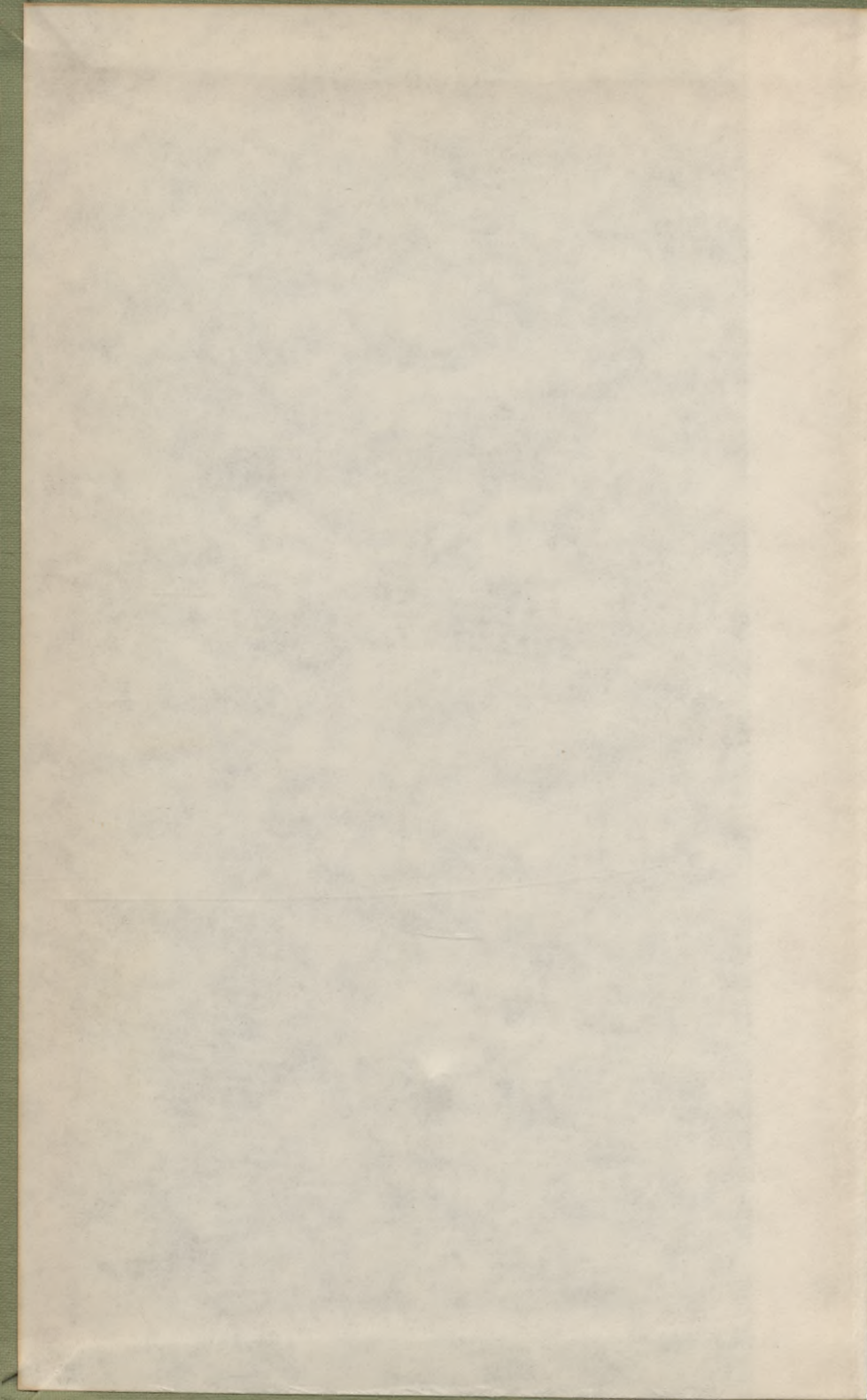
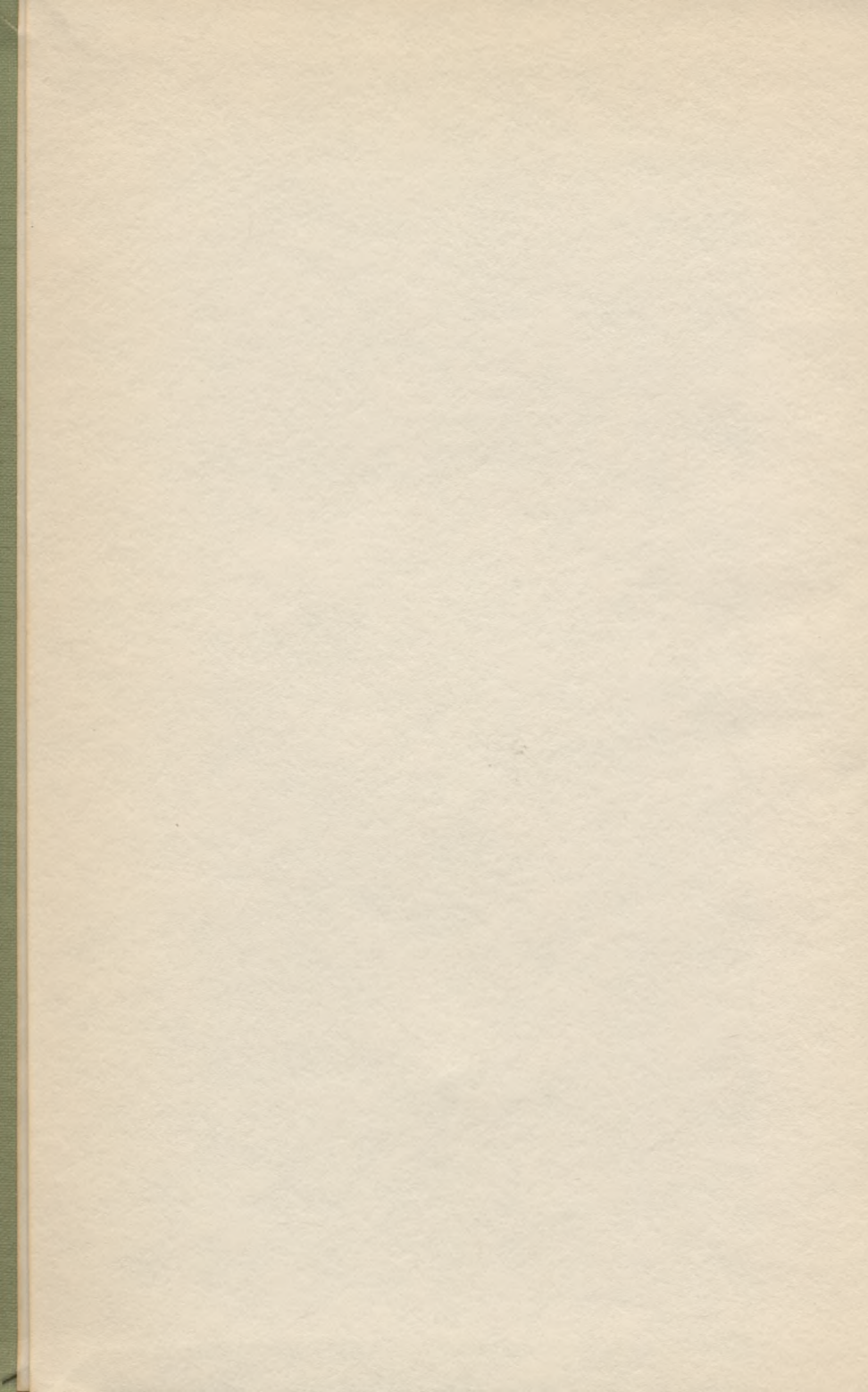


CATHOLIC
RADICALISM

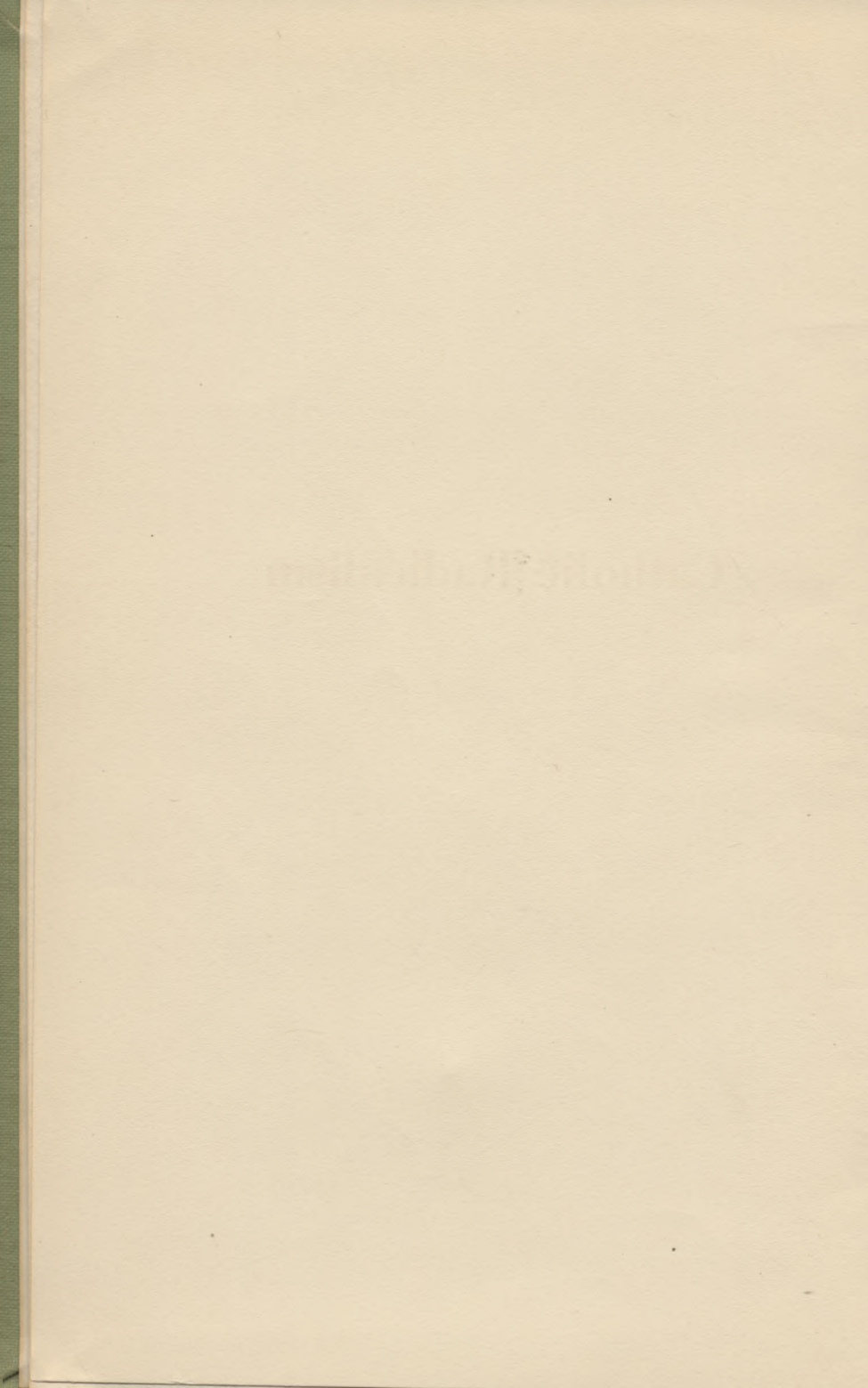


Peter Maurin





Sr. M. Paschal



Catholic Radicalism

CATHOLIC



RADICALISM

*PHRASED ESSAYS
FOR THE
GREEN REVOLUTION*

by
PETER MAURIN

*With Drawings by
ED WILLOCK*

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CATHOLIC WORKER BOOKS

115 Mott St.

New York 13, N. Y.

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First Edition
August 1949

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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 even 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 words 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 (**1**). 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





DYNAMITE

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
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

[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 insti-

tutions.

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 aims 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 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 INEVITABLE?

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
on the sweat of somebody
else's brow
by lending money at interest.

Wealth-Producing Maniacs

When John Calvin
legalized money-lending
at interest

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,

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-lend-
ing
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 legal-
ized
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 legal-
ized
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 produc-
 tion.
 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
Labore 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 Bolshevnik 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 organizations exist, not for the benefit of the organized but for the benefit of the organizers.

I added that when the organizers try to organize the unorganized they do not organize themselves.

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 exploited who like to be called labor leaders.

I had in mind some exalted rulers of secret societies who, while they call themselves 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 Republic.

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-getters.

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 in-
 terest.
 You say that the Catholic
 Labor Guild
 stands for profit-sharing.
 I hope that your self-sacrific-
 ing 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 Gui'd
 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

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 Catholic 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.

Round-Table Discussions

We need Round-Table Discussions

to keep trained minds from being academic.

We need Round-Table Discussions

to keep untrained minds from being superficial.

We need Round-Table Discussions

to learn from scholars how things would be, if they were as they should be.

We need Round-Table Discussions

to learn from scholars how a path can be made

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

** 1 **

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 Lukan;

"Progress and Religion,"

by Christopher Dawson.

1—See Reference List, page 206.

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 fel-
low 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 chil-
dren.

Christ's Message

"No man can serve two mas-
ters,

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 Jor-
genson,
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 or-
ganized
in accordance with the wishes
of Leo XIII.”

—*Pius X.*

“We believe that the spirit of
the Third Order,
thoroughly redolent of Gos-
pel 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 work-
ing.”

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 la-
borers,

but for the benefit of the ac-
cumulators.”

And capitalists succeed in ac-
cumulating labor,

by treating labor, not as a gift,

but as a commodity,
buying it as any other com-
modity
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 com-
modity,
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 commercial-
izers 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

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 loose 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
a life of sacrifice.

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

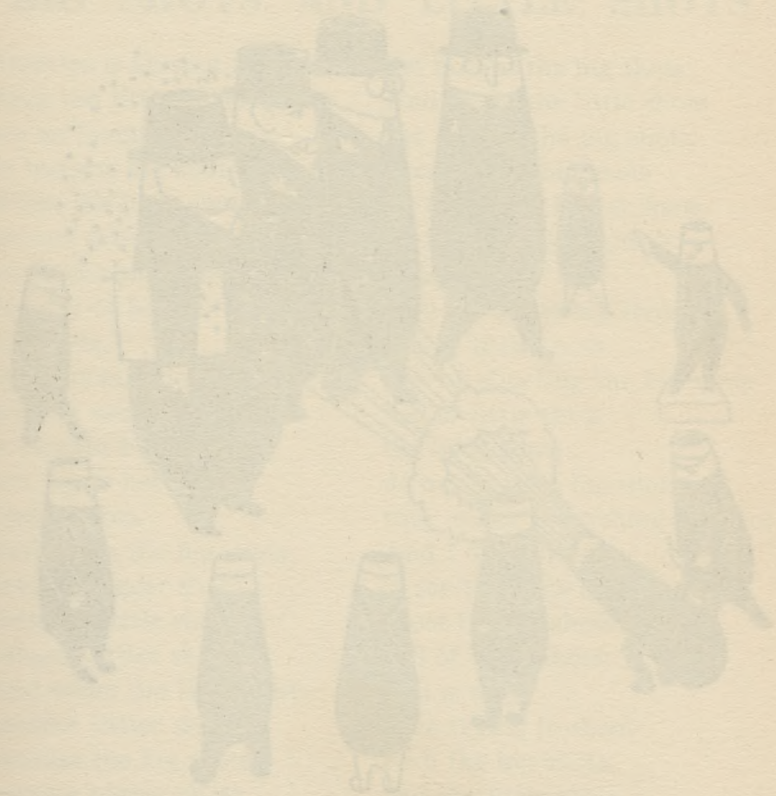
We can only imitate the sacri-
fice of Christ on Calvary
by trying to give all we can.

—*Peter Maurin.*



BOOK 2

THE NIGHTS AND LITTLE FIRMS





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 establishment 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 agi-
tation.

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. Hergenhan 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

** 3 **

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 Cath-
olic 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

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 Institu-
tions.

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
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 tax-
payers.
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 Arch-
bishops,

that the Communist criticism
of modern rugged individual-
ism

is a sound criticism.

I agree with seven Bishops,
three of whom are Arch-
bishops,

that the main social aim
of the Communist Party
is a sound social aim.

I agree with seven Bishops,
three of whom are Arch-
bishops,

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 prac-
tice

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 Dis-
cussions
scattered all over Europe
as far as Constantinople
the Irish scholars
brought thought to the
people.

Through Houses of Hospi-
tality
the Irish scholars
exemplified Christian charity.
Through Farming Communes
the Irish scholars
made workers out of scholars
and scholars out of workers.

A THIRD OPEN LETTER TO FATHER LORD, S.J.

Dear Father:

Dr. C. Roper, Secretary of
Commerce,
suggested some time ago
the establishment in Wash-
ington
of a "Laboratory for Leader-
ship 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 Wash-
ington
"of a forum
for study and training
in public affairs."

Colleges and universities
have failed
to give their students
a 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

have become so academic
that their students
refuse to be scholarly minded
and consent to be politically
minded.

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 Govern-
ment
to solve their economic prob-
lems,
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 universi-
 ties
 to Catholic workers.
 When 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,
 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 supervise

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 Is 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.
** 4 **

CARL SCHMITT THE ARTIST

** 5 **

Flying From America

In his book entitled
"Rediscovery of America"
Waldo Frank says
that America is a lost conti-
nent.

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 Dalma-
tian 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 individual-
ism
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 Discus-
sions,

Houses of Hospitality,
 Farming Communes.
 The Communists do not build
 Communism,
 they build Socialism.
 The Catholic Worker
 does not build Catholic
 Socialism,
 it builds Catholic Com-
 munistism.
 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-
 munistism
 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.

Communists have not in-
 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 pro-
fessors,
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.

** 6 **

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

** 7 **

Not Communists

There is nothing wrong
 with Communism,
 but there is something wrong
 with Bolshevism.
 The wrong thing with Bol-
 shevism 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 corpora-
tions
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 every-
body.

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

** 8 **

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.

** 9 **

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 (Communist), 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 Hospi-
tality

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.

** 15 **

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.

** 15A **

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 gradu-
ates
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.

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 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.

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 beau-

tiful.
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 now 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."

** 16 **



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.

Campion 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
in 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 Bolshevik
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 impres-
sion
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

In 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 advoca-
tating
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 John-
son,
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 some-
thing
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 selfish-
ness."
Professor John Dewey says:
"Modern society
is based on rugged individual-
ism."
When conservatives
try to conserve a society
based on greed,

systematic selfishness
and rugged individualism
they try to conserve some-
thing

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 selfish-
ness,
on gentle personalism
instead of rugged individual-
ism,
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 busi-
ness
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 some-
thing,

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 disarma-
ment
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.

** 18 **

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 Movement.

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 Movement condemns bourgeois capitalism

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 Movement 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 Cath-
olics
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 Right 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 is 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 VS. GO-GIVERS

Two Bourgeois

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

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

tries to keep
what he has,
and tries to get
what the other fellow has.
The Bolshevik Socialist
tries to get
what the bourgeois capitalist
has.
The Bolshevik 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 Bolshevik Socialist
is the spiritual son
of the bourgeois capitalist;
he credits bourgeois capital-
ism
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 Bolshevik Socialist,
believe in getting
all they can get
and not in giving
all they can give.
The bourgeois capitalist
and his spiritual son,
the Bolshevik 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 doing 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,
Bolshevist 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 com-
mon 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 monas-
tery.
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

** 20 **

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.

Read "Leadership or Domina-
tion,"

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 Move-
ment.

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
how to keep it from changing
or how to change it

to suit college graduates.

** 21 **

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 Revolu-
tion,*

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.

** 22 **

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

** 23 **

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.

** 24 **

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,

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 deter-
minism.
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 dicta-
torship.
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—

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.

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

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.

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.

** 25 **

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 govern-
ment
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."

** 26 **

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

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 busi-
ness."

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 unemploy-
ment,

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 enter-
prise."

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 Rumble 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.

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, TOTALITARIANS

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 Econo-
mists,
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

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, Communism

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.

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

** 28 **

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 Bolshevik 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 Sermon on the Mount
as well as
the Ten Commandments;
Catholics,
who believe
in the Thomistic Doctrine
of the Common Good.

BOOK 4



BOOK



WAR AND PEACE

** 29 **

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-Germans
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 Mohammed-
danism
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

** 30 **

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

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 while 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

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

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.

Radicals

Liberals
are too liberal
to be radicals.
To be a radical

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.”

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.

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

with the Yankees.
The Yankees of New England
have given up
their New England conscience
to keep up
with the utilitarian, futi-
tarian
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 Com-
munes

in what are now
the State of Texas,
the State of New Mexico,
the State of California.

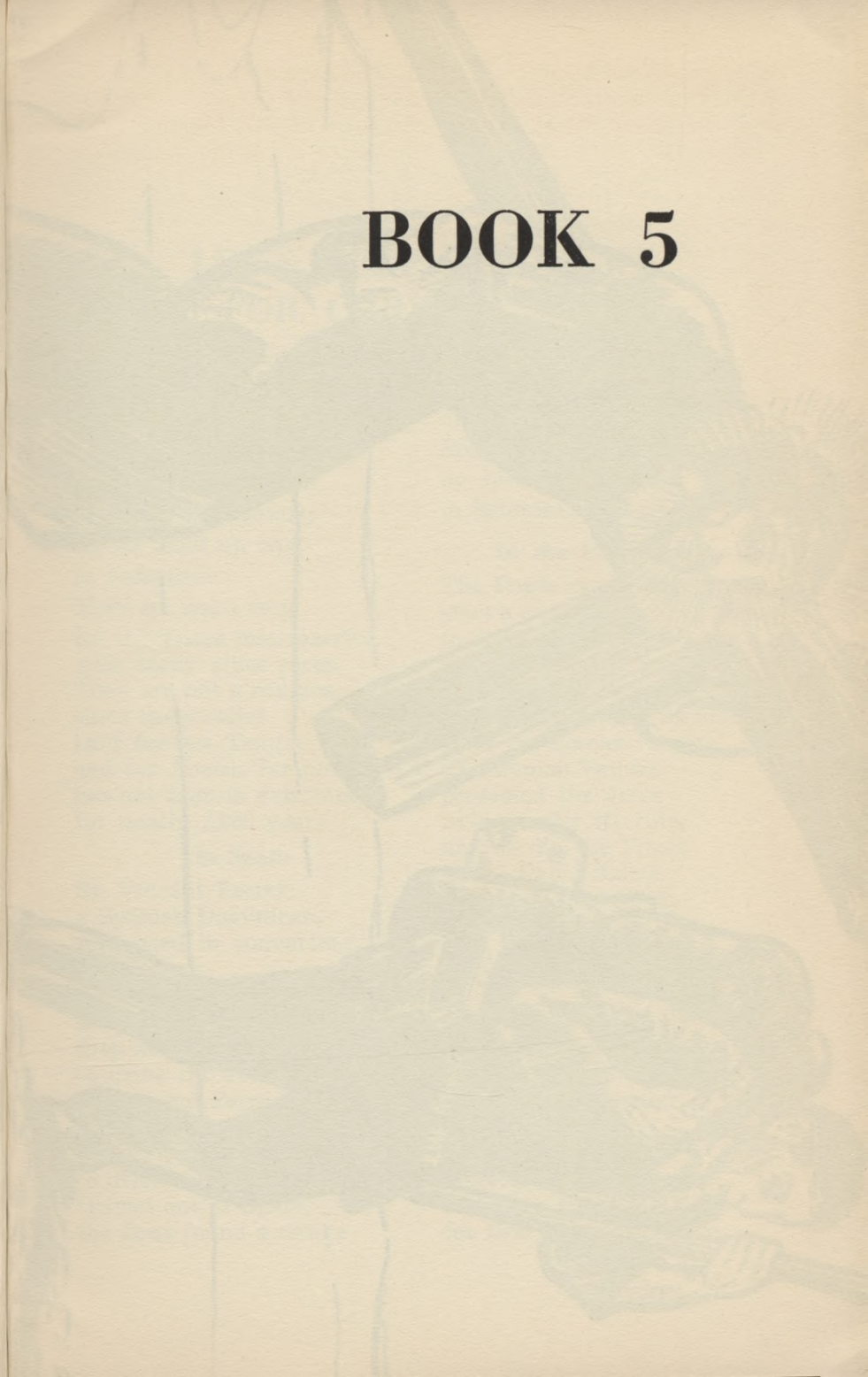
FIRING THE BOSS

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.



BOOK 5





LET'S KEEP THE JEWS FOR CHRIST'S SAKE

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 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.

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 Na-
tions

Japan went to Manchuria
as well as China.

In spite of the League of Na-
tions

Italy went to Ethiopia
as well as Albania.

In spite of the League of Na-
tions

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

Czecho-Slovakia.

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.

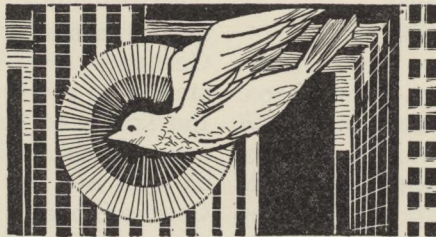
Prayer for Peace

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 individ-
ualists.
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:

"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 racial 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
curious about the Church
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.

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."



PLANNED 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 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 Confess."*

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
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.

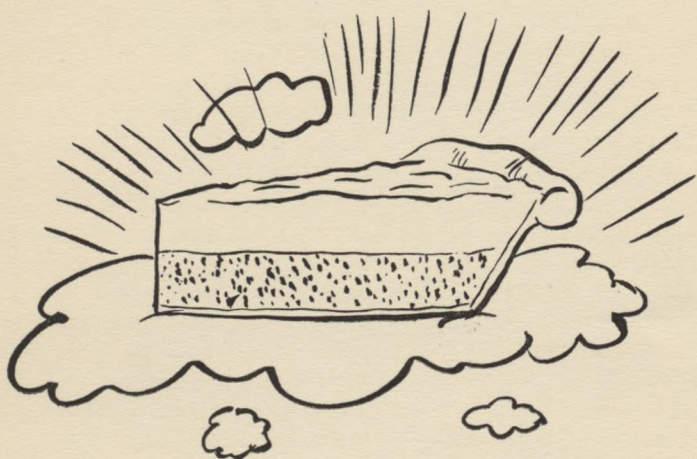
Faith, Hope and Charity

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

Bolshevist Socialists
credit bourgeois capitalism
with an historical mission.
If bourgeois capitalism
has an historical mission
then Bolshevist 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
Bolshevist 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 PRACTICAL

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

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

** 31 **

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,
under 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
most 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.

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 represen-
tative
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 conse-
quences
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 Pitts-
burgh
the Negro student
learned several sciences
without correlation.
And the Negro student
was complaining

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 responsi-
bilities
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

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 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 Reductions

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 Com-
munism 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

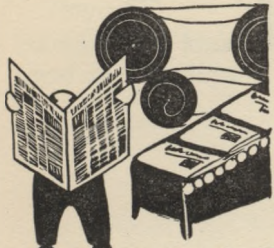
"Communism is a society
where each one works
according to his ability
and gets
according to his needs."

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 Philos-
ophy."
Karl Marx
was too much of a materialist
to understand the philo-
sophical
and therefore social value
of voluntary poverty.



BOOK 7



EDUCATION



RECREATION



COMMUNITY LIFE



POLITICS



ECONOMICS

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 personalist and communitarian way could be found?

There is something on it in Guardini's book, "The Church and the Catholic."

How 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-

interesting 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 topsoil 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 topsoil 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 working-men'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 (**1**). 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 McNabb, 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
Guildsman'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 Adler
Work and Leisure, Eric Gill

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- Zionists, 139

A Note on the Typography Of This Book

The text of this book is set in 10-point Linotype Excelsior on an 11-point body, 12 ems wide on two-column pages and elsewhere 25 ems wide, with boldface subheads of the same size. Display type is Ludlow-set Bodoni bold in the following sizes: Essay titles, Introduction, Foreword, Contents and Index heads, 18 point, with some essay titles in 14-point Linotype italic. The display line on the first page of each book is in 36 point. The first title is in 24 point. The title page is composed of 48-, 24-, 18- and 14-point Roman, with 24- and 18-point italic. Heads on pages 206-7 are in 14-point and text on the same pages is in 7½-point Excelsior. The Index is in the same face in 7-point size. The type was set by the Rogowski Co., Inc., and presswork was done by the Ranno Printing Co., both of New York. The cover was printed from a linoleum block cut.

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