Germans believe in Continental expansion. The Pope does not believe in colonial expansion or Continental expansion. Nations thought that they could do without the Pope. Nations need right notions and the Pope has the right notions that nations are in need of.

### **Prayer for Peace**

*By Pope Benedict XV*

Dismayed  
by the horrors of war  
which bring ruin  
to people and nations,  
we turn, O Jesus,  
to Thy most loving Heart, to  
our last hope. O King of  
Peace, we humbly implore  
the peace for which we long.  
From Thy Sacred Heart  
Thou didst send forth

over the world  
divine charity  
so that discord might end  
and love alone  
reign among men.  
Do Thou inspire  
rulers and people  
with counsels of meekness,  
do Thou heal the discords  
that tear nations asunder.  
Some trust in chariots,  
and some in horses,  
but we will call  
upon the name  
of the Lord our God.



## **PAX**

### **Pax Geneva**

To please Wilson the  
Allies established the  
League of Nations. But  
the League of Nations  
failed to impart notions  
to the nations of the  
League of Nations. In  
spite of the League of  
Nations,  
Japan went to Manchuria  
as well as China. In spite  
of the League of  
Nations,  
Italy went to Ethiopia  
as well as Albania.

In spite of the League of  
Nations,  
Poland took Vilna  
from Lithuania.

### **Pax Romana**

Mussolini never did like  
the law and order that the  
League of Nations tried to  
enforce. Mussolini  
went to the Roman Empire  
for a different concept of  
law and order. Mussolini's  
policy has been to  
substitute

the Pax Romana of the  
Roman Empire for the Pax  
Geneva of the League of  
Nations.

#### **Pax Germania**

Germany contends  
that the Holy Roman Empire  
was the heir  
to the Roman Empire,  
and that the Germans  
were the rulers  
of the non-German people  
of the Holy Roman Empire  
Germany contends  
that the German race  
is more pure  
than the other races.  
Germany contends  
that a pure race  
must increase  
and occupy territory  
now occupied  
by mongrel races.  
Germany contends  
that enforced unanimity  
is the way to bring about  
national unity.

#### **Pax Muscova**

Russia contends  
that the Russian Empire  
was the heir  
to the Byzantine Empire.  
Russia contends  
that Russian Sovietism  
is the instrument  
for the realization  
of the Marxist dream.  
While the Mahometans  
tried to force on the world  
their brand of Theism,  
Soviet Russia  
tries to force on the world  
its brand of Atheism.

#### **Pax Britannica**

England asks:  
"Is not Pax Britannica  
better than Pax Geneva,  
better than Pax Romana,  
better than Pax Germania,  
better than Pax Muscova?"  
But Gandhi says:  
"England is not in India  
for the sake of India,  
but for the sake of England."  
De Valera says:  
"What England  
did to Ireland  
is not to the credit  
of Pax Britannica."  
The United States  
is not convinced  
that the way to bring about  
the United States of the  
World  
is by joining the British  
Commonwealth.

#### **Pax Hibernia**

The world is cursed  
with imperialists.  
What the world needs  
is missionaries,  
not imperialists.  
When the Irish  
were scholars  
they were missionaries;  
they were not  
imperialists.  
When the Irish  
were missionaries  
they went all over Europe,  
starting with England.  
They had  
not swords or guns,  
but knowledge and zeal.  
Through words and deeds  
they taught people  
to rule themselves.

### **Pax Vaticana**

What the Irish scholars  
taught is what the  
Christian  
Fathers taught. What the  
Christian Fathers  
taught is what the Holy  
Father  
teaches.  
The Holy Father teaches  
the supremacy of the  
spiritual over the  
material.

During the first world war  
a Protestant minister  
suggested that the warring  
nations  
accept the Pope as the  
arbiter. The appeal for  
peace of Benedict XV  
was ignored in the last  
war. Why not learn  
from the mistakes of  
the last war?

## **PERSONALIST DEMOCRACY**

### **Bourgeois Democracy**

The economic royalists who  
believe in property without  
responsibility do not have  
the right concept of liberty.  
They use liberty to become,  
rugged individualists.  
They don't use liberty to  
become gentlemen who try  
to be gentle. In a letter  
addressed to French  
Catholics Cardinal Pacelli,  
now Pius XII, reminded  
them that "liberty does not  
grant license to act against  
the moral law, nor should  
social liberties infringe  
upon the civil order and the  
common good."

### **Arithmocracy**

People used to say:

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"The king can do no wrong."  
But kings can do wrong,  
and very often  
they did wrong.  
The kings that did wrong  
were the kings  
that had lost the sense  
of kingship.  
Some seem to think  
that the majority  
can do no wrong.  
But the majority  
can do wrong  
and it often does wrong  
because the majority  
has not yet acquired  
what makes people kind  
to mankind.

### **Poetry and Dictatorship**

Padraic Colum says:  
"In our time  
a political philosophy  
has arisen  
that tends to contradict  
what poets  
among all races,  
at all times,

in all places  
have felt  
and shown.  
This philosophy insists  
that the individual  
has no dignity  
in himself,  
but only  
through his association  
with a race,  
a State,  
or a class.  
More and more  
it limits  
freedom of choice."

**Liberty or Discipline**

Fascist countries discard  
liberty for the sake of  
discipline. The greatness  
of a nation is the  
greatness of people's  
character. Some people  
have good character.  
Some people have bad  
character. Some people  
have no character; they  
are yes-men.

Through the power of  
thought and example  
people of good character  
transform the people of  
bad character.

**Liberty or Security**

Patrick Henry said: "Give  
me liberty or give me  
death." Patrick Henry  
wanted the power to think,  
the power to choose, the  
power to act. Many people  
today are willing to give  
up liberty for the sake of  
economic security. When  
everybody looks for  
economic security nobody  
gets it. But when nobody  
looks for economic security  
and uses liberty trying to  
be what he wants  
,  
the other fellow to be then  
everybody gets economic  
security.

***THE STUFF AND THE PUSH***

I was in a cafeteria in  
Greenwich Village. Two  
young fellows were  
talking. One said to the  
other, "You father has the  
stuff, but he hasn't the  
push." And the other said:  
"And I have the push, but  
not the stuff."

The father had the stuff,  
but he could not push it,  
and the son had the push,  
but he had nothing to push.  
Catholic journalists  
have the stuff,  
but do not have the push,  
and non-Catholic journalists  
have the push,  
but do not have the stuff.

## WHY PICK ON THE JEWS?

### **Treaty of Versailles**

Hitler likes to pick on the Jews. The sufferings of Germany were the product of the Treaty of Versailles. The Jews cannot be blamed for the Treaty of Versailles. We must place the blame for the Treaty of Versailles on the English Machiavellian by the name of Lloyd George and on the French Machiavellian by the name of Clemenceau.

### **Bourgeois Capitalism**

In a book entitled "Judaism and Capitalism," Werner Sombart blames the Jews for the development of bourgeois capitalism. Adam Smith and Ricardo, the theoreticians of bourgeois capitalism, were not Jews. The fostering of bourgeois capitalism in modern Germany is due to Bismarck. To Kaiser William is also due the fostering of bourgeois capitalism in modern Germany.

### **Turning Sharp Corners**

Business men say that bourgeois capitalism is all right and that what is wrong in bourgeois capitalism are the abuses.

Rotarians have tried without much success to correct the abuses of bourgeois capitalism. The turning of sharp corners by business men must be laid to the door of Christians as well as Jews. The assertion that religion has nothing to do with business is the assertion of Christians as well as Jews.

### **Modern Liberals**

The separation of the spiritual from the material was fostered by modern liberals. Modern liberals were so broad-minded that they did not know enough to make up their minds. Modern liberals were the defenders of bourgeois capitalism before becoming the fellow-travelers of Bolshevist Socialism. Jews can be found among bourgeois capitalists, among Bolshevist Socialists, and among disillusioned fellow-travelers.

### **Racialism**

Having given up Jewish Orthodoxy some Jews tried to foster (Jewish racialism).



The Jews were a chosen people but they were never a superior race. The Nordics were never a chosen people or a superior race. And it is not because some Jews became facial minded that other people should be racial minded Racial-minded Jews are a nuisance and so are racial-minded Nordics.

#### **Promised Land**

When the Jews were themselves they taught the doctrine of a personal God

as well as social ethics. Bourgeois capitalists as well as Bolshevist Socialists need the belief in a personal God as well as sound social ethics. Hitler needs to read the Old Testament and the New Testament if he wants to lead men into the Promised Land where people do no longer try to cut each other's throats and where the lion comes to lie down with the lamb.

### ***TURNING TO THE CHURCH***

When I was in St. Louis I met a Maryknoll Father who had recently returned to the United States after eight years in China as a Maryknoll Missionary. He is pleased to see that non-Catholics in the United States are much more curious about the Catholic Church than they were before he left for China ten years ago.

While modern nations give the sad spectacle of going back on their word, intelligent people are turning to the Church as the one moral security left in the world. Father McSorley, great friend of the Catholic Worker, has always favored the opening of small offices where non-Catholics could receive information.

## JUDAISM AND CATHOLICISM

### **Jacques Maritain**

General Franco's  
brother-in-law  
accuses Maritain  
of being a converted Jew.  
Maritain says  
that he is a convert,  
but not  
a converted Jew.  
He adds  
that if he were  
he would not be  
ashamed of it.  
He would, on the contrary,  
be proud,  
as his wife is proud,  
of coming from a people  
who gave the Blessed Mother  
to the world.

### **Mrs. Maritain**

Mrs. Maritain  
is a convert  
from Judaism.  
Mrs. Maritain  
thinks that Catholicism  
is Judaism plus.  
In becoming Catholic  
Mrs. Maritain thinks  
that she has kept  
her Judaism  
and added to it  
what Catholicism has  
that Judaism  
does not have.  
Mrs. Maritain thinks  
that she is now  
100% Jewish.

### **Dr. Herbert Ratner**

Dr. Herbert Ratner,  
of the University of  
Chicago, became a Catholic  
two years ago.

His father, a Russian Jew,  
gave him the name Herbert  
in the hope  
that he would keep up  
with Herbert Spencer.  
He tried to get  
what modern liberals,  
including Herbert Spencer,  
had to offer.  
He was not satisfied  
with what modern liberals  
had to offer.  
He now says:  
"We were not  
attracted to the Church  
by Catholics;  
we were pushed  
into the Church  
by non-Catholics  
who did not have the stuff."

### **Father Arthur Klyber**

Father Arthur Klyber,  
a Redemptorist,  
was born on the East Side.  
After a few years  
in the Navy  
he became a Catholic  
in Los Angeles.  
The good example  
of Catholics  
from Los Angeles  
brought Father Klyber,  
an East Side Jew,  
into the Church.  
The Catholic friends  
were always friendly  
to Klyber, the Jew,  
because they did not allow  
the poison of anti-Semitism  
to poison  
their human relations.  
As a result

Father Klyber is now a  
Catholic priest.

Six Other Priests Six  
other converts from  
Judaism are now Catholic  
priests in the United States.  
If they had remained Jews  
they might have become  
Rabbis. As Rabbis, they  
would be commenting

on the message  
of the Jewish Prophets.

As priests,  
they announce  
the good news  
that the Messiah  
announced by the Prophets  
died on Calvary.  
As priests of Christ  
they again offer  
Christ's sacrifice  
on the altars  
of the Catholic Church.

## PROSTITUTION

### **Prostitution of Marriage**

Birth control  
is not self-control.  
What is not self-control  
is self-indulgence.  
What is self-indulgence  
is prostitution of functions.  
Prostitution in marriage  
is prostitution of marriage.  
Prostitution of marriage  
is prostitution plus hypocrisy.

### **Prostitution of Education**

To educate  
is to elevate.  
To elevate  
is to raise.  
To raise wheat  
on a piece of land  
is to enable  
that piece of land  
to produce wheat  
instead of weeds.  
To raise men  
from the animal state  
to the cultural state  
is to educate men.  
The teaching of facts  
without understanding

is a prostitution of  
education.

### **Prostitution of the Press**

Modern newspapermen  
try to give people  
what they want.  
Newspapermen  
ought to give people  
what they need.  
To give people  
what they want  
but should not have  
is to pander.  
To give people  
what they need,  
or in other terms,  
to make them want  
what they ought to want,  
is to foster.  
To pander  
to the bad in men  
is to make men  
inhuman to men.  
To foster the good in men  
is to make men  
human to men.

### **Prostitution of Politics**

The Republicans say:

"Let's turn the rascals out."  
The Democrats say:  
"Let's turn the rascals out."  
The Republicans  
call the Democrats  
rascals.  
The Democrats  
call the Republicans  
rascals.  
For the Republicans  
as well as  
for the Democrats  
politics  
is just profitable business.  
By making a business  
out of politics  
politicians  
have prostituted  
the noble calling  
of politics.

#### **Prostitution of Property**

All the land  
belongs to God.  
God wants us  
to be our brother's keeper.  
Our superfluous goods  
must be used  
to relieve the needs  
of our brother.  
What we do for our brother  
for Christ's sake  
is what we carry with us  
when we die.  
This is what the poor are for,  
to give to the rich  
the occasion to do good  
for Christ's sake.  
To use property  
to acquire more property  
is not the proper use  
of property,  
It is a prostitution  
of property.

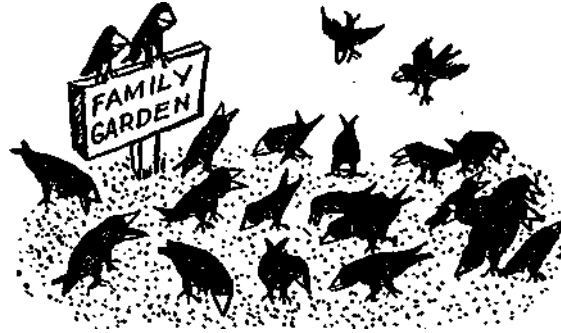
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#### **Prostitution of the Theatre**

What 'applies to the Press  
applies also  
to the Theatre.  
In the Middle Ages  
the Theatre  
was considered  
as an efficient way  
of preaching.  
They liked to produce  
Mystery Plays.  
They aimed to preach  
and not to pander.  
Pandering to the crowd  
has brought the degradation  
of the theatre.  
The Theatre started  
in the Church.  
The Theatre has ended  
in the gutter.

#### **Prostitution of Art**

In the Middle Ages  
the artists  
were not called artists,  
they were called artisans.  
When the artists  
were artisans  
they had the community  
spirit. They had the  
community  
spirit  
because they believed in the  
doctrine of the Common  
Good. Now that the artists  
do no longer believe in the  
doctrine of the Common  
Good they sell their work  
to art speculators. As Eric  
Gill says, "they have  
become the lap-dogs of the  
bourgeoisie."



## *PARENTHOOD ASSOCIATION*

### **BIRTH CONTROL**

#### **Gina Lombroso**

In a book entitled  
"The Soul of Woman,"  
Gina Lombroso says  
that the basis of the home  
is the love of the woman  
for the man.  
She adds that no woman  
can<sup>1</sup> love a man  
whom she cannot admire.  
The woman's scale of values  
is higher and lower  
than man's scale of values.  
Because of that,  
no woman  
can admire a man  
who tries to induce her  
to practice birth control.  
She takes the man  
as a meal ticket.

#### **Heywood Broun**

Margaret Sanger believes  
in birth control. The  
Catholic Church does not  
believe in birth control. If  
Margaret Sanger

is right  
then the Catholic Church  
is wrong.  
Heywood Broun  
thought a long time  
about that question.  
He finally  
came to the conclusion  
that the Catholic Church  
is right  
and that Margaret Sanger  
is wrong.  
And he entered  
the Catholic Church.

#### **Dr. Herbert Ratner**

Dr. Herbert Ratner  
is a convert  
from Judaism.  
The study of sex  
brought Dr. Herbert Ratner  
into the Catholic Church.  
As a scientist  
and as a philosopher  
he maintains  
that the Catholic Church  
is foolproof  
in the matter of sex.  
He intends

to teach biology  
and to lecture on  
marriage.

**Prostitution Plus**

Birth control is not  
self-control. What is  
not self-control is self-  
indulgence. What is  
self-indulgence is  
prostitution

of functions.  
Prostitution in marriage  
is prostitution of  
marriage. Prostitution  
of marriage is  
prostitution legalized.  
Prostitution legalized is  
prostitution plus  
hypocrisy.

## KARL'S MARXISM VERSUS MY COMMUNISM

**A Communist Society**

A Communist society  
is a society  
in which everyone works  
according to his ability  
and gets  
according to his needs.  
Such a society  
is not found  
in Soviet Russia.  
Such a society  
is found  
in Catholic monasteries.  
That is why  
Father Vincent McNabb,  
an English Dominican,  
told John Strachey,  
"I am a Communist,  
you are only  
an amateur."

**I Agree**

I agree  
with seven Bishops  
that the criticism  
of bourgeois capitalism  
by the Communist Party  
is a sound criticism.  
I agree  
With seven Bishops

that the main social aim  
of the Communist Party,  
which is  
"to create a society  
where everyone works  
according to his ability  
and gets  
according to his needs"  
is a sound social aim.  
I agree  
with seven Bishops  
that the means used  
by the Communist Party  
are not sound.  
They are not right means,  
they are wrong means.  
The means used  
by the Communist Party  
are class struggle  
and proletarian dictatorship.

**Means and Ends**

It is not true that the  
end justifies the means.  
Good ends require right  
means. To use wrong  
means to achieve good  
ends is to forget the  
means

for the sake of the ends.  
Class struggle  
and proletarian dictatorship  
are not the means  
to bring about  
a Communist society.  
The means to bring about  
a Communist society  
are Christian charity  
and voluntary poverty.  
We can create  
a new society  
within the shell of the old  
with the philosophy of the  
new,  
which is not a new philosophy  
but a very old philosophy,  
a philosophy so old  
that it looks like new.

#### **Curry Russian Favor**

"Our motives  
were not based on principles.  
They were not concerned  
with the interests  
of the labor movement  
as a whole.  
We did not want  
to be found in opposition  
to the Russian leaders  
even if we believed  
that they were wrong,  
because the Russians  
never tolerated opposition.  
We had to curry favor  
with the Russians  
in order to maintain  
our leadership  
of the American Party.  
The Russian whip  
could drive us out  
just as quickly  
as the Russian pat on the back  
had put us in."  
—*Benjamin Gitlow in "I Con-*  
*less."*

#### **Victims of a False Theory**

"These men were victims  
of a false theory  
according to which  
no matter what they did  
Socialism  
would ultimately come.  
The result  
was a readiness  
to use any means at hand,  
an intellectual irresponsibility  
in situations  
where genuine alternatives  
were present.  
It was a deadening  
of moral sensibilities.  
The be-all  
and end-all of life  
was to stay  
on the locomotive  
of the revolution  
as it speeds  
towards Inferno.  
They were confident  
in the belief  
that a mystical,  
diabolical necessity  
was guiding it  
to a paradise on earth."  
—*Sidney Hook, reviewing "I*  
*Confess," in New York*  
*Tribune.*

#### **They Were Wrong**

"If we liberals were right on  
certain single aspects of the  
Russian Revolution, we were  
wrong, disgracefully wrong,  
on the question as a whole.  
We were wrong because in  
our enthusiasm over Russia's  
liberation from the Tsar, our  
hope

for the further liberation  
of the Russian people  
from economic  
as well as  
political serfdom  
and our vision of a new world  
springing from the womb  
of the Russian experiment,  
we permitted ourselves  
to condone wrongs  
that we knew to be wrongs.  
We consented  
to violations of principle  
that we knew to be fatal  
to the moral integrity  
of mankind.

—*John Haynes Holmes.*

### **Christian Charity**

At the beginning of  
Christianity

the hungry were fed, the  
naked were clothed, the  
homeless were sheltered, the  
ignorant were instructed at a  
personal sacrifice. And the  
pagans used to say about the  
Christians, "See how they  
love one  
another."

Father Arthur Ryan  
used to call that period  
of history the period  
of Christian Communism.  
The pagans do no longer say  
about the Christians, "See  
how they love one  
another,"  
but say,  
"See how they pass the buck  
to social agencies."

## **THE SIXTH COLUMN**

### **Roman Law**

In a book entitled: "A  
Guildsman's  
Interpretation of History,"  
Arthur Penty has much to  
say about the revival of  
Roman Law. To the  
revival of Roman Law  
must be attributed the  
historical disputes  
between Kings and Popes.  
Jacques Maritain told us  
that Machiavellism is the  
modern heresy. By  
refusing to mind the  
Popes the Kings allowed  
Machiavellism

to become  
their guiding principle.  
"Divide to rule"  
is their slogan.

### **Minding the Pope**

Voltaire used to say: "If  
God did not exist He  
would have to be  
invented." If the Pope did  
not exist he would have  
to be invented. Because  
they refuse to mind the  
Pope modern nations are  
now busy cutting their  
own throats, In time of  
peace modern nations



prepare for war. In time of war modern nations do not find time to prepare for peace. If modern nations listened to the Pope when he talks about peace they would not have to worry about being ready for the next war.

#### **We Catholics Believe**

We Catholics believe what Dualist Humanists believe, that there is good and bad in men and that men ought to express the good to get rid of the bad. We Catholics believe what Orthodox Jews and Quakers believe: the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Men. We Catholics believe

what Fundamentalists believe: Virgin Birth and Redemption through Christ.

We Catholics believe what the other believers believe plus beliefs that the other believers don't believe: Papal Supremacy and the Universal Church.

#### **The Catholic Worker Isms**

The Catholic Worker stands for co-operativism against capitalism. The Catholic Worker stands for personalism against Socialism. The Catholic Worker stands for leadership against dictatorship. The Catholic Worker stands for agrarianism against industrialism. The Catholic Worker stands for decentralism against totalitarianism.



## FOR PROTECTION'S SAKE

### **Protecting France**

The French believe in protection.  
To protect French citizens residing in Algeria they took the country from the natives.  
To protect Algeria they set up a protectorate over Tunisia with Bismarck's approval.  
To protect the Senegal they took Dahomey.  
To protect Indo-China they took the Tonkin.  
To protect Reunion they took Madagascar.  
They did not want the English to take Madagascar.  
When the English take something they are called grabbers by the French, who consider themselves good patriots.

### **Protecting England**

Because they live on an island the English think that they must have the sea for their protection. To protect the sea they took Gibraltar from Spain and Canada from France. To protect the sea they established the Indian Empire. To protect the sea they went to Egypt as well as Sudan. To protect the sea

they went to Australia. To protect the sea they went to South Africa. The English drove the Spanish from the sea and now the Germans are doing their best or their worst to drive the English from the sea.

### **Protecting Japan**

The French are doing their best to protect themselves and so do the English and so do the Japanese. To protect themselves they went to Korea. To protect themselves they went to Port Arthur. To protect themselves they went to Manchuria. To protect themselves they are in China. They are in China for the same reason that European nations went to China.

### **Protecting Russia**

Russians used to think that they needed Constantinople for their protection. The Crimean War was fought by France and England to keep Russia out of Constantinople. The Russians think that in order to be able to protect themselves they must be allowed

by the Baltic States to have  
naval bases on the Baltic Sea.  
The Russians say that they  
went to Poland, as well as  
Finland, not because they  
like war but because they like  
I to protect themselves. They  
have already the largest area  
of any nation and they still  
think that the world would be  
better off if they had more.

#### **Protecting Italy**

The Italians thought  
that in order to be protected  
they ought to have  
the Papal States.

They have the Papal States  
and now they think  
that they will never  
be protected  
until the Mediterranean Sea  
is under Italian control.  
In the meantime  
they went to Lybia  
as well as to Ethiopia,  
without forgetting  
Albania.

The Italians think  
that Italy  
will be better protected  
when the Italian flag,  
instead of the French flag,  
flies over Djibuti  
as well as Tunisia  
as well as Corsica.

#### **Protecting Germany**

The Germans also believe  
in protection. For their own  
protection

they went to Austria.  
For their own protection  
they went to Czecho-Slovakia.  
For their own protection  
they went to Denmark  
as well as Norway.  
For their own protection  
they went to Holland  
as well as Belgium.  
For their own protection  
they are in France.  
For their own protection  
they intend  
to go to England.  
Where will they not go  
for their own protection?

#### **Protecting Humanity**

Each nation thinks  
that what it needs  
is to be protected  
against other nations.  
But the fear  
of other nations  
does not take the place  
of the fear of God.  
If we had  
the fear of God,  
we would have less fear  
of other nations.  
Humanity  
is not protected  
when people  
cut each other's throats  
for fear of each other.  
God may ask us,  
as He did of Cain:  
"Where is thy brother?"  
Will God be satisfied  
if we answer Him:  
"I am not  
my brother's keeper"?  
Is not the fear of God  
the best protection  
that humanity can have?

# REVOLUTIONS

## English Revolution

When Watt discovered the power of steam he brought into existence the factory system. It is in England that the factory system had its beginning. The factory system ran into competition with the crafts system. The factory system brought about the system of stock ownership. Stock ownership is absentee ownership. Absentee ownership is property without responsibility. Property without responsibility is now challenged by dictatorships.

## French Revolution

French nobility had forgotten that "*noblesse oblige*." French peasants were oppressed by French nobility, which had ceased to be noble. The French bourgeoisie sponsored the grievances of the peasants and made the Revolution not for the benefit of the peasants but for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois revolutionaries sent each other

to the guillotine while talking about Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Those who were not killed offered their services to Napoleon Bonaparte. Adolph Hitler is now keeping up with Napoleon Bonaparte.

## Russian

**Revolution** Lenin said that the world cannot be half industrial and half agricultural. Because England had built up an Empire by giving up agrarianism and taking up industrialism, Lenin thought that Russia should also be industrialistic. Lenin thought that he could save time by building up State Socialism without passing through private capitalism and State capitalism. Lenin hoped that some day the State would wither away, but Stalin sees to it that the State does not wither away.

## American

**Revolution** The American Revolution stands for the right of the individual to be the master

of his own destiny.  
The American Revolution  
stands for personalism and  
not for Socialism. The  
American Revolution  
stands for pluralism and  
not totalitarianism. "*E  
Pluribus Unum*" is an  
American slogan. America  
stands for freedom of  
speech, freedom of the  
press, freedom of worship.  
The Declaration of  
Independence, the  
American Constitution,  
including the Bill of Rights,

are important  
American documents.  
The purpose of these  
documents  
is to protect the individual  
from majority rule.  
The founders of America  
did not believe  
that the majority  
could do no wrong,  
any more than a dictator.  
They believed  
in the right use of liberty;  
that is to say;  
the power to think straight,  
the power to choose intel-  
ligently,  
the power to act wisely.

## WRECKERS OF EUROPE

### Philip the Fair

In the middle  
of the thirteenth century  
some universities  
gave up the exclusive teaching  
of Canon Law  
and started to teach  
Roman Law.  
Roman-Law-minded  
lawyers  
backed Philip the Fair in his  
disputes with Boniface VIII.  
The aim of Roman Law is to  
enable the rich men to live  
among poor men by teaching  
the rich men how to keep the  
poor men poor.  
The aim of Canon Law is to  
enable the good men to live  
among bad men by teaching  
the good men to carry their  
cross

and not to double-cross.

### Machiavelli

According to R. H. Tawney,  
high ethics  
were taught to people when  
the Canon Law was the Law  
of the Land. While Savonarola  
was trying to bring back the  
high ethics of the Canon Law  
Machiavelli  
in his book "The Prince" was  
trying to teach the rulers how  
to rule people by dividing  
them. "Divide to rule" has  
been the slogan of politicians  
since Machiavelli, with few  
exceptions. So today we say  
that politics is only politics.

### **Luther**

Christ established the Church  
to be the teacher  
of the human race.  
Luther told the people  
not to listen to the Church  
as the teacher  
established by Christ  
but to find from the Bible  
what Christ  
wants them to do.  
Since Luther  
people meet in churches  
to listen to somebody  
who gives them  
his personal interpretation  
of what is in the Bible  
while they profess to believe  
not in the preacher's  
interpretation but in  
their personal  
interpretation. In the  
meantime they are  
doing what the ruler  
wants. They refuse  
to listen to the teachings  
of the Church of Christ  
and yes the ruler.

### **Richelieu**

Richelieu was a Cardinal  
of the Catholic Church.  
He should have been  
a 100% Catholic.  
He chose to be  
a 100% Frenchman.  
As a 100% Frenchman  
he could not stand  
to see Austria  
the dominating power  
in Europe.  
To make Austria weaker  
he sided  
with Protestant Germany

and Sweden  
against Catholic Germany  
and Austria.  
The Treaty of Westphalia  
kept Germany divided  
in more than 300  
principalities.

### **Adam Smith**

Adam Smith  
expounded the theory  
that everything  
would be lovely  
if everybody took in  
each other's washing  
and got paid for it.  
England first  
and other nations afterward  
acted on that theory.  
The search for markets  
and raw materials  
is at the base  
of modern imperialism.  
And modern imperialism  
is at the base  
of modern wars.

### **Napoleon**

The French nobility having  
become ignoble, the French  
bourgeoisie decided to get  
rid of the French nobility.  
Having got rid of the  
French nobility the French  
bourgeoisie split in two  
and brought about the  
French terror. Napoleon  
Bonaparte ended the  
French terror and started a  
war for the extermination  
of foreign nobility.  
Napoleonic rule ended at  
Waterloo

and the Treaty of Vienna established a compromise between landed aristocracy and plutocratic bourgeoisie

### **Hitler**

In the nineteenth century secularist educators spread the idea that the Nordic race is a superior race. What secularist educators used to believe. Hitler now believes. Hitler believes

that inferior races ought to make room for superior races. In 1914 the Allies claimed that their job was to make the world safe for democracy. Hitler claims that democracy is dangerous for the reason that under it the world is made safe for inferior races.

## **EDUCATIONAL SECULARISM**

### **To Worship God**

Puritans came to America so they could worship God the way they wanted to worship God.

Quakers came to America so they could worship God the way they wanted to worship God.

Huguenots came to America so they could worship God the way they wanted to worship God.

English Catholics came to America so they could worship God the way they wanted to worship God.

### **In the Public Schools**

The founders of America agreed in this, that there is a God and that God wants to be worshipped. The founders of America did not agree about the way

God wants to be worshipped. That there is a God and that God wants to be worshipped is no longer taught in the public schools of America. Religion is no longer taught in the public schools of America, but politics and business are still taught in the public schools of America.

### **Secularism**

When religion has nothing to do with education, education is only information: plenty of facts but no understanding. When religion has nothing to do with politics,

politics is only  
factionalism:  
let's turn the rascals out  
so our good friends  
can get in.  
When religion  
has nothing to do  
with business  
business is only  
commercialism:  
let's get all we can  
while the getting is good.

#### **Hotbeds of Materialism**

The Marxists  
and the Chambers of Com-  
merce

agree in this,  
that religion  
ought to be kept  
out of the public schools.  
And American Protestants  
keep silent  
about the secularism  
of the public schools.  
In the nineteenth century  
public schools  
were the hotbeds  
of bourgeois capitalism.  
In the twentieth century  
public schools  
are the hotbeds  
of Bolshevist Socialism.

## **NOT JEWISH WEALTH BUT IRISH CULTURE**

#### **Job or Mission**

By grabbing  
Jewish wealth  
the Christian Mobilizers  
hope to be able  
to give jobs  
to everybody.  
By grabbing  
everybody's wealth  
the Bolshevist Socialists  
hope to be able  
to give jobs  
to everybody.  
What everybody needs  
is not a job  
but a mission.  
When the Irish were Irish,  
they were missionaries.  
By grabbing  
Irish Culture,  
as it was done  
by Irish missionaries,  
we hope to be able  
to give a mission

to everybody.

#### **Land of Refuge**

After the fall  
of the Roman Empire,  
the scholars,  
scattered all over  
the Roman Empire,  
looked for a refuge  
and found a refuge  
in Ireland,  
where the Roman Empire  
did not reach  
and where the Teutonic  
barbarians  
did not go. In  
Ireland,  
the scholars formulated an  
intellectual synthesis and a  
technique of action. Having  
formulated that intellectual  
synthesis and that technique  
of action, the scholars  
decided to lay



the foundations of medieval Europe.

### **Salons de Culture**

In order to lay the foundations of medieval Europe, the Irish Scholars established *Salons de Culture* in all the cities of Europe, as far as Constantinople, where people could look for

thought  
so they could have light.  
And it was  
in the so-called Dark Ages  
which were not so dark, when  
the Irish were the light. But  
we are now living in a real-  
Dark Age, and one of the  
reasons why the modern age  
is so dark, is because too few  
Irish have the light.

### **Free Guest Houses**

The Irish Scholars established  
free guest houses  
all over Europe  
to exemplify  
Christian charity.  
This made  
pagan Teutonic rulers  
tell pagan Teutonic people:  
"The Irish are good people  
busy doing good."  
And when the Irish  
were good people  
busy doing good,

they did not bother  
about empires.

That is why we never heard  
about an Irish Empire.  
We heard about  
all kinds of empires,  
including the British Empire,  
but never about  
an Irish Empire,  
because the Irish  
did not bother about empires  
when they were busy  
doing good.

### **Agricultural Centers**

The Irish Scholars established  
agricultural centers  
all over Europe  
where they combined  
cult—  
that is to say liturgy  
with culture—  
that is to say literature,  
with cultivation—  
that is to say agriculture.  
And the word America  
was for the first time  
printed on a map  
in a town in east France  
called Saint-Die,  
where an Irish scholar  
by the name Deodad  
founded an agricultural  
center.

What was done by Irish  
missionaries after the  
fall of the Roman Empire  
can be done today  
during and after the fall  
of modern empires.

# CHRISTIANITY AND DEMOCRACY

## Leo XIII

On several occasions Pope Leo XIII wrote on the legitimacy of several forms of government. In the encyclical "*Diuturnum Illud*" we find this sentence: "Nothing prevents the Church from giving its approval to the government of one man or several men as long as the government is a just government and applies itself to foster the common good."

## Pius X

In a letter condemning the "Sillon" Pope Pius X takes up that doctrine. "The 'Sillon'," says Abbe Leclercq editor of *La Cite chretienne* "was a Christian democratic movement founded by Marc Sangnier. It was full of enthusiasm and generosity but lacked deep thought. It had allowed itself to present democracy as the only political regime in conformity with Christianity." "Denounced in Rome," continues Abbe Leclercq, "it was condemned

for the preceding reason as well as imprudences in thought and language."

## Freda Kirchwey

Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation*, has an article on Religion and Democracy. "Democracy," she says, "may be Christian or it may be Jewish. It is related to whatever culture or whatever religious or non-religious ideas flourish in the society that breeds it." "Democracy," she continues, "has nothing on earth to do with any particular faith." **Agrees With Two Popes** The editor of *The Nation* agrees with Leo XIII as well as Pius X in the contention that Christianity is not tied up with any particular form of government. Don Sturzo attacks Fascism and several Bishops are defending it. A government can be autocratic or aristocratic or democratic. The duty of a government, whether it be autocratic or aristocratic



or democratic,  
is to foster  
the common good.

#### **The Common Good**

The common good  
is not common,  
because common sense  
does not prevail.  
In a good autocracy  
the common good  
is incarnated  
in a good autocrat.  
In a good aristocracy  
the common good  
is incarnated  
in the good aristocrats.  
In a good democracy  
the common good  
is incarnated  
in the good democrats.  
The good democrats  
are democrats  
with the democratic spirit.  
They are the elite

in a democracy.

#### **Democratic Elite**

Jules Beranger  
followed Jusserand  
as French Ambassador  
in Washington.  
Beranger was an agnostic  
who could not conceive  
of a democracy  
without a cultural elite.  
The elite in a democracy  
is imbued  
with what we call  
the right spirit.  
The democratic elite  
is the spearhead  
of a democratic society.  
The democratic elite  
is recruited  
from all classes  
of a democratic society.  
The democratic elite  
is not moved  
by greed for wealth

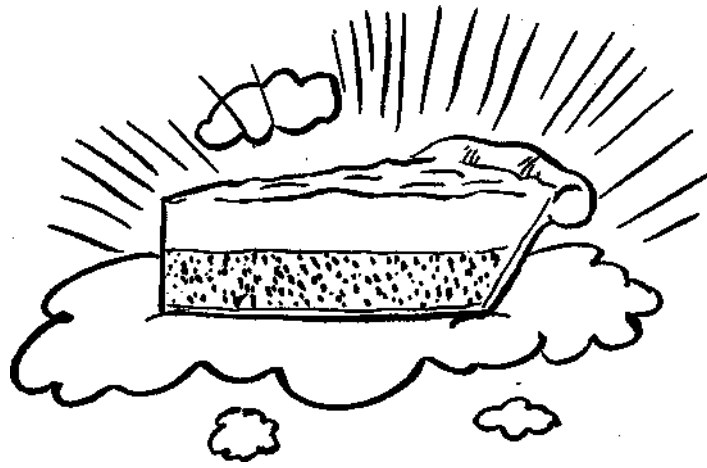
or greed for power.  
It is moved  
by clear thinking.

**Faith, Hope and Charity**

Agnostic intellectuals  
lack faith  
in Christ the Redeemer  
as well as  
in God the Omnipotent.  
And now  
they are losing faith  
in the power of man

to pull himself up by  
his own bootstraps.  
Faith in Christ the  
Redeemer,  
hope in the life to come,  
and charity toward all men  
are motivating forces in  
the fostering of a  
democratic elite— without  
which a democratic society  
becomes the laughing-stock  
of totalitarian societies.

# BOOK 6



## PIE IN THE SKY

### **Bourgeois Capitalists**

Bourgeois capitalists  
don't want their pie  
in the sky  
when they die.  
They want their pie  
here and now.  
To get their pie  
here and now  
bourgeois capitalists  
give us  
better and bigger  
commercial wars  
for the sake of markets  
and raw materials.  
But as Sherman says,  
"War is hell."  
So we get hell  
here and now  
because bourgeois capitalists  
don't want their pie  
in the sky  
when they die,  
but want their pie  
here and now.

### **Bolshevist Socialists**

Bolshevist Socialists, like  
bourgeois capitalists, don't  
want their pie in the sky  
when they die. They want  
their pie here and now. To  
get their pie here and now.

### **Bolshevist Socialists**

give us  
better and bigger  
class wars  
for the sake  
of capturing the control  
of the means of production  
and distribution.  
But war is hell,  
whether it is  
a commercial war  
or a class war.  
So we get hell  
here and now  
because Bolshevist Socialists  
don't want their pie  
in the sky  
when they die,  
but want their pie  
here and now.

### **Catholic Communionism**

Bolshevist Socialists  
as well as  
bourgeois capitalists  
give us hell  
here and now  
without  
leaving us the hope  
of getting our pie  
in the sky  
when we die.  
We just  
get hell.  
Catholic Communionism  
leaves us the hope

of getting our pie  
in the sky when we  
die without giving  
us hell here and  
now.

### **Two of a Kind**

The bourgeois capitalist tells the Bolshevik Socialist, "We got what we got because we got it, and we are going to keep it no matter how we got it." The Bolshevik Socialist tells the bourgeois capitalist, "We want what we want because we want it, and we want what you got, and we are going to get it, no matter how we get it." The Bolshevik Socialist is the spiritual son of the bourgeois capitalist. All the sins of the father, the bourgeois capitalist, are found in the son, the Bolshevik Socialist. He is a chip from the old block, and the old block is a blockhead who has not learned to use his head.

### **Class Struggle**

Bolshevik Socialists credit bourgeois capitalism with an historical mission. If bourgeois capitalism has an historical mission then Bolshevik Socialists should not interfere with the historical mission of bourgeois capitalism.

By interfering with what they call the historical mission of bourgeois capitalism through the technique of class struggle Bolshevik Socialists do not show much sense.

### **Were I a Marxist**

Were I a Marxist I would desert the working class and join the capitalist class so as to be able to bring class consciousness to the working class. A class-conscious capitalist class would put the screws on the working class and by doing so bring class consciousness to the working class. A class-conscious capitalist class and a class-conscious working class would fight for supremacy and bring about a bloody revolution. In the clash between two opposite classes I, as a member of the capitalist class, would be killed by the working class, but by my death would have contributed to bring about the emancipation of the working class. But I am not a Marxist; I am a Christian.



### **Grave Diggers**

Bolshevist Socialists  
want to be  
the grave-diggers  
of bourgeois capitalism.  
They refuse  
to let the bourgeois capitalists  
dig their own graves.  
Fascists refuse  
to let the Bolshevist Socialists  
dig the graves  
of bourgeois capitalism.  
Fascists maintain  
that bourgeois capitalism  
is not dead yet  
and they will try  
to keep it alive.  
By trying to be  
the grave-diggers  
of bourgeois capitalism,

Bolshevist Socialists  
bring in Fascism.

### **A New Society**

Why  
not let bourgeois capitalists  
dig their own graves? And  
while the bourgeois  
capitalists  
dig their own graves,  
why not create a new  
society  
within the shell of the old,  
with the philosophy of the  
new,  
which is not a new  
philosophy but a very old  
philosophy, a philosophy  
so old that it looks like  
new.

## **THE CANON LAW AND THE LAW OF THE CANNON**

### **St. Thomas More**

St. Thomas More believed  
in the Common Law.  
The Common Law  
that St. Thomas More  
believed in  
was rooted  
in Canon Law.  
Henry VIII believed  
that since he was a king  
he was the Law.  
St. Thomas More  
did not believe  
in Henry VIII's  
interpretation  
of Common Law.  
The Common Law  
as it exists  
in today's England  
has little relation

to Canon Law.

### **Judge Cardozo**

Judge Cardozo said  
that Common Law  
as it exists today  
in the United States  
does not make sense.  
Judge Cardozo proposed  
to discard Common Law  
and go back  
to Roman Law.  
If modern Common Law  
is bad,  
modern Roman Law  
is worse.  
Hitler and Mussolini  
believe in Roman Law.  
"To grab and to hold"  
is the aim

of Roman Law.  
"Divide to rule" is  
the motto  
of the Roman Law-minded  
Lawyers.

**Arthur Penty**

In a book entitled:  
"A Guildsman's  
Interpretation of History"  
Arthur Penty has a  
chapter on the revival of  
Roman Law. The revival  
of Roman Law

in the 13th century  
brought about the disputes  
between Kings and Popes.  
The Kings  
are on the go.  
The Pope  
is still on the job.  
He writes encyclicals,  
but business men  
and politicians  
pay little attention  
to what he has to say.  
In the meantime,  
we are worrying  
about what Stalin,  
Hitler and Mussolini  
will do to us.

***HE LEFT SO MUCH***

When a man dies  
and leaves a lot of money  
the papers say:  
"He left so much."  
But they say:  
"He left so much."  
Why did he  
leave so much?

Well, he did not know  
enough  
to carry it with him  
when he died by  
giving it to the poor  
for Christ's sake  
during his lifetime.

***LOGICAL AND***

What is not logical  
is not practical,  
even if it is practiced.  
What is logical  
is practical  
even if it is not practiced.  
To practice  
what is not logical  
though it is practical  
is to be a bourgeois.  
A bourgeois is a fellow  
who tries to be somebody  
by trying to be

***PRACTICAL***

like everybody,  
which makes him .  
nobody.  
To practice  
what is logical  
even if it is not practiced  
is to be a leader.  
A leader is a fellow  
who follows a cause.  
The Sermon on the  
Mount  
will be called practical  
when Christians make up  
their mind, to  
practice it.

## BEYOND

## NATIONALISM

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### **Germans and Poles**

The Germans think  
that they are civilized  
and the Poles  
are barbarians.  
The Germans  
invaded Poland  
to, place Poland  
where they think it belongs,  
wider the German rule.  
German rule  
is a military rule,  
not a personalist rule.  
A military rule  
breaks the will of the people,  
but does not change  
the heart of the people.  
A military rule  
is materially efficient  
but it is not  
spiritually efficient.

### **Polish Writers**

After the first World War  
Poland established  
a personalist constitution.  
But military men in Poland  
discarded it  
so as to establish  
a more dictatorial  
military State.

But Polish writers  
are not like  
roost German writers.

Polish writers believe in  
spiritual values while  
German writers believe in  
materialist values. Polish  
writers believe in the power  
of the word; German writers  
believe in the power of the  
sword.

### **Catholic Extremism**

Poland does not exist  
as a nation,  
but Poland exists  
as a culture.  
The expression of that culture  
by Polish writers  
in the Polish language  
will spread among Polish  
people.  
The Germans are suffering  
from extreme nationalism;  
the Poles must face them  
with extreme Catholicism.  
The extreme nationalism  
of Germany is the logical  
product of the deformation  
of Christian doctrine and  
practice  
by the Reformation.  
Catholic people must  
quit looking up to  
Protestant people and  
return  
to the Catholic extremism  
of primitive Christians.

## TRUE STORIES

### Only a Frenchman

When I was in Spokane  
a Catholic Sister  
told me:

"I have a little story  
to tell you  
and I think  
you will like it.

I met an Indian woman  
who was carrying  
what looked like  
a white boy.

I said to her:

'You don't mean to tell me  
that you married  
a white man.'

'Oh no,' she said,  
'Just a Frenchman'."

### Nine Englishmen

An Englishman  
and an American  
were flying over  
the Egyptian Soudan.

Under them  
was a stretch of houses  
four miles long.

The American  
asked the Englishman:

"What is the population

of this town?" "Nine  
Englishmen," answered  
the Englishman.

### Germans and English

A German  
owned a fruit farm  
in British Columbia.  
He and his wife  
were considered  
as second-class citizens  
by the British element.

His wife succeeded  
in inducing him  
to sell the fruit farm  
and go back to Germany.

She could not stand  
to be considered inferior  
by the British element.

The English think  
that they are superior  
to the Germans  
and the Germans think  
they are superior  
to the English.

They cannot stand  
to be considered  
inferiors.

They can give it  
but cannot take it.



## LET'S BE FAIR TO THE NEGROES FOR CHRIST'S SAKE

### **Anthropologists Say**

The anthropologists say that the western world is anthropologically divided into four kinds of people<sup>1</sup>.

They are:

- a) the Nordics,
- b) the Alpines,
- c) the Mediterraneans,
- d) the Negroes.

Anthropologists add that there is nothing in science to prove that one race is superior to another race. Science cannot prove that the Nordics are superior to another race.

### **Theologians Say**

Theologians say that Christ died for the redemption of the Negroes as well as the Nordics.

The Nordics were created by the same Creator and redeemed by the same Redeemer as the Negroes. The redeemed Nordics will enjoy the beatific vision in the same Heaven as the Negroes. The redeemed Nordics

receive the same Christ at the altar rail as the Negroes. The redeemed Nordics belong to the same Mystical Body as the Negroes.

### **Nordic and Negro Bishops**

The Holy Father has recently selected African Negro priests and made them Bishops. The Negro Bishops of Africa have the same powers as the Nordic Bishops of Germany. Nordic Bishops are all right for Nordic people and Negro Bishops are all right for Negro people. The Catholic Church wants Nordic Bishops to lead Nordic people and Negro Bishops to lead Negro people. The Catholic Church does not differentiate between Nordic Bishops and Negro Bishops.

### **American Negroes**

American Negroes think they must keep up with white people. American Negroes don't need to keep up with white people. American Negroes

can keep up  
with St. Augustine.  
St. Augustine,  
who lived  
in North Africa,  
is one of the Fathers  
of the Catholic Church.  
If American Negroes

made up their minds  
to keep up with St.  
Augustine they would  
be able to make white  
Nordics look up to  
them instead of  
looking up to white  
Nordics.

## THE MONEY SYSTEM

### Humiliation and Doubt

"I believe  
there must be persons  
who, like myself,  
were deeply shaken  
by the events  
of September, 1938.  
It was a feeling of humilia-  
tion  
which seemed to demand  
an act of personal contrition,  
repentance,  
and amendment,  
as well as a doubt  
in the validity  
of a civilization.  
Was our society,  
which had always been so  
assured  
of its superiority  
and rectitude,  
so confident  
of its unexamined promises,  
assembled around anything  
more permanent  
than a congeries of banks,  
insurance companies  
and industries?"

—T. S. Eliot.

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### Thomas Wilson

John Calvin was the  
first man

to legalize  
money-lending at interest.  
John Knox,  
a Scotchman,  
brought the idea  
to Scotland.  
From Scotland,  
it went to England,  
where they legalized it  
around 1575.  
Thomas Wilson  
wrote a discourse on usury  
in 1572  
where he quotes  
the Prophets of Israel  
and the Fathers of the  
Church.  
When Thomas Wilson  
was a student Thomas  
More  
was Chancellor of England  
and the Catholic doctrine  
on usury was still taught  
in the schools of England.

### Maynard Keynes

Maynard Keynes was the  
financial representative  
of the English government  
at Versailles. After  
Versailles Maynard Keynes  
wrote a book entitled

"The Economic Consequences of the Peace."  
In this book  
Maynard Keynes pointed out  
the bad economic consequences  
that would result  
from the Treaty of  
Versailles.  
France and England

paid little attention to  
what he had to say.  
Later on,  
Maynard Keynes declared  
that "modern economists  
ought to ask themselves if  
medieval economists were  
not sound when they  
condemned money-lending  
at interest."

## FOR GOD'S SAKE

### **Honest to God**

One of the slogans of  
the Middle Ages was  
"Honest to God." We  
have ceased to be  
"Honest to God." We  
think more about  
ourselves than we do  
about God.  
We have ceased to be  
God-centered and have  
become self-centered.

### **Father Denifle**

Father Denifle  
was an Austrian Dominican.  
In 1872,  
he delivered four sermons  
in Graz, Austria,  
about "Humanity,  
its destiny  
and the means  
to achieve it."  
Translated by a priest  
of Covington, Kentucky,  
these four sermons  
were published in America  
by Pustet, the editor.  
Father Denifle emphasizes  
that having forgotten God,

humanity  
cannot realize  
its own destiny.  
God has not  
forgotten man,  
but man has  
forgotten God.

### **American Founders**

The founders of America  
came to America  
to serve God  
the way they thought  
God wants to be served.  
How God  
wants to be served  
is no longer taught  
in American schools.  
How to be successful  
is still taught  
in American schools.  
Thinking of time  
in terms of money  
is at the base  
of the thinking  
of our business men.  
We put on our coins:  
"In God we trust,"  
but persist in thinking  
that everybody else  
ought to pay cash.

### Cardinal Gasquet

Cardinal Gasquet  
was an English Benedictine.  
He was a student  
of that period  
of English history  
that preceded  
the Reformation.  
In a book entitled:  
"The Eve of the Reformation"  
he points out  
that externalism  
—another word  
for materialism—  
prevailed in that period  
of English history.  
The externalism  
of English Bishops  
made them  
follow the King  
instead of the Pope  
when the King ceased

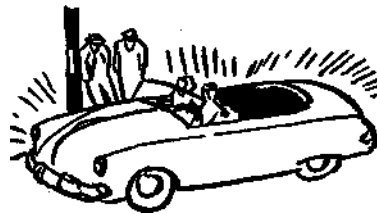
to mind the Pope,  
**St. Augustine**

St. Augustine said,  
"Love God  
and do what you please."  
We do what we please  
but we don't love God.  
We don't love God  
because we don't know  
God.  
We don't know God  
because we don't try to  
know God. And man was  
created in the image of  
God and every creature  
speaks to us about God  
and the Son of God came  
to earth to tell us about  
God.

### *IF*

What a fine place  
this world would be  
if Dualist Humanists  
tried to be human  
to men.  
What a fine place  
this world would be  
if Personalist Theists  
tried to be  
their brother's keeper  
as God

wants them to be.  
What a fine place  
this world would be  
if Fundamentalist Protestants  
tried to exemplify  
the Sermon on the Mount.  
What a fine place  
this world would be  
if Roman Catholics  
tried to keep up  
with St. Francis of Assisi.





## THE POPE AND THE WORLD

### **That Grey Eminence**

In his book entitled  
"Grey Eminence"  
Aldous Huxley says  
that the business  
of theocentrists  
is to help the people  
to see the world  
the way God  
sees the world.  
Father Joseph said  
he made the big mistake  
of helping Richelieu  
side with Protestant Germany  
and Sweden  
against Catholic Germany  
and Austria  
during the Thirty Years'  
War.  
While France was united  
under one King the Treaty of  
Westphalia of 1648  
kept Germany divided in 300  
principalities.

### **Worldly Empires**

Under the leadership  
of the Hohenzollerns  
the 300 German principalities  
became united  
and formed  
the German Empire.  
The German Empire  
was first  
a Continental Empire  
but later on  
it decided to become  
a Colonial Empire  
like the British Empire

and the French Empire.

The aim  
of the British Empire,  
of the French Empire,  
of the German Empire  
is to exchange food  
and raw materials  
for gadgets.  
The French Empire  
has gone to pieces  
and the British Empire  
is fighting  
the German Empire.

### **A Theocentric Pope**

The German Empire  
controls much of the land  
but the British Empire  
controls the sea.  
The French Government  
wants to buy food  
in America  
to feed the people  
but the British Empire,  
which controls the sea,  
refuses to let the food  
pass the British blockade.  
A theocentric Pope  
tells the world  
that God wants  
that the poor be fed  
but people in control  
of the British Empire  
tell the theocentric Pope  
to mind his own business.  
But the business  
of a theocentric Pope  
is to tell the world  
what God wants him  
to tell the world.

## ON SPECIALIZATION

### A College Professor

Ten years ago  
I asked a college professor  
to give me the formulation  
of those universal concepts  
embodied  
in the universal message  
of universal universities  
that would enable  
the common man  
to create  
a universal economy.  
And the college professor  
answered:  
"That is not my subject."  
College professors  
are specialists  
who know more and more  
about less and less  
and if they keep on specializ-  
ing  
they will end  
by knowing everything  
about nothing.

### A Negro Student

A Negro student had  
a father  
who was a Baptist minister.  
The Baptist minister gave to  
his son Baptist theology but  
no science. And the son  
wanted to know science. In  
the University of Pittsburgh  
the Negro student  
learned several sciences  
without correlation. And  
the Negro student was  
complaining

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about the University of  
Pittsburgh for having  
failed to give him a  
correlated knowledge.

### Henry Adams

Henry Adams  
went to four American uni-  
versities  
without acquiring  
a correlated knowledge.  
He went to England  
and failed.  
He went to France  
and failed.  
But in France,  
looking at  
the Cathedral of Chartres  
and the Mont Saint Michel,  
he realized  
that one could have acquired  
a correlated knowledge  
in thirteenth century France.  
And he wrote a book entitled  
"Mont Saint Michel  
and Chartres,"  
now published  
by the American Society of  
Architects.

### Dr. Herbert E. Cory

Dr. Herbert E. Cory  
is now Dean  
of the Department  
of Liberal Arts  
of the State University  
of Washington.  
The problem of specialization  
used to worry him  
when he was an atheist  
and a Marxist.  
With the help of a Jesuit

he found the solution. And this led him into the Catholic Church. You can find the presentation of the correlated knowledge of Dr. Herbert E. Cory

in his book entitled: "The Emancipation of a Free Thinker." Bruce, of Milwaukee, is the publisher.

## ON PERSONALISM

### Individual

A stone  
is not an individual.  
You can make little ones  
out of big ones.  
A tree  
is an individual.  
It comes  
from a germ.  
"Only God  
can make a tree,"  
says the poet.  
A horse  
is an individual.  
The horse is not  
an individual  
the way the tree  
is an individual.  
It has animal life.  
Man is an individual  
and has animal life  
like the horse.  
Man has also reason,  
which the horse has not.

### A Person

As an animal,  
man is an individual.  
As a reasoning animal,  
man is a person.  
The difference  
between an individual  
and a person  
is the power of reasoning.  
Through the use of reason  
man becomes aware

of the existence of God.  
Through the use of reason  
man becomes aware of his  
rights as well as his  
responsibilities. Man's  
rights and responsibilities  
come from God, who  
made him a reasoning  
animal. Man's  
primary duty is to act  
according to reason.

### Faith

To guide himself  
man has  
not only reason  
but also faith.  
Faith  
is not opposed to reason,  
it is above reason.  
The use of reason  
leads to faith,  
but reason  
cannot understand  
all the faith.  
The truths of faith  
that reason  
cannot understand,  
we call  
the mysteries of faith.  
To use reason  
is to philosophize  
and philosophy

is the handmaid of faith.  
Some truths  
we get through reason  
and some truths  
we get through faith.

#### **Emmanuel Mounier**

Emmanuel Mounier wrote  
a book entitled "A  
Personalist Manifesto."  
Emmanuel Mounier has  
been influenced by  
Charles Peguy. Charles  
Peguy once said: "There  
are two things in the  
world:

politics and mysticism."  
For Charles Peguy  
as well as Mounier,  
politics  
is the struggle for power  
while mysticism  
is the realism  
of the spirit.  
For the man-of-the-street  
politics  
is just politics  
and mysticism  
is the right spirit.  
In his "Personalist Manifesto"  
Mounier tries to explain  
what the man-of-the-street  
calls "the right spirit."

## **FIVE FORMS OF CAPITALISM**

### **Mercantile Capitalism**

In the Middle Ages  
the consumer  
went to the producer  
and asked the producer  
to produce something  
for him.  
There was no middle man  
between the producer  
and the consumer.  
When the producer  
started to sell his products  
to the middle man  
he no longer  
saw the consumer.  
The producer  
saw only the middle man  
and the consumer  
saw only the middle man  
and the middle man  
was only interested  
in buying cheap  
and selling dear.  
And the functional society  
ceased to exist

and the acquisitive society  
came into existence And  
everybody shouted: "Time is  
money!"

### **Factory Capitalism**

When the use of steam  
was discovered  
the middle men  
started factories.  
The craftsmen  
deserted their craft shops  
and went to work  
in the factories  
and became  
factory hands.  
Factory owners  
turned out gadgets  
to take drudgery  
out of the home.  
And then they took women  
out of the home  
and brought them  
into factories.  
And then they took children

out of the home  
and brought them  
into factories.  
And men had to stay home  
to look after young children.

**Monopoly Capitalism**  
With the American Civil War,  
monopoly capitalism came  
into existence. With  
monopoly capitalism came  
the trusts. With monopoly  
capitalism came high tariffs  
for the protection of infant  
industries. With monopoly  
capitalism came unionism for  
the protection of  
proletarianized workers.  
With monopoly capitalism  
came trust-busting laws for  
the protection of the buying  
public. With monopoly  
capitalism came Federal  
laws for the conservation of  
raw materials.

#### **Finance Capitalism**

With the first World War  
finance capitalism came into  
existence. With finance  
capitalism came installment  
buying. In January, 1927, the  
*Yale Review* published an  
article by a business man in  
which he said

that installment buying  
has the result  
of booming boom years  
and starving lean years.  
Installment buying  
gave us the New Era  
and the promise  
of a two-car garage,  
a chicken in every pot  
and a sign "To Let"  
in front of every poorhouse.  
But this promise  
failed to materialize  
and people found themselves  
in the midst of the depression.

#### **State Capitalism**

Finance capitalism  
has not been able  
to employ  
the unemployed.  
The State  
has now assumed the task  
of employing the unemployed.  
Economic activities  
are now supervised  
by State bureaucrats.  
State bureaucrats  
can give the people  
State supervision.  
State supervision  
is not a substitute  
for personal vision.  
And without personal vision  
people perish.  
Personalist vision  
leads to personalist action.  
Personalist action  
means personal responsibility.  
Personal responsibility  
means dynamic democracy.

## FOR A NEW ORDER

### **The Age of Reason**

In the seventeenth century  
a Frenchman  
by the name of Descartes  
discarded Thomistic philosophy  
and formulated  
a philosophy of his own.  
St. Thomas' philosophy  
starts with Aristotle  
and helps the reason  
to accept revelation.  
For St. Thomas Aquinas  
reason is the handmaid of  
faith;  
not so for Descartes.  
The eighteenth century  
became known  
as the age of enlightenment  
or the age of reason.  
An American  
by the name of Thomas Paine  
wrote a book entitled  
"The Age of Reason."

### **The Age of Treason**

The use of reason was  
discarded by the intellectuals  
of the nineteenth century.  
Romanticism, positivism,  
pragmatism, one after  
another, became the fashion  
in the nineteenth century. In  
a book entitled "The Treason  
of the Intellectuals" Julien  
Benda, a French Jew, says  
the intellectuals gave up the  
search for truth

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and consented to become  
the paid propagandists  
of nationalists  
as well as capitalists.  
So the age of reason  
of the eighteenth century  
was followed  
by the age of treason  
of the nineteenth century.

### **The Age of Chaos**

And we are now  
in the age of chaos.  
In an age of chaos  
people look  
for a new order.  
What makes for chaos  
is lack of order.  
Because people are becoming  
aware  
of this lack of order they  
would like to be able to create  
order<sup>1</sup> out of chaos. The time  
to create order out of chaos  
is now.  
The germ of the present was  
in the past and the germ of  
the future is in the present.  
The thing to do is to give up  
old tricks and start to play  
new tricks.

### **The Age of Order**

If we make  
the right decisions  
in the age of chaos  
the effect of those decisions  
will be a better order.  
The new order  
brought about

by right decisions  
will be functional,  
not acquisitive;  
personalist, not  
socialist;  
communitarian,  
not collectivist;  
organismic, not  
mechanistic.

The thing to do right now is  
to create a new society  
within the shell of the old  
with the philosophy of the  
new,  
which is not a new philosophy  
but a very old philosophy, a  
philosophy so old that it  
looks like new.

## ON AMERICAN TRAITS

### "My Experience Teaches Me"

"I have lived in all the  
major dictatorships— Russia,  
Italy, Germany. My  
experience teaches me that  
democracy with all its faults  
is better  
than any of these. My  
experience teaches me that  
the maintenance of personal  
freedom should be  
the primary consideration of  
every human being. It is  
never a choice between  
freedom and a full stomach.  
No dictatorship has given  
either."

—Louis Fisher.

### Three Characteristics

At the base  
of the American spirit  
is the functionalism  
of frontier life,  
not the acquisitivism  
of the Chamber of Commerce  
The American spirit  
is characterized  
by the love of freedom,

the spirit of initiative  
and the will to co-operate.  
The American  
does not like  
to be pushed about  
and to be sent  
where he does not want  
to go.  
Even the business man  
likes to talk about  
the spirit of initiative,  
which he calls  
free enterprise.  
When in America  
some one is busy  
doing something  
for the common good  
he finds people  
willing to co-operate.

### Love of Freedom

Freedom is a duty  
more than a right.  
Man has a duty  
to be intelligent.  
Man has a duty  
to choose intelligently  
between two alternatives.  
Man has a duty  
to act intelligently,  
using pure means  
to reach pure aims.  
To use impure means

to reach pure aims  
is to take the wrong road.  
You cannot go  
where you want to go  
by taking a road  
which does not lead  
you there. Having pure  
aims and using pure  
means is making the  
right use of freedom.

#### **Spirit of Initiative**

The spirit of initiative is  
what business men call  
free enterprise. A private  
enterprise must be  
carried out for the  
common good. If a  
private enterprise is not  
carried out for the  
common good it turns  
out to be a public  
nuisance. A public  
nuisance produces  
grievances. Personal  
grievances against public  
nuisances produce  
demagogues who  
promise to wipe out  
public nuisances. The  
spirit of initiative of  
social-minded people  
brings into existence

social institutions  
that make for the welfare  
of the common people.

#### **Will to Co-operate**

When someone has  
something considered by  
the

common man to be  
beneficial to the  
common good he is  
admired by the  
common man. The  
admiration of  
unselfish men who  
are not afraid to take  
the initiative creates  
a desire among the  
admirers to climb on the

bandwagon of men of  
initiative. They want to  
be part of an unselfish  
movement. They are  
willing to make sacrifices  
for the common cause. So  
the will to co-operate is  
the result of the daring of  
unselfish men who are  
not afraid to take the  
initiative.



# INDUSTRIALISM

## **It Started With England**

Lenin said:  
"The world cannot be  
half industrial  
and half agricultural."  
Lenin made the mistake  
of industrializing Russia.  
Lenin industrialized Russia  
because the Japanese  
industrialized Japan.  
The Japanese industrialized  
Japan  
because the Americans  
industrialized America. The  
Americans industrialized  
America  
because the Germans  
industrialized Germany. The  
Germans industrialized  
Germany  
because the English  
industrialized England. It  
started with England.

## **A Few Englishmen**

R. H. Tawney said  
that the Englishmen wear  
blinkers.  
Because they wear blinkers  
the Englishmen lack vision.  
Because they lack vision the  
Englishmen are very strong  
for supervision. And  
supervision is not a  
substitute for vision. A few  
Englishmen got rid of their  
blinkers. Among the  
Englishmen who got rid of  
their blinkers one can name:

William Cobbett,  
John Ruskin,  
William Morris,  
Arthur Penty,  
Hilaire Belloc, G.  
K. Chesterton, Eric  
Gill. The best of all  
is Eric Gill.

## **Legalized Usury**

"The sex problem, the  
marriage problem, the  
crime problem, the  
problem of armaments and  
international trade, all  
those problems could be  
solved if we would  
recognize the necessity of  
abolishing trade in money,  
and especially the  
international trade in  
money;  
that is to say, the usury,  
the legalized usury,  
practiced by the banks  
under the protection of  
their charters with the  
support of the so-called  
orthodox economists. That  
is the first thing to be  
recognized."

—Eric Gill.

## **God and Mammon**

Christ says:  
"The dollar you have  
is the dollar you give  
to the poor  
for my sake."

The banker says:  
"The dollar you have  
is the dollar you lend  
me for your sake."  
Christ says: "You  
cannot serve two  
masters,

God and Mammon."  
"You cannot,  
and all our education  
is to try to find out  
how we can  
serve two masters,  
God and Mammon,"  
says Robert Louis Stevenson.

## CATHOLIC ACTION

### **Our Business**

Catholic bourgeois used to  
tell the clergy "Mind your  
own business and don't  
butt in on our business."  
Catholic bourgeois by  
keeping up with non-  
Catholic bourgeois have  
made a mess of their own  
business. And now the  
Holy Father tells Catholic  
bourgeois "The Bishop's  
business is your business."

### **The Bishop's Voice**

The Bishop's business  
is to teach  
the Christian Doctrine.  
The Holy Father  
appoints a Bishop  
to a seat (a cathedral)  
so people may hear the  
truth  
that will set them free.  
Clergy, teachers, journalists  
are the amplifiers of the  
Bishop's voice. Fathers and  
mothers must also be the  
Bishop's voice. Bishop  
O'Hara is fostering the  
teaching of Christian  
Doctrine

by fathers and mothers.  
Everything connected  
with the teaching of  
Christian Doctrine can  
be called Catholic  
Action No. 1.

### **Works of Mercy**

But the Bishop, although  
he is a Bishop, cannot  
teach an empty stomach.  
Some people are Bishop-  
shy because they are  
hungry, shivering or  
sleepy. So the Bishop  
asks the faithful to feed  
the hungry, clothe, the  
naked, shelter the  
homeless at a sacrifice.  
Feeding the hungry,  
clothing the naked,  
sheltering the homeless  
at a sacrifice was the  
daily practice of the first  
Christians. The daily  
practice of the Works of  
Mercy is what we can  
call Catholic Action No. 2.

### **Social Reconstruction**

We are asked by the Holy  
Father

to reconstruct the social order. Reconstructing the social order means the creation, of a Catholic society within the shell of a non-Catholic society with the philosophy of a Catholic society. Catholic bourgeois made the mistake of trying to keep up with non-Catholic bourgeois. Catholic reconstructors must create a Catholic technique in harmony with Catholic thought. Social reconstruction by Catholic laymen and women is what we can call Catholic Action No. 3.

#### **Three Kinds**

Catholic Action No. 1,

or the teaching of Christian Doctrine, must be carried out with the Bishop's supervision. Catholic Action No. 2, or the daily practice of the Works of Mercy, can be carried out with or without the Bishop's supervision. Catholic Action No. 3, or the reconstruction of the social order through the foundation of new Catholic institutions, must be left to the initiative of Catholic men and women. The function of the Bishops is to be not directors but moderators. Political action is not to be considered as Catholic Action.

## **THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM**

### **Paraguay Redactions**

In a book entitled "The Magic Mountain" Thomas Mann has a character who has become a Jesuit after having been a Marxist. As a Jesuit he could understand Communism much better than he could understand it as a Marxist. In Paraguay the Jesuits established a Communist society. Part of the land

was held individually. The other part, known as God's land, was cultivated in common. The produce was used for the maintenance of the aged, the infirm and the young.

### **Proudhon and Marx**

"Communism is a society where each one works according to his ability and gets according to his needs."

Such a definition does not come from Marx; it comes from Proudhon. Proudhon wrote two volumes on "The Philosophy of

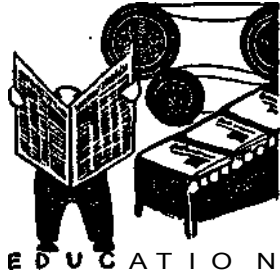
Poverty" which Karl Marx read in two days.

Karl Marx wrote a volume on "The Poverty of Philosophy."

Karl Marx was too much of a materialist to understand the philosophical and therefore social value of voluntary poverty.



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E D U C A T I O N



R E C R E A T I O N



C O M M U N I T Y L I F E



P O L I T I C S



e c O N O M I C S

# FOUR INTERVIEWS WITH PETER

By *ARTHUR SHEEHAN*

[From *the CATHOLIC WORKER*, issues of *April, May, June and July-August, 1943.*]

## I. On the Land

*Do you believe that people must have an agricultural college training before going on the land, Peter?*

These colleges don't always educate persons to stay on the land. I am in favor of people learning by doing.

*How can this return to the land be made a dynamic movement?*

It takes dynamic persons.

*What do you mean by dynamic persons?*

Persons with convictions, who foster actions based on convictions, not based on someone giving orders.

*Then the driving impulse must come from within people, you would say?*

A leader must be a personalist. If he is a personalist, he will not be a dictator. He will change the attitude of others through the power of example. It takes an awful lot of patience.

*Would you have the members of your farming commune all eat at a common table?*

No, I am against the community kitchen idea. Each family should have their own house.

*How about the single persons on a farming commune?*

The ideal is to have them live in the homes of the married couples. However, this must not be forced but must come through the couples themselves accepting the single persons.

*Why do you prefer this way?*

To develop a community spirit. In my town, there were two brothers, one married with a wife and children and the other unmarried. The latter lived with his brother. One day his brother was killed by a tree as they were working together.

The unmarried brother then became the guardian of the family. That was the true Christian spirit.

*How would you break down that feeling of isolation people have in the country?*

It must come from the development of a community spirit. We wish to be halfway between the collectivist idea of everything in common and the hermit way with people being rugged individualists.

*Could you mention a book where some ideas on the person-  
alist and communitarian way could be found?*

There is something on it in Guardini's book, "The Church and the Catholic."

*Hoio about community prayer?*

There should be some prayer life in common, but it should come from an inner desire, not be forced. There also must be intellectual discussion as well as the work to be done in the fields and crafts.

*You speak of the "three C's" often. What are they?*

They are cult, culture and cultivation.

*By cult, do you mean liturgical prayer?*

Yes, community prayer and the relationship of our work to it. For this study, I recommend Guardini's book.

*What do you mean by culture?*

There must be intellectual discussion, but it must come spontaneously, not be forced. It can be in the fields when you're working. It makes the labor lighter and breaks down that rugged individualist spirit which comes when people work alone.

*Have you any books along this line to recommend?*

Yes, there is one by a Polish priest, "Is Modern Culture Doomed?"

*And what about cultivation?*

The private gardens needn't be so big. Then they will not take too much time for isolated work. More time can be spent in the fields together.

*Have you a book that might interest along this line?*

I would advise this book by Father McNabb, "Old Principles and the New Order." (Sheed and Ward.)

*On which of these three phases should the emphasis be placed?*

If too much attention is paid to one to the detriment of another, things go wrong. There must be a balance. Different persons have different inclinations. Those whose inclination is to work with their hands more than their heads will become disgruntled if too much time is given to discussion. If not



enough time is given to discussion and there is too much physical work, the intellectually minded will fall away. People must sense when there is a lack of proportion.

*What makes for a good morale on a farming commune?*

It comes from harmony when the emphasis on prayer, discussion and work is rightly balanced.

*How many families do you think there should be on a farming commune?*

You must adjust yourself to your acreage. It does not make for the ideal to have limits. It ceases to be a personal idea. There must be crafts besides farming.

*Are you in favor of small groups?*

People must know each other. You must try to do away with factionalism. Even one family could begin on a farm and build for others. You build as you go along. It is a progressive thing.

*In other words, you want to get people on the land?*

First to get them thinking so that they see they should go on the land.

*Why don't you believe in a formal training previous to going on the land?*

Education is a life process. People learn by doing. Trouble is, people want blueprints. I don't want to give blueprints. Let them struggle with it. As they face problems, they get light. I must be available to discuss problems with them for clarification.

If the place is too small, there are not enough crafts, not enough variety. One thousand families wouldn't be too many, if they had the right idea. The craftsmen were the villagers. St. Dunstan's College on Prince Edward Island is doing the right thing, fostering a movement to bring craftsmen back to the villages. Then the farmers there wouldn't have to sell their wheat and fish and have to ship them out at a loss.

My grandfather was a craftsman and a farmer. He was a carpenter, a quarryman, a slate worker and he made baskets to carry dough to the bakers. Dick Aherne, of the Philadelphia group, was a city boy but he learned so that now he can teach others. He learned by working. The trouble with agricultural colleges is that they prepare people for business farming. Better go out to a farmer to learn.

My aim is to make people think. I am a personalist medievalist, which makes me a medievalist communist.

*But what about ownership, Peter?*

Families want their own land, their own house, although St. Gertrude said, "Property, the more common it becomes, the more holy it becomes."

About ownership, the size of a piece of land depends on the size of the family. There can be the combination of the two kinds, private ownership and communal ownership. I always make a case for the communal ownership, which is the ideal. Here in America people homesteaded but they became the victims of their isolation and their children left the farms and went to the cities. They forgot the village idea which was in Europe but went off by themselves. It was really the spirit of individualism which came from the Reformation, and Catholics unfortunately followed it, forgetting the community, the liturgical idea.

## II. On Land and Children

*Peter, why do you say that being on the land is better for children?*

It's a matter of fresh food, fresh air and being away from city streets.

*Do you think that children get a better outlook on life in the country?*

Life on the land makes a child reflective. He watches the different life processes working out before his eyes, and it makes him think. He watches the growth of the animals and plants, and he gets an organic view of life.

*By organic, you mean he sees the function or purpose of each part?*

Yes; he sees the purpose through the medium of his own eyes. It doesn't come through books and through the memory, as a city child has to learn these things. The child absorbs more in a leisurely way through life on the land.

*Why do you often say "a child is an asset on the farm, a liability in the city"?*

When the child sees his father doing useful work on a farm, the desire to be useful is born in the child. The child then wants to help his father, and it is good for the child to work with its father. I was plowing at eleven. The work on the farm gives the child the right form of exercise. It is exercise with a purpose, not just exercise for the sake of exercise, as is so often the case in sports. We say that we should read with a purpose, then why not exercise with a purpose?

*Then you would say that the boundless energy of the child is used up usefully on the farm, whereas in the city the child dissipates a lot of his energy in wasteful sports.*

Yes, the purpose of exercise is health, but why not get it

while doing the more useful work? The farm work gives the child the right opportunity.

*How explain then, Peter, the fact that children often wish to get away from the farm?*

The schools most often are to blame. They hold up city ideals. The children are educated even in country schools to look up to city living as a superior form of living. It doesn't help to make the child realize the fact that the country is more important than the city. The ideal that working with your head is superior to working with your head and your hands is taught or implied. This is how we get so many crazy ideas in society today.

*But the parents must see these things, too, Peter, else how can they point them out to the children?*

Yes, often the farmer doesn't see the superiority of this working with hands and head. The farmers often feel inferior to "so-called educated" city folks. The city people look down too much on the farmers.

That is *really a form of snobbery.*

Yes, it is.

*Isn't it strange, Peter, that men have to break down and be sent to mental hospitals before there is a realization of the importance of farm and craft work as a means to mental health?*

When the system has shattered their minds, they have to go to those places. The working in crafts and in gardens is known to bring a better balance to their minds.

Ade de Bethune once said that many persons can only see abstract principles through the medium of the material which they mould or shape with their hands.

I know a woman who has come to an understanding of Catholic dogma through studying Ade's drawings. She just couldn't grasp it otherwise.

*(Ade tries to explain the importance of little actions, such as cooking, carpentry work, all the different actions of house-keeping, as a means to developing the whole person.)*

*Does the idea of a piece of land for himself have to be held up to the child as an ideal so that he will stay on the land?*

Something much more than that is necessary. You must realize the selfishness that is in the child and try to offset it. If the child is taught to consider material ownership as a sole badge of respect, he is not taught enough. He must be taught the idea of using material things to help other people. This is the idea of stewardship, which is so opposed to the idea of absolute ownership of property. The child wishes to be recognized, but he should be taught to see that the right kind of recognition

is to be recognized by your fellow man as one who helps people and not as one merely possessing things.

*You often speak of folk schools such as they have in Denmark. Do you think they are a better way of education?*

Yes, I do. Take the matter of folk dances. Through these dances the child comes to see the necessity of co-operation with other children to perform the dances. The children are attracted to the music through the senses, and through the music they get the idea. The songs stick easily in the memory. Folk dances lead to folk songs.

*I remember, Peter, someone saying that in parts of Newfoundland they create songs at their parties.*

Yes, that is true of many folk cultures. The song brings ideas to the mind in an attractive way. Then you don't have to look to Tin Pan Alley to create your music for you.

The purpose of the music is to get ideas into the head. The idea then should start the will into action, and when it does, the soul is happy. Action must follow ideas. The sin of the intellectuals is to let the good ideas stay in their heads. They do not result in action, and, since they should be the leaders and are looked up to by the workers as leaders, this irresponsibility on their part is the reason why the workers turn against the intellectuals.

*It all goes back to what you say about the scholars having to become workers and the workers becoming scholars, if we are to bring right order into society.*

The knowledge-for-knowledge-sake business is no good. It must be used for the common good. The worker often doesn't think, and consequently doesn't have the answers. If the intellectuals just talk, they make no impression on him. When the worker sees the intellectual putting his ideas into action, he says, "What's the great idea?" and he watches him. He sees that he reads books for enlightenment, and he is attracted to reading them, too, and that is what he needs, namely, to cultivate his mind.

### **III. On Folk Schools**

*We were speaking about folk schools the last time. Have you any further ideas on them, Peter?*

We need these folk schools so people can understand the significance of folk cultures and can learn from these cultures. The folk dances and folk songs help us to understand. Consider the Negro spirituals. The rhythms came from Africa and the Negroes of the South applied them to what they had learned

of Christian teaching, and out of the two came a new cultural development.

*You mentioned one time something Kenkel, the editor of Social Justice and Central Blatt, once said about folk proverbs.*

He said that the proverbs of the German peasants would fill several volumes the size of Webster's if they were published. They weren't translated into English, and so we find the English-speaking people falling for the proverbs of the Manchester school: "Time is money," "Business is business," "Your dollar is your best friend."

I have been trying to find Irish proverbs. I have found some by a policeman from Dublin in a book called "Twenty Years Agrowing."

And speaking of the effect of folk songs, there is something which Professor Donald Davidson, of Vanderbilt University, told me. He said that many of the anti-Catholic prejudices among the Kentucky hill people came from old Elizabethan ballads handed down from the last part of the 16th century.

*You can see the effect of good liturgical music in a parish where there is a participation of the people in the singing.*

That is a good way to convey the liturgical spirit. After all, it is through military music that the military spirit is conveyed to the people. Good Gregorian chant, participated in by the people, will increase the spirit of prayer and wonder, the true liturgical spirit.

*Victor Smith was saying that in making the crib sets, with their figures of the Nativity scene, you couldn't help but come to a deepened respect for the religious spirit represented by the scenes.*

That comes from work which has a significance. The trouble today is that recreation tends to take people away from Christian thoughts. Hence you hear people listening to crooners and such like.

*But the people crave music, Peter.*

But it must be worthwhile, like the music of the monks at Solesmes. You can trace this work back to Dom Abbe Gueranger, who sponsored the revival of this work among the Benedictines and through them around the world.

*Somewhere I read, Peter, that much of the religious spirit of the Middle Ages came from the common practice of learning the psalms by heart. Then when the people were working the phrases constantly made them try to create a synthesis between the matter they were working with and the spiritual significance of their work.*

That is how they related all things to God. There is an in-

teresting thing that happened in Guatemala. When the Spaniards were there, they frightened away the Indians because they used to take them and make beasts of burden of them. When the Jesuits tried to Christianize them, they fled. The Jesuits began to sing their hymns and the natives were attracted, and when they saw they weren't harmed they cooperated. That was how some of the Jesuit Reductions began.

*(These Reductions were farming communes started in various South American countries. They were self-sufficient agricultural communities.)*

*Couldn't school teachers do much to bring a return to the crafts by introducing them in the schools, Peter? Weaving has been encouraged in some parts of Canada in the schools.*

Yes, it would be a good thing. The trouble is that the country schools imitate the city schools and so fail to prepare the children for a constructive life on the farm. I think that the Ladies of the Grail, with their summer school near Chicago, are on the right track. The folk schools will help people to get a vision of a good rural economy. Professor Davidson was telling me that the Catholic Worker should start schools of this type. I think it would be good. Then people wouldn't be looking for entertainers to entertain them, but would find their own entertainment in creating beautiful things, and incidentally things they could find a market for.

#### **IV. On Peasant Farming Methods**

*Will you tell us something about the farming methods in your home in France, Peter? That was folk farming, the real peasant kind, and should be enlightening to those who wish to know more about folk cultures and cultivation.*

There were about 3,500 sheep in our village and a thousand of these belonged to the people of the village. The others belonged to others from some distance away who brought them to our sheep herders to care for at certain times of the year.

*Did the sheep graze on the communal lands?*

Yes, in the daytime. Of course, sometimes when fields were lying fallow they would graze on private lands.

*Why do you say daytime?*

The sheep were brought into the private lands at night by the sheep herders for purpose of manuring.

*How was this arranged?*

It depended upon the number of fields a farmer had. The sheep were brought into the fields of the particular farmer whose night it was to have the sheep. The farmer's family pre-

pared the meals for the sheep herders for that day. At 2 o'clock in the morning the sheep herders would move the sheep from field to field, and in this way twice as much land was manured. The sheep were as close packed as possible. All the families had their sheep in this communal grazing. Our family had eight sheep.

*You had other fertilizing methods, didn't you?*

Yes, we used the fertilizer of oxen and cows, but we weren't perhaps as scientific about using it as we should have been.

*You used no commercial fertilizer?*

No; we never even had heard of it.

*In that book by Lord Howard you gave me, entitled "An Agricultural Testament," the author makes an awful strong case against the use of commercial fertilizer. He says that it ruins the fungi and humus on the topsail and so makes for a weakened soil. Such a soil makes the plants weak and easily hurt by the bugs and insects.*

Yes, I know. At home we used to have big burrowing rats in the fields—taupes, we called them. They helped to work the soil. The commercial fertilizer would certainly have killed them.

*Perhaps they were like our gophers. But, anyway, Peter, if what Lord Howard says is true, and he gives a whole lifetime of study to back his ideas, then our methods of farming have been nothing short of criminal.*

Yes, our farmers too often aren't farmers at all. They are land miners. They just take stuff out of the soil and don't replace it right.

The miner just takes things out of the earth and never returns anything. Look how different a psychology that creates from that of the farmer who tries to preserve the fertility of the land for coming generations. It's really soil robbing, and practices of this kind don't make for good character. If we had folk schools, these ideas could be brought out. You can see the amount of miseducation that has gotten around.

*The other night I gave a talk on Catholic books, and the connection between reading poor books and soil conservation struck me vividly. The trees are torn down to make the cheap books. The land becomes eroded because the trees aren't replaced. The patriot would be then the person who read only the fewer good books, not the person who reads the trash.*

We begin to see all the connections when we think in this organic way. A good farmer plants trees along the edges of his fields. That keeps the wind from eroding the soil.

*Yes, and it also lessens the impact of the rain, which is apt*

*to wash out plants and make the good topsail run off, especially on hills. When I think how banks lend money on mortgages to farmers who only "-mine" their land, I wonder how stupid they are. The land may look the same, but the loss is in the soil. I don't think that many mortgages demand that the land be returned in the same good condition it was received.*

Speaking about mortgages, my father had to borrow money from time to time. But he borrowed it on his honor as a farmer, and a good farmer. There was no mortgage. When the man who loaned the money wanted it back, my father paid it if he had it, or if he didn't he tried to find another person to lend him the money until he could pay it. He would then repay the first lender. It was all done on honor; no mortgages.

*Getting back to the sheep, Peter. How often were these sheared?*

Once a year—in June.

*Did you do your own carding and spinning?*

We did formerly, but got away from it.

*How about chickens? Did you have to buy grain?*

No, because we processed our own grain. We grew it, ourselves. The chickens ate the gleanings, and there was a lot of undigested grain from the animals around, too. The wheat straw was mixed with the silage, and there was often some grain on it. The chickens scratched for the undigested grain. The chickens got the leftovers from the meals, too. We had no ice, and food wasn't kept from one meal to another.

*Did you make your own bread in the villages?*

Yes, the bread was made in the village oven, which was an outdoor oven. It had a covering in front to protect the bakers from the rain. The people from the village used to gather around the oven when baking was going on. It was a great place for round-table discussions.

*The meat you ate, then, would be mostly chicken and mutton and lamb?*

No, we sold our chickens and sheep, and ate pork and sausages and the different pork meats.

*How about replanting of trees? When you cut trees for firewood, did you have a system of replacing them by replanting?*

Our trees weren't so many, and so we only cut the branches. This was in three-year periods. We tried to pick trees whose leaves the sheep would eat.



## PETER MAURIN ON THE AIR

### *He Answers Questions on a Radio Program*

[From *the November, 1937, issue of the CATHOLIC WORKER.*]

Q: What would you suggest as the first step toward the solution of economic ills?

A: Feed the hungry for Christ's sake, clothe the naked for Christ's sake, shelter the homeless for Christ's sake, instruct the ignorant for Christ's sake, as the first Christians used to do, which made the pagans say about the Christians: "See how they love one another."

Q: Your first step then would be to spiritualize service to others by expressing the spiritual in the material. How would you do this?

A: My idea is to have people who choose to be voluntary poor live under the same roof and sit at the same table with the involuntary poor, setting an example in spiritualization of human relations, thus influencing others to follow this standard.

Q: How can we carry this influence into our everyday work life?

A: By having the voluntary poor and their associates remind the owners of capital of the responsibilities of ownership and teach the wage workers that labor is a gift, not a commodity to be sold for "what the traffic can bear."

#### OWNERSHIP

Q: What do you mean by the responsibility of ownership?

A: Ownership does not exist to acquire more wealth, since all wealth belongs to God and therefore must be used for the service of God's children. The owner is God's trustee. God wants us to be our brother's keeper; what the rich do for the poor for Christ's sake is what they carry with them when they die, for Jean Jacques Rousseau says that when a man dies, he carries in his clutched hands only that which he has given away during his lifetime.

Q: To what extent does this apply to industrial owners?

A: Industrial owners must use the profits of industry as Leon Harmel, an industrial owner, was using them, looking after the needy of his community and acting as an aristocrat rather than a plutocrat towards his workers, having a sense of "*noblesse oblige.*"

#### LABOR

Q: What are the working man's responsibilities toward the common good?

A: He must see to it that the things he makes are fit to use rather than to sell. He must take pride in work well done, and think less about fighting the boss, and he must realize that labor is related to thought and thought is a spiritual faculty, not a commodity.

Q: What would be the ultimate outcome of the realization on the part of the worker and the industrial owner of their responsibilities?

A: Through awareness of the employer's responsibility as well as the worker's, we will bring about a functional society based on Christian charity which will replace our acquisitive society. Capital as well as labor must aim to create a new society within the shell of the old, with the philosophy of the new, which is not a new philosophy but a very old one, so old that it looks like new.

Q: Will you tell us what you mean by a functional society?

A: A functional society is a society in which each member strives to foster the common good, a society of go-givers instead of go-getters, a society of idealists instead of materialists.

#### FUNCTIONAL SOCIETY

Q: Could you suggest some practical way of developing this functional society?

A: The practical ways of getting it are left to the initiative of individuals who have learned what to do with liberty, and who keep always in mind the importance of pure means; means that harmonize with the ultimate aims to be pursued.

Q: Where will we find the guiding principles of social reconstruction which will bring about this order based on justice and love?

A: We will find them in the social teachings of the Catholic Church through the centuries. In recent years these teachings have been reiterated in the encyclicals, especially in those of Pius XI and Leo XIII, and in the writings of churchmen, sociologists and economists such as Cardinal Manning, Bishop Von Ketteler, Prof. Toniolo and the Marquis de La Tour du Pin.

#### THE MEANS

Q: Your ideas for the common good have struck a responsive chord in my mind, and this leads me to believe that many of our listeners are wondering, at this point, how they could help to bring about this social order.

A: First, by the daily practice of the Works of Mercy at a personal sacrifice. Second, by round-table discussion and study

groups, to clarify thought; to learn to teach and to carry into action. Third, the working man should belong to workingmen's associations, the employer should belong to employers' associations, and through joint collective action these associations are morally obligated to foster collective bargaining.

Fourth, the Catholic working man and the Catholic employer should impregnate the working men's associations and the employers' associations with Christian principles.

Fifth, foster farming communes for the employment of the unemployed.

And finally, each individual should assume the responsibility of understanding and participating in this program wherever and however he finds the opportunity. Just one word of warning: this participation should always be that of a thinking, reasoning person.

### **PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY**

Q: Some people say that Christianity has failed in allowing our present conditions to exist. What do you think about this?

A: "The Christian ideal has not failed," said Chesterton, "it has been found difficult and left untried." It has not been tried because people thought that it was not practical and men have tried everything except Christianity. Everything that men have tried has failed, and to fail in everything that man tries is not considered practical by the so-called practical people. So, the so-called practical people will begin to be practical when they start to practice the Christianity they profess to believe in.



## Reference List of Omitted Paragraphs

In order to avoid unnecessary repetition certain paragraphs have been omitted from some of the essays. Such omissions are indicated in the text by a number and four asterisks (\*\*!\*\*)}. The following list shows where the omitted paragraphs may be found elsewhere in the book.

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## BOOKS TO READ

The following books were recommended repeatedly by Peter Maurin in reading lists appended to his essays:

**Art in a *Changing* Civilization**, Eric Gill  
**Bourgeois Mind, The**, Nicholas Berdyaev  
**Brotherhood Economics**, Toyohiko Kagawa  
**Charles V**, Wyndham Lewis  
**Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism**, Amintore Fanfani  
**Christianity and Class War**, Nicholas Berdyaev  
**Church and the Land, The**, Father Vincent IWCnabb, O.P.  
**Discourse on Usury**, Thomas Wilson  
**Emancipation of a Free Thinker, The**, Herbert E. Cory  
**Enquiries Into Religion and Culture**, Christopher Dawson  
**Fields, Factories and Workshops**, Peter Kropotkin  
**Fire on the Earth**, Paul Hanly Furfey  
**Flight From the City, The**, Ralph Borsodi  
**Franciscan Message to the World, The**, Father Agostino Gemelli, F.M.  
**Freedom in the Modern World**, Jacques Maritain  
**Future of Bolshevism, The**, Waldemar Gurian  
**Gnildsman's Interpretation of History**, A. Arthur Penty  
**Great Commandment of the Gospel, The**, His Excellency A. G. Cicognani,  
Apostolic Delegate to the U. S.  
**Ireland and the Foundation of Europe**, Benedict Fitzpatrick  
**I Take My Stand**, by Twelve Southern Agrarians  
**Land of the Free, The**, Herbert Agar  
**Lord of the World**, Robert Hugh Benson  
**Making of Europe, The**, Christopher Dawson  
**Man the Unknown**, Dr. Alexis Carrel  
**Nations Can Stay at Home**, B. O. Wilcox  
**Nazareth or Social Chaos**, Father Vincent McNabb, O.P.  
**Our Enemy the State**, Albert Jay Nock  
**Outline of Sanity**, G. K. Chesterton  
**Personalist Manifesto**, Emmanuel Mounier  
**Philosophy of Work**, A. Etienne Borne  
**Post-Industrialism** Arthur Penty  
**Progress and Religion**, Christopher Dawson  
**Religion and the Modern State**, Christopher Dawson  
**Religion and the Rise of Capitalism**, R. H. Tawney  
**Revolution Personnaliste et Communautaire (La)**, Emmanuel Mounier  
**Saint Francis of Assisi**, G. K. Chesterton  
**Social Principles of the Gospel**, Alphonse Lagan  
**Soviet Man Now**, Helen Iswolsky  
**Temporal Regime and Liberty**, Jacques Maritain  
**Theory of the Leisure Class, The**, Thorstein Veblen  
**Thomistic Doctrine of the Common Good, The**, Seraphine Michel  
**Things That Are Not Caesar's**, Jacques Maritain  
**Toward a Christian Sociology**, Arthur Penty  
**True Humanism**, Jacques Maritain  
**Two Nations, The**, Christopher Hollis  
**Unfinished Universe, The**, T. S. Gregory  
**Valerian Persecution, The**, Father Patrick Healy  
**What Man Has Made of Man**, Mortimer Adier  
**Work and Leisure**, Eric Gill

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