Catholic Radicalism

Peter Maurin
CATHOLIC RADICALISM
PHRASED ESSAYS
FOR THE GREEN REVOLUTION

by

PETER MAURIN

With Drawings by

ED WILLOCK

CATHOLIC WORKER BOOKS

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"It was in 1882 when the public school system started; I was 5 years old. It was compulsory in every village. My mother and father could not speak French, only a dialect like Catalan. (Joffre was born in French Catalonia and Foch in Basque Catalonia. Catalonian 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 travailleth and groaneth eyen until now," but we also believed, as Juliana of Norwich said, that "the worst had already happened," i.e., the Fall, and that Christ had repaired that "happy fault." We expected the suffering that goes with love, and we knew that only with such suffering are we enabled to "rejoice always." In other words, we both accepted the paradox which is Christianity.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As Harold Robbins wrote, "Freedom is the primary and supreme reason for the existence of mankind. That He should be freely loved and served seems, so far as our thought can penetrate, to have been God's chief reason for calling us into being. At the cost of this freedom God could have established..."
and maintained a world full of ORDER, but not of justice, for free will is of the essence of human justice."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DOROTHY DAY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DAVID MASON.
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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

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

The Duty of Hospitality
People who are in need and are not afraid to beg give to people not in need the occasion to do good for goodness' sake. Modern society calls the beggar bum and panhandler and gives him the bum's rush. But the Greeks used to say that people in need are the ambassadors of the gods. Although you may be called bums and panhandlers you are in fact the ambassadors of God. As God's Ambassadors you should be given food, clothing and shelter by those who are able to give it. Mahometan teachers tell us that God commands hospitality, and hospitality is still practiced in Mahometan countries. But the duty of hospitality is neither taught nor practiced in Christian countries.

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

Back to Hospitality
The Catholic unemployed should not be sent to the "Muni." The Catholic unemployed
should be given hospitality in Catholic Houses of Hospitality.
Catholic Houses of Hospitality are known in Europe under the name of hospices. There have been hospices in Europe since the time of Constantine. Hospices are free guest houses; hotels are paying guest houses. And paying guest houses or hotels are as plentiful as free guest houses or hospices are scarce. So hospitality, like everything else, has been commercialized. So hospitality, like everything else, must now be idealized.

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

**Hospices**
We read in the "Catholic Encyclopedia" that during the early ages of Christianity the hospice (or the House of Hospitality) was a shelter for the sick, the poor, the orphans, the old, the traveler and the needy of every kind. Originally the hospices (or Houses of Hospitality) were under the supervision of: the Bishops, who designated priests to administer the spiritual and temporal affairs of these charitable institutions. The fourteenth statute of the so-called Council of Carthage, held about 436, enjoins upon the Bishops to have hospices (or Houses of Hospitality) in connection with their churches.

**Parish Houses of Hospitality**
Today we need Houses of Hospitality as much as they needed them then, if not more so. We have Parish Houses for the priests, Parish Houses for educational purposes, Parish Houses for recreational purposes,
but no Parish Houses of Hospitality.
Bossuet says that the poor are the first children of the Church,
so the poor should come first.
People with homes should have a room of hospitality.
So as to give shelter to the needy members of the parish.
The remaining needy members of the parish should be given shelter in a Parish Home.
Furniture, clothing and food should be sent to the needy members of the parish at the Parish House of Hospitality.
We need Parish Homes as well as Parish Domes.
In the new Cathedral of Liverpool there will be a Home as well as a dome.

Houses of "Catholic Action"
Catholic Houses of Hospitality should be more than free guest houses for the Catholic unemployed.
They could be vocational training schools, including the training for the priesthood, as Father Corbett proposes.
They could be Catholic reading rooms, as Father McSorley proposes. They could be Catholic Instruction Schools, as Father Cornelius Hayes proposes. They could be Catholic 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
but all youth needs you. And not only all those who
are in their first youth but all those who are getting
in their second youth and also all those who have
reached the age of maturity without having reached the
state of maturity. That is to say, we all need you. We all
need you because you have the knack of getting at the
core of things and of presenting your findings in a vivid and
dynamic form.

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

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

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

PETER MAURIN.

ON MARXISM

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

**What Karl Marx Realized**

Karl Marx soon realized that his own analysis of bourgeois society could not be the basis of a dynamic revolutionary movement. Karl Marx soon realized that a forceful Communist Manifesto was the necessary foundation of a dynamic Communist Movement. Karl Marx soon realized, as Lenin realized, that there is no revolution without revolutionary action, that there is no revolutionary action without a revolutionary movement, that there is no revolutionary movement without a vanguard of revolution, and that there is no vanguard of revolution without a theory of revolution.

**The Communist Manifesto**

Having realized that a Communist Manifesto was the basis of a Communist Movement, Karl Marx decided to write a Communist Manifesto. To write the Communist Manifesto Karl Marx did not use his analysis of capitalism. He took the definition of Communism of Proudhon and made it his own. He borrowed Utopian criticism and Utopian aim and decided to advocate class-struggle,
that is to say, materialist aims. As some people used to think that we need a good honest war to end all wars, Karl Marx used to think that we need a gigantic class-struggle to bring about a classless society.

**For Catholic Action**

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

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

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

**Reconstructing the Social Order**

The Holy Father and the Bishops ask us to reconstruct the social order. The social order was once constructed through dynamic Catholic Action.
When the barbarians invaded the decaying Roman Empire Irish missionaries went all over Europe and laid the foundations of medieval Europe. Through the establishment of cultural centers, that is to say, Round-Table Discussions, they brought thought to the people. through free guest houses, that is to say, Houses of Hospitality, they popularized the divine virtue of charity. Through farming colonies, that is to say, Agronomic Universities, they emphasized voluntary poverty. It was on the basis of personal charity and voluntary poverty that Irish missionaries laid the foundations of the social order.

IS INFLATION
Usurers Not Gentlemen
The Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church forbid lending money at interest. Lending money at interest is called usury by the Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church. Usurers were not considered to be gentlemen when people used to listen to the Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church. When people used to listen to the Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church they could not see anything gentle in trying to live I on the sweat of somebody else's brow by lending money at interest.

Wealth-Producing Maniacs
When John Calvin legalized money-lending at interest 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
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, 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

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

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 universities, 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.

THE CAMPUS

To go back to the gold standard, 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 propose, is to favor the money borrowers at the expense of the money lenders.

To devise schemes so as to bring about a rise in prices is to favor both money lenders and money borrowers at the expense of the consuming 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 solution.
John Maynard Keynes, the well-known English economist, says that we ought to ask ourselves if the medieval economists were not sound in condemning money-lending at interest.

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

To go back to the teachings of the Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church, as I propose in my Easy Essays 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-lending 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

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

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

COMING TO UNION SQUARE

Two years ago, I went to see college professors and asked them to give me the formulation of those universal 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 action as well as men of thought—that they must be dynamic as well as academic, and that Union Square can teach something to college professors as well as learning from college professors.

SCHOLARS AND BOURGEOIS

The scholar has told the bourgeois 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 vision, the bourgeois calls him a visionary. So the bourgeois laughs at the scholar's vision and the worker is left without 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 education 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 Cathedral 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 expression 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 matters. Moscow had a thousand churches and people lost the faith. Churches ought to be built with donated money, donated material, donated labor.

The motto of St. Benedict was *Lahore et Orare, Labor and Pray.*
Labor and prayer ought to be combined; labor ought to be a prayer. The liturgy of the Church is the prayer of the Church. People ought to pray with the Church and to work with the Church. The religious life of the people and the economic life of the people ought to be one.

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

A QUESTION AND AN ANSWER ON CATHOLIC LABOR GUILDS

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

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

The money that comes from assessments is not worth getting. The money that is worth getting

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

But Parish Houses of Hospitality are only half-way houses. Parish Subsistence Camps are the most efficient way to make an impression on the depression. The basis for a Christian economy is genuine charity and voluntary poverty. To give money to the poor is to increase the buying power of the poor. Money is by definition a means of exchange.
and not a means to make money. When money is used as a "means of exchange, it helps to consume the goods that have been produced. When money is used as an investment, it does not help to consume the goods that have been produced, it helps to produce more goods, to bring over-production and therefore increase unemployment. So much money has been put into business that it has put business out of business.

Money given to the poor is functional money, money that fulfills its function. Money used as an investment is prostituted money, money that does not fulfill its function. Poverty and charity are no longer looked up to, they are looked down upon. The poor have ceased to accept poverty and the rich have ceased to practice charity. When the poor are satisfied to be poor, the rich become charitable toward the poor.

Because Christianity presents poverty as an ideal Bolshevik Communists try to make us believe that religion is the opium of the people. Karl Marx says that the worker is exploited at the point of production. But the worker would not be exploited at the point of production if the worker did not sell his labor to the exploiter of his labor.

When the worker sells his labor to a capitalist or accumulator of labor he allows the capitalist or accumulator of labor to accumulate his labor. And when the capitalist or accumulator of labor has accumulated so much of the worker's labor that he no longer finds it profitable to buy the worker's labor then the worker can no longer sell his labor to the capitalist or accumulator of labor. And when the worker can no longer sell his labor to the capitalist or accumulator of labor he can no longer buy the products of his labor. And that is what the worker gets for selling his labor to the capitalist or accumulator of labor. He just gets left and he gets what is coming to him. Labor is not a commodity to be bought and sold—
Labor is a means of self-expression, the worker's gift to the common good.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Modern industry has no work for everybody but work can be found for everybody in Parish Subsistence Camps or Agronomic Universities.

I may later on publish a magazine entitled The Agronomist for the fostering of the idea of Parish Subsistence Camps or Agronomic Universities.

Edward Koch, of German-town, 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 interest.

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

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

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

Yours for Catholic Action,

PETER MAURIN.
**PURPOSE OF THE CATHOLIC WORKERS' SCHOOL**

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

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**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 Lugan; "Progress and Religion," by Christopher Dawson.

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**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...
THE CASE FOR UTOPIA

Better and Better Off

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

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

Christianity, Capitalism, Communism

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

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

Christ's Message

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


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

—Robert Louis Stevenson.

What St. Francis Desired

According to Johannes Jorgenson, a Danish convert living in Assisi, St. Francis desired that men should give up superfluous possessions,
St. Francis desired that men should work with their hands. St. Francis desired that men should offer their services as a gift. St. Francis desired that men should ask other people for help when work failed them. St. Francis desired that men should live as free as birds. St. Francis desired that men should go through life giving thanks to God for His gifts.

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

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

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

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

Three Ways to Make a Living
Mirabeau says "There are three ways to make a living: Stealing, begging and working." Stealing is against the law of God and against the law of men. Begging is against the law of men but not against the law of God. Working is neither against the law of God nor against the law of men. But they say that there is no work to do. There is plenty of work to do, but no wages. But people do not need to work for wages, they can offer their services as a gift.

Capital and Labor
"Capital," says Karl Marx, "is accumulated labor, not for the benefit of the laborers, but for the benefit of the accumulators." And capitalists succeed in accumulating labor, by treating labor, not as a gift,
but as a commodity, buying it as any other commodity at the lowest possible price. And organized labor plays into the hands of the capitalists, or accumulators of labor, by treating its own labor not as a gift, but as a commodity, selling it as any other commodity at the highest possible price. And the class struggle is a struggle between the buyers of labor at the lowest possible price and the sellers of labor at the highest possible price. But the buyers of labor at the lowest possible price and the sellers of labor at the highest possible price are nothing but commercializers of labor.

**Selling Their Labor**

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

**2**
THE BISHOPS' MESSAGE

Quotations and Comments

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

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

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

From greed arises envy which makes a man consider the advantages of another as losses to himself.

From greed arises narrow individualism which orders and subordinates 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 sacrifice of Christ on Calvary by trying to get all we can.

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

—Peter Maurin.
BOOK 2
BIG SHOTS AND LITTLE SHOTS

America is all shot to pieces since the little shots are no longer able to become big shots. When the little shots are not satisfied to remain little shots and try to become big shots, then the big shots are not satisfied to remain big shots and try to become bigger shots. And when the big shots become bigger shots then the little shots become littler shots. And when the little shots become littler shots because the big shots become bigger shots then the little shots get mad at the big shots. And when the little shots are no longer able to become 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 University, 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 spiritual from the material is what we call "secularism."
Everything has been secularized, 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 commercialism.

And when religion has nothing to do with either education, politics or business, you have the religion of business 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 everything and to put religion into everything.
The way to take commercialism out of everything and to put religion into everything is not through political action.
The way to take commercialism out of everything and to put religion into everything 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 becoming interested in a technique of dictatorship.

And because clergymen are not interested in Dynamic Catholic Action the forgotten man is becoming 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 Communism, 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 individualism 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 Movement 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 college 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 environment, 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 propagandists yet in their 'teens are learning the art of Communist agitation, Catholic teachers teaching in Catholic or public schools have a terrible sense of inferiority complex when it comes to Catholic agitation. While Communist propagandists 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 present 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 Commonerood 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.

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**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 Catholic social research Catholics would not now pass the buck to the politicians.

School of Social Studies
To found a School of Social Studies, such was the aim of Father Patrick Sheely, S.J. In a School of Social Studies we would be able to learn why things are what they are.
In a School of Social Studies we would be able to learn how things would be if they were as they should be.
In a School of Social Studies we would be able to learn how a path can be made from things as they are to things as they should be.
A School of Social Studies would give us Catholic Action based on Catholic Thought realized in Catholic Institutions.

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 taxpayers.
Having no School of Social Studies, we are not occupied in reconstructing the social order as the Holy Father wants us to be.

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

**Personal Sacrifice**

To be our brother's keeper is what God wants us to do. To feed the hungry at a personal sacrifice is what God wants us to do. To clothe the naked at a personal sacrifice is what God wants us to do. To shelter the homeless at a personal sacrifice is what God wants us to do. To instruct the ignorant at a personal sacrifice is what God wants us to do. To serve man for God's sake is what God wants us to do.

**Reconstruction**

The Holy Father asks us to reconstruct the social order. The social order was once reconstructed after the fall of the Roman Empire. The Irish scholars were the leaders in the reconstruction of the social order after the fall of the Roman Empire. Through Round Table Discussions scattered all over Europe as far as Constantinople the Irish scholars brought thought to the people. Through Houses of Hospitality the Irish scholars exemplified Christian charity. Through Farming Communes the Irish scholars made workers out of scholars and scholars out of workers.
Dr. C. Roper, Secretary of Commerce, suggested some time ago the establishment in Washington of a "Laboratory for Leadership in Public Affairs."

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

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

Colleges and universities have failed to give their students technique of leadership based on scholarship. And because colleges and universities have failed to make leaders out of their students, politicians propose to make bureaucrats out of them. College professors have failed to train their students in a technique of leadership, so their students wish to be trained in a technique of dictatorship.

In Cuba, Germany, China, Mexico, Italy, Russia, dictators have found their greatest support among college students eager for action. Academic college professors are interested in thought, not in action. So we have, on one hand thought without action and on the other hand action without thought.

People go to Washington asking the Federal Government to solve their economic problems, while the Federal Government was never intended to solve men's economic problems. Catholic Action based on Catholic thought is the Catholic solution of men's economic problems. To impart Catholic thought.
and train in Catholic Action, such is the function of Catholic universities. [Some way ought to be found to send Catholic workers to Catholic universities; or to bring Catholic universi-ties to Catholic workers.]

When Catholic scholars land 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 Catholic 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 different. But to make the present different 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 fanatical 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 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, 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 administers according to the directions from the technicians.
When Christ is the Leader
we have a functional, not an acquisitive society.

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 Reconstruction. 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 constructed 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 Commandment of the Gospel" by the Apostolic Delegate,
(b) "The Valerian Persecution," 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 continent. And the way for America to rediscover itself is to go back to Mediterranean culture.

According to Waldo Frank, Mediterranean culture embodied Greek philosophy plus the Roman system of law plus Christian morality. There are still a few spots around the Mediterranean Sea where the rugged individualism 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 experimenting and Al Smith is wondering, Carl Schmitt is planning. Carl Schmitt the artist plans to go to some Dalmatian island where people still combine cult, that is to say liturgy, with culture, that is to say literature, with cultivation, that is to say agriculture.

**What America Needs**

Carl Schmitt the artist does not want his ten children to be super salesmen, he wants them to be cultured peasants. Carl Schmitt the artist is far from thinking that all America needs is a good five-cent cigar, as Vice President Marshall was in the habit of saying. Carl Schmitt the artist thinks that America needs to be revitalized with healthy peasant blood from those parts of Europe.
where the rugged individualism of bourgeois commercialism has not yet penetrated. Carl Schmitt the artist is not interested in any kind of New Deal; he is interested in the old Catholic game of the Seven Corporal and Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy.

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

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

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

The Catholic Worker proposes fighting Communism the way the Irish scholars fought pagan feudalism, through Round-Table Discussions,
Farming Communes.
The Communists do not build Communism, they build Socialism. The Catholic Worker does not build Catholic Socialism, it builds Catholic Communism.
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 Communism than Catholic Communism, and that there is no better way to build Catholic Communism than by building Catholic Communes. Catholic Communes are not a new thing, they are an old thing. Catholic Communes are so old that Catholics have forgotten them.

vented anything, not even the name Commune. The Communist ideal is the Common Good ideal—the ideal of Blessed Thomas More, the ideal of St. Thomas Aquinas, the ideal of the Irish scholars, the ideal of the first Christians. 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 "it is not a question of bringing back prosperity," that "it is not a question of economic recovery," that "it is not a question of emergency relief," that "it is a question of human rehabilitation."

**What Is Needed**

Our experienced business men, our clever politicians, our distinguished college professors, had to have the experiments of the NRA, AAA, CCC, PWA, CWA, and what not before they were able to learn that "it is not a question of economic recovery," that "it is a question of human rehabilitation."

I am saying now to our experienced business men, our clever politicians, our distinguished college professors, that the way to make an impression on the depression is self-expression. I am saying now that the best thing to give to labor is a philosophy of labor.

**Farming Communes**

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

**Professors of a Farming Commune**

Professors of a Farming Commune do not look for endowments; they leave that to the Farming Commune. Professors of a Farming Commune do not tell their students what to do; they show them how to do it. Professors of a Farming Commune do not tell their students...
to master subjects; they enable them to master situations. Professors of a Farming Commune 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 Commune 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 Commune do not work for wages; they leave that to the Farming Commune. Laborers of a Farming Commune do not look for a bank account; they leave that to the Farming Commune. Laborers of a Farming Commune do not look for an insurance policy; they leave that to the Farming Commune. Laborers of a Farming Commune do not look for unemployment insurance, they leave that to the Farming Commune. Laborers of a Farming Commune do not look for an old-age pension; they leave that to the Farming Commune. Laborers of a Farming Commune 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 Bolshevism is that Bolshevists are not Communists; they are Socialists. For if the Bolshevists were Communists, they would build Communism. And the Bolshevists do not build Communism; they build Socialism; they build State Socialism. The Bolshevists probably hope that the State "will wither away,"

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

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

**Looking for a Boss**
A Catholic working-man once said to me: "There is only one thing between me and the Reds, and that is a good job." Everybody is looking for a boss, and nobody wants to be his own boss. And because everybody looks for a boss the Reds want the State to be the boss of everybody. Because everybody consents to play somebody else's game for the sake of a pay-envelope the Reds try to find the way to assure a pay-envelope to everybody so as to force everybody, to act like everybody. But nothing will be changed when the Reds will force everybody to act like everybody, since nobody is nobody when everybody tries to keep up with everybody.

**America and Russia**
American Republicans want their friends on the public payroll, but only *their* friends. American Democrats want their friends on the public payroll, but only *their* friends. But the Reds want everybody on the public payroll, not only *their* friends. The American idea is to keep the Government out of business and to put everybody into business. The Russian idea is to put the Government into business and to keep everybody out of business. But business
is only business, whether it is the State business or private business; and I am trying to make it my business to put all business out of business, including the State business, which is a big business.

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

Then and Now
Three thousand years ago

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

Thousand Years Ago
When Irish were Irish a thousand years ago, the Irish were scholars. And when the Irish were scholars the Irish were Greek scholars. And when the Irish were Greek scholars the Irish spoke Greek as well as Irish. And when the Irish spoke Greek as well as Irish, Greek was Irish to the Irish. Greek was Irish to the Irish and now Irish is Greek to the Irish.
Irish is Greek to the Irish now and Hebrew is Chinese to the Jews.

**Shouting With Anglo-Saxons**

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

- Service for profits
- Time is money
- Cash and carry
- Business is business
- Keep smiling
- Watch your step
- How is the rush?
- How are you making out?
- How is the world treating you?
- The law of supply and demand
- Competition is the life of trade
- Your dollar is your best friend
- So is your old man.

So the Jews and the Irish are no longer Jews. So the Irish are no longer Irish.

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

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 help the needy members
of the Mystical Body.

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

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**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.

**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.

**Going Back**
You realize, as Robert Briffault realizes, that the British Empire is breaking down. Not only the British Empire, but all the other empires are breaking down. You realize as we realize that modern society "is parked in a blind-alley."

And when one is parked in a blind-alley the only thing to do is to turn back. By giving to Labor a philosophy of labor we can go back to the time when people tried to be gentle personalists and refused to be rugged individualists, when gentlemen tried to be gentle living on the sweat of their own brow and not living on the sweat of somebody else's brow.

**Esprit**
The French magazine Esprit carried on a campaign for Communitarianism. In the January issue Emmanuel Mounier has a 32-page article on "Communitarian Revolution."

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

**Communist Ideal**

Communism is an ideal but the Russian brand of Communism is not the ideal of Communism. The ideal of Communism is Irish Communism. Through Round-Table Discussions the Irish scholars brought thought to the people. Through Houses of Hospitality the Irish scholars emphasized Christian charity. Through Farming Communes the Irish scholars made scholars out of workers and workers out of scholars. You are trying to make a case for Russian Communism, which is not Communism but Socialism. I am trying to make a case for Irish Communism, which is the Communism of Christian communities.

**The Hope of the People**

We believe that religion is the hope of the people, not the dope of the people. We believe that the world would be better off if people tried to become better and that people would become better if they stopped trying to become better off. We believe that the best way to be is to be what we want the other fellow to be. We believe that to be what we want the other fellow to be is to be what St. Francis wants us to be. We believe that to be what St. Francis wants us to be is to be real Christians. Your fellow worker in Christ's Kingdom, PETER MAURIN.
WHY NOT BE A BEGGAR?

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

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?
IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

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

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

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

1400—Middle Men
Around 1400 A. D. appears the middle man. He offers to buy the goods and to find a market. The guildsman thinks about the money offered for his goods and forgets the common good. And the middle man is not interested in selling useful goods but in making money on any kind of goods. And the consumer never meets the producer and the producer ceases to think in terms of service and begins to think in terms of profits.
1600—Banker
Before John Calvin people were not allowed to lend money at interest. John Calvin decided to legalize money lending at interest in spite of the teachings of the Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church. Protestant countries tried to keep up with John Calvin and money-lending at interest became the general practice. And money ceased to be a means of exchange and began to be a means to make money. So people lent money on time and started to think of time in terms of money and said to each other, "Time is money."

1700—Manufacturer
With the discovery of steam the factory system made its appearance. To take drudgery out of the home was supposed to be the aim of the manufacturer. So the guildsman left his shop and went to the factory. But the profit-making manufacturer found it more profitable to employ women than to employ men. So the women left the home and went to the factory. Soon the children followed the women in the factory.

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

1800—Economist
Since Adam Smith, who published his book in 1776, we have been told that competition is the life of trade and that it is a case of the survival of the fittest. So since 1776 looking for markets has engaged men's activities. And since trade follows the flag, industrial nations have also become imperialist nations. The fight for markets between two industrial nations, England and Germany, was the main cause of the World War.

1914—World War
As President Wilson said, the World War was a commercial war. But a commercial war had to be idealized, so it was called a War for Democracy. But the War for Democracy did not bring Democracy, it brought Bolshevism in Russia, Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany.

1929—World Depression
After the World War people tried to believe
that a New Era
had dawned upon the world.
People thought
that they had found a solution
to the problem
of mass distribution.
People thought
that the time had come
of a two-car garage,
a chicken in every pot
and a sign "To Let"
in front of every poorhouse.
And everybody
wanted to cash in
on the future prosperity.
So stock promoters got busy
and stocked people with
stocks till they got
stuck.

1933—New Deal
We were told in 1929
that business would go on
as usual.
We were told in 1930
that the economic system
was fundamentally sound.
We were told in 1931
that prosperity
was around the corner.
We were told in 1932
that the depression was
fought
on one hundred fronts.
We were told in 1933
that five million men
would be employed
by Labor Day.
And in 1934
people went crazy
for the NRA.
And in 1935
the NRA is scrapped
and economic recovery
is a long way off.

1933—The Catholic Worker
The aim of the Catholic
Worker
is to create order out of
chaos. The aim of the
Catholic
Worker
is to help the unemployed to
employ themselves. The aim
of the Catholic
Worker
is to make an impression on
the depression through
expression. The aim of the
Catholic
Worker
is to create a new society
within the shell of the old
with the philosophy of the
new, which is not
a new
philosophy,
but a very old philosophy, a
philosophy so old that it
looks like new.
TEACHERS, TRADERS AND TRICKSTERS

No Recourse
Politicians used to say: "We make prosperity through our wise policies." Business men used to say: "We make prosperity through our private enterprise."
The workers did not seem to have anything to do about the matter. They were either put to work or thrown out of employment. And when unemployment came the workers had no recourse against the professed makers of prosperity—politicians and business men.

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

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

Business Is Selfishness
Because everybody is naturally selfish business men say that business must be based on selfishness. But when business is based on selfishness everybody is busy becoming more selfish. And when everybody is busy becoming more selfish
we have classes and clashes.

**Teaching Subjects**

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

**Specialization**

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

**Another Experiment**

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

**Christianity Untried**

Chesterton says: "The Christian ideal has not been tried and found wanting. It has been found difficult and left untried." Christianity has not been tried because people thought it was impractical. And men have tried everything except Christianity. And everything that men have tried has failed.
And to fail
in everything
that one tries
is not to be practical.
Men will be practical
when they try to practice
the Christianity
they profess
to believe in.

The Wisdom of Giving
General Johnson used to say:
"The problem of the
depression is to increase
the buying power land
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. Right after the war Catholic bourgeois tried to believe what non-Catholic bourgeois tried to believe, that the time had come in America for a two-car garage a chicken in every pot and a sign "To Let" in front of every poorhouse. And Catholic colleges as well as non-Catholic colleges turned out stock promoters, stock brokers and stock salesmen.
who stocked people with stocks
till they got stuck.

**I5A**

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

College Graduates
Sociology is not a science, it is an art. The art of sociology is the art of creating order out of chaos. Bourgeois colleges turn out college graduates into a changing world without ever telling them how to keep it from changing or how to change it so as to make it fit for college graduates. College graduates think in terms of jobs, not in terms of work. Since the world is upside down, taking the side down and putting it up should be the task of college graduates. But college graduates would rather play somebody else's game in a position than to create order out of chaos.

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

**Houses of Hospitality**

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

**Indoctrination**

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

**On Farming Communes**

When unemployed college graduates will have been indoctrinated they will be moved to Farming Communes. On Farming Communes unemployed college graduates will be taught how to build their houses, how to gather their fuel, how to raise their food, how to make their furniture;
that is to say, 
how to employ themselves.
Unemployed college graduates must be taught how to use their hands.
Unemployed college graduates have time on their hands.

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

**SOCIAL WORKERS AND WORKERS**

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

In Houses of Hospitality social workers can acquire that art of human contacts and that social-mindedness or understanding of social forces which will make them critical of the existing environment and the free creative agents of a new environment.
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 subsequent, they have no part, cannot take pleasure in their work." As D. Marshall says, "Previously the workman fashioned every article with his own hands, bringing to bear on it all the skill of the craft which was his; now all of this is done by the machine."

**Industrialism and Art**
Eric Gill says: "The notion of work has been separated from the notion of art. The notion of the useful has been separated from the notion of the beautiful. The artist, that is to say, the responsible workman, has been separated from all other workmen. The factory hand has no responsibility for what he produces. He has been reduced to a sub-human condition of intellectual irresponsibility. Industrialism has released the artist from the necessity of making anything useful. Industrialism has also released the workman from making anything amusing."

**From a Chinese**
A Chinese says "I thought I had become Westernized but how I am becoming re-patriated. The material progress of America had dazzled me. I wished while there to transplant what I saw to China. But now that I am home again I see that our two civilizations have irreconcilable differences. Yours is a machine civilization; ours is a handicraft civilization. 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."
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 Constitution 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...
The NRA

The National Recovery Act promised Recovery and pursued Reformation. General Johnson says that the NRA was like a horse trying to pull in different directions. At the head of the horse stood Recovery, at the tail of the horse stood Reformation. The tail "wanted to be the head, the head did not want to be the tail, and the Supreme Court could not make head or tail out of it. The Supreme Court seems to admit that social reform cannot be brought about by promising Recovery and making the eagle scream.

Bureaucracy

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

Political corruption has made the French people disgusted with their politicians. The most, efficient bureaucracy 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 demagogy. The Catholic Worker is trying to create a public opinion for Communitarian reform.

Five Definitions

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

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

A New Movement
The Nazis, the Fascists
and the Bolshevists
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,
von Zeeland,
is a Communitarian.

A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

The Hope of the People
The Marxists say
that religion
is the dope of the people.
Religion
is not the dope of the people
it is the hope of the people.
Modern society
is a materialist society
because Christians have failed
to translate the spiritual
into the material. If
Christians knew how to make
a lasting impression
on the materialist depression
through spiritual expression
Marxists would not say that
religion
is the dope of the people. As
Raymond de Becker says: "The
social task of the laity
Is the sanctification of secular life, or more exactly, the creation of a Christian secular life."

The Christian Front

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

They ask the Christians "to dissociate themselves from an un-Christian social order and prepare the way for a social order compatible with their beliefs."

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

Laying the foundations of a new social order is the task of the laity. The task of the laity is to do the pioneer work of creating order out of chaos. The clergy teach the principles; 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 production. It is what I have been advocating 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 unemployment is to place idle hands on idle land.

Brainless Trustees
It was not through the trust in the brains of Father Coughlin that the NRA became a flop.
It was through the trust in the brains "of that whole bunch of brainless trustees," as Bolton Hall puts it. According to General Johnson, the NRA was like a horse trying to pull in different directions and therefore had to stand still. That "whole bunch of brainless trustees" were pragmatists; they were not Aristotelians. They would do better to go back to Aristotle and learn something about philosophy. And when they know something about Aristotelian philosophy they may become interested in Thomistic philosophy and Augustinian theology.

**YES! I AM A RADICAL!**

**Down to the Roots**
I was once thrown out of a Knights of Columbus meeting because, as the K. of C. official said, I was radical. I was introduced as a radical before the college students of a Franciscan college. And the Franciscan Father added "I am as radical as Peter Maurin." Speaking in a girls' college near St. Cloud, Minnesota, I was told by Bishop Busch, "Conservatives are up in a tree and you are trying to go down to the roots."

**Poor Conservatives**
After another meeting I was told by a sociologist "I still think that you are a radical."

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

**Radically Wrong**
Monsignor Fulton Sheen says: "Modern society is based on greed."
Father McGowan says: "Modern society is based on systematic selfishness."
Professor John Dewey says: "Modern society is based on rugged individualism."

When conservatives try to conserve a society based on greed,
A New Society

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

Creating Order

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

COLONIAL EXPANSION

Right or Wrong

Some people say, "My country is always right." Some people say: "My country is always wrong." Some people say: "My country is sometimes right and sometimes wrong, but my country, right or wrong." To stick up for one's country when one's country is wrong does not make the country right. To stick up for the right.
even when the world is wrong
is the only way we know of
to make everything right.

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

**Protecting England**
To protect the British Isles the English took the sea. To protect the sea the English took Gibraltar, Canada and India. To protect India the English went to Egypt. To protect Egypt the English took the Soudan. To protect the Soudan the English forced the French to leave Fashoda. To protect the Cape and Natal the English took the Transvaal. So the English are just as good or just as bad as the French.

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

**League of Nations**
The League of Nations did not keep Japan from going to Manchuria or Italy from going to Ethiopia. The League of Nations is not a League based on right.
It is a League based on might. It is not a protection for poor nations against rich nations. It is a protection for rich nations against poor nations.

**Moral Disarmament**
Theodore Roosevelt used to say:
"If you want peace, prepare for war."
So everybody prepared for war, but war preparations did not bring peace; they brought war. Since war preparations brought war, why not quit preparing for war?
If nations prepare for peace instead of preparing for war, they may have peace.
Aristide Briand used to say:
"The best kind of disarmament is the disarmament of the heart."
The disarmament of Germany by the Allies was not the product of a change of heart on the part of the Allies toward Germany.

**Room Could be Found**
There is too much wheat in the United States. There is too much cattle in Argentina. There are too many sheep in Australia. There are too many Germans in Germany, too many Italians in Italy, too many Japanese in Japan. Room could be found in the United States for the Germans, in Argentina for the Italians, in Australia for the Japanese. To make room for Germans, Italians, Japanese is a better way to establish peace than to build more battleships, more submarines and more airplanes.
THE COMMUNISM OF COMMUNITARIANISM

Not Communists
There is nothing wrong with Communism, but there is something wrong with Communists. The wrong thing with Communists is that they are not Communists, they are Socialists. There is no Communism in Soviet Russia; there is State Socialism in Soviet Russia. Communism is a state of society where each one works according to his ability and gets according to his needs. The State has not withered away, the wage system prevails, and you can buy 7% government bonds in Soviet Russia. By selling 7% government bonds they are creating a parasitic class in Soviet Russia.

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 dictatorship.
The Communitarian Movement stands for personal responsibility.

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 sheltered
at a personal sacrifice,
the pagans used to say about the Christians
"See how they love each other."

In our own day
the poor are no longer
fed, clothed and sheltered
at a personal sacrifice
but at the expense of the taxpayers.
And because the poor are no longer
fed, clothed and sheltered
at a personal sacrifice
the pagans say about the Christians "See how they pass the buck."

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

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

The 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."

** Philosophy and Sophistry **
Mortimer Adler says: "Modern philosophers have not found anything new since Aristotle."
Modern philosophers are not philosophers; they are sophists.
Aristotle had to deal with sophists in his day and age.
What Aristotle said to the sophists of his own day could be read with profit by modern philosophers.

The City of God
Jacques Maritain says: "There is more in man than man."
Man was created in the image of God; therefore there is the image of God in man.
There is more to life than life this side of the grave; there is life the other side of the grave.
Science leads to biology, biology to psychology, psychology to philosophy,
philosophy to theology. Philosophy is the handmaid of theology. To build up the City of God, that is to say, to express the spiritual in the material through the use of pure means, such as the task of professing Christians in this day and age.

**Integral Humanism**

Through the influence of Maxim Gorki the Marxists have come to the conclusion that Marxist writers should be more than proletarian writers; that they should be cultural writers. Waldo Frank thinks that the cultural tradition must be brought to the proletarian masses, who will appreciate it much more than the acquisitive classes. What the Marxists call culture Maritain calls Socialist Humanism. But Socialist Humanism is not all Humanism, according to Maritain. In a book entitled "L'Humanisme integral" Jacques Maritain points out what differentiates Integral Humanism from Socialist Humanism.

**Thought and Action**

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

**GO-GETTERS**

**Two Bourgeois**

The bourgeois capitalist believes in rugged individualism; The Bolshevist Socialist believes in rugged collectivism.

**VS. GO-GIVERS**

There is no difference between the rugged individualism of bourgeois capitalism and the rugged collectivism of Bolshevist Socialism. The bourgeois capitalist
tries to keep
what he has,
and tries to get
what the other fellow has.
The Bolshevist Socialist
tries to get
what the bourgeois capitalist
has.
The Bolshevist Socialist is the
son
of the bourgeois capitalist,
and the son is too much
like his father. All the sins of
the father are found in the
son.

Bolshevist Socialist

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

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.

The Personalist

Communitarian

A personalist
is a go-giver,
not a go-getter.
He tries to give
what he has,
and does not
try to get
what the other fellow has.
He tries to be good
by doting good
to the other fellow.
He is altro-centered,
not self-centered.
He has a social doctrine
of the common good
He spreads the social doctrine
of the common good through words and deeds. He speaks through deeds as well as words, for he knows that deeds speak louder than words. Through words and deeds he brings into existence a common unity, the common unity of a community.

**Community Spirit**

Communitarianism is the rediscovery and the exemplification of what the Kiwanis and Rotarians used to talk about, namely, the community spirit. The community spirit is no more common than common sense is common. Everybody knows that common sense is not common, but nobody believes that common sense should not be common. The community spirit should be common as well as common sense should be common. If common sense was common, 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 common spirit, Franciscans and Jesuits did something about it. Kiwanis and Rotarians used to talk about service but never forgot profitable service. Franciscans and Jesuits may not say much about service, but continue to render unprofitable service. Franciscans and Jesuits believe in the responsibility of private property but they believe also in the practicality of voluntary poverty.

**Counsels of the Gospel**

Someone said that the Catholic Worker is taking monasticism out of the monasteries. The Counsels of the Gospel are for everybody, not only for monks. Franciscans and Jesuits are not monks. Franciscans are Friars, and the world is their monastery. Jesuits are the storm troops of the Catholic Church, and ready to be sent where the Holy Father wishes to send them. The Counsels of the Gospel are for everybody, and if everybody tried to live up to it...
we would bring order out of chaos, and Chesterton would not have said that the Christian ideal has been left untried.

COMMUNITARIAN PERSONALISM

** 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. Head "Leadership or Domination," by Paul Piggors. Paul Piggors makes a case for domination in times of crisis, and in this he is wrong. Domination is not the way to create order out of chaos. Leadership is always the way to create order out of chaos.

Communitarian Personalism

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

The Forgotten Man

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

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

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

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 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 background 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 background that would make them Co-operators or Guildists or Distributists or Communitarians. It would make them look up to the individual, not to the State, for the solution of social problems.

Yours for the Green Revolution,

PETER MAURIN.
THE PLURALIST STATE

Secularism Is a Pest

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

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Utilitarian Thought

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

Futilitarian Economics

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

Futilitarian States

The Futilitarian Economists of the Manchester School thought that business is just business and that politics should keep out of business. The Futilitarian Economists of the Manchester School thought that the State is only useful when it helps business men to collect their debts. The war of 1914 and the peace of 1919 are the logical result of the foolish notions
of the Futilitarian Economists of the Manchester School. England, France and America, our Futilitarian States, are now busy trying to solve the problems brought about by the lack of understanding of the Futilitarian Economists of the Manchester School.

**Totalitarian States**

England, France and America think they can muddle through with their eighteenth-century politics. Russia, Italy and Germany have given up the idea of two, three or more political parties and have adopted the idea of one political party. In the Futilitarian States everybody is told "Mind your own business." In the Totalitarian States everybody is told "Do what we tell you or out you go to the Concentration Camp."

**Pluralist Thought**

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

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

**Pluralist State**

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

**Allied Techniques**

Social movements
based on personal responsibility are not hindered by the Pluralist State. The Co-operative Movement, the Guildist Movement, the Agrarian Movement, the Communitarian Movement, find themselves at home in the Pluralist State. The Pluralist State does not try to solve the social problem by passing laws or creating bureaus, but by removing from the statute book all the laws that hinder the activities of the social movements based on personal responsibility. The Pluralist State stands for leadership, not dictatorship.

**BACK TO NEWMANISM**

**About Textbooks**

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

**It Must Be Used**

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

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 graduates 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

(Broken for Bolshevik Socialists)

Bolshevik Socialists
I am criticized for saying that there is nothing wrong with Communism but that there is something wrong with Communists. The wrong thing with Communists is that they are not Communists, they are State Socialists. "Communism," according to the definition of the Communist Manifesto, "is a state of society where each one works according to his ability and gets according to his needs." According to this definition there is no Communism in Soviet Russia. Communists do not deserve the name "Communists." They should be called 'Bolshevik Socialists.'

In Bolshevik Russia
The State withers away in a Communist society, but the State has not withered away in Bolshevik Russia. There is no wage system in a Communist society, but there is a wage system in Bolshevik Russia. There is no dictatorship in a Communist society, but there is a dictatorship in Bolshevik Russia. There is no investing class in a Communist society, but they sell Government bonds in Bolshevik Russia.

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

**Class Struggle**

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

**Proletarian Dictatorship**

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

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the bourgeois-minded capitalist—are found in the son—the bourgeois-minded proletarian.

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

**Personalist Leadership**

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

**The Catholic Worker**

The Catholic Worker does not credit bourgeois capitalism with an historical mission. It condemns it on the general principle that labor is a gift, not a commodity. The Catholic Worker does not throw
the monkey-wrench of class-struggle into the economic machinery. It aims to create a new society within the shell of the old with the philosophy of the new, which is not a new philosophy, but a very old philosophy, a philosophy so old that it looks like new. The Catholic Worker does not stand for proletarian dictatorship. It stands for personalist leadership.

THE THINKING JOURNALIST

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

Good Journalism
To tell everybody that a man died leaving two million dollars, may be journalism, but it is not good journalism. But to tell everybody that the man died leaving two million dollars because he did not know how to take them with him by giving them to the poor for Christ's sake during his lifetime is good journalism.

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.

**The Nazi Caesar**
The Nazi Caesar claims that there are superior races and inferior races. The superior race is always the one one happens to belong to. The inferior race is always the one that refuses to recognize
that superiority and claims to be the superior race. If a race is superior to another race then the extermination of the inferior race is the moral duty of the superior race. The superior race tries to believe that God works through the superior race. The superior race conceives God as a racial god.

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

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

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

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THE SIT-DOWN TECHNIQUE

On Gandhi Lines

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

In the Middle Ages

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

Economic Economy

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

**Proper Property**

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

**Speed-up System**

Bourgeois capitalists believe in the law of supply and demand. Through mass production, bourgeois capitalists increase the supply and decrease the demand. The speed-up system and the extensive use of improved machinery has given us technological unemployment. As a Catholic worker said to me: "Ford speeds us up, making us do three times as much work as before, then he lays us off."

To speed up the workers and then lay them off is to deny the worker the right to work.

**Makers of Depressions**

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

**Collective Bargaining**

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

In the Bumble Seat

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

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

The Law of Holiness
In his encyclical on St. Francis of Sales the Holy Father says: "We cannot accept the belief that this command of Christ concerns only a select and privileged group, and that all others may consider themselves pleasing to Him if they have attained a lesser degree of holiness. Quite the contrary is true, as appears from the generality of His words. The law of holiness embraces all men and admits of no exception."

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

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

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

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 **

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

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

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**


**UNPOPULAR FRONT**

**Four in One**
The Unpopular Front is a front composed of: Humanists, who try to be human to man; Theists, who believe that God wants us to be our brother's keeper; Christians, who believe in the Sennon on the Mount as well as the Ten Commandments; Catholics, who believe in the Thomistic Doctrine of the Common Good.
BOOK 4
PEACE
WAR AND PEACE

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

Germans and French
After the fall of the Roman Empire German barbarians invaded Gaul, now called France. The German barbarians came as invaders and were civilized by the invaded. The Gallo-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 Mohamme-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 hot 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

**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.
Priests and Policemen
Jean Jacques Rousseau said: "Man is naturally good."
Business men say: "Man is naturally bad; you can do nothing with human nature."
If it is true, as business men say, that you can do nothing with human nature, then we need fewer priests and more policemen.
But if God the Father sent His own begotten Son to redeem men, then we need more priests and fewer policemen.

More Profitable
Business men believe in the profit system. Because they believe in the profit system they try to make the profit system more profitable. In order to make the profit system more profitable business men replace men with machinery. It is true that machines don't strike, but neither do they eat.
By replacing men with machinery business men increase the producing power and decrease the consuming power.

Sit-Downers
In putting more machines into factories business men have given up their job of providing jobs. The job providers have to admit that they sit down on their job of providing jobs.
Because the job providers have sat down on their job of providing jobs, the Government has taken up the job of providing jobs. But the Government can only rob Peter to pay Paul, and by doing so endanger its own credit.
FROM RICHELIEU TO HITLER

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

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

Treaty of Westphalia
Protestant Germany and Sweden won the war with the help of France. The Treaty of Westphalia, signed in 1648, gave to France part of Alsace. While France was united the Treaty of Westphalia kept Germany divided in 300 principalities. The acquisition of part of Alsace by France did not keep Alsace from remaining a bone of contention between France and Germany.

Birth of Prussia
While France was united and the King used to say, "I am the State," Germany was divided in 300 principalities. But Germany did not remain divided. Around 1700 the Principality of Hohenzollern, the Margravate of Brandenburg and the Dukedom of Prussia formed a new kingdom which they called Prussia. Eager to receive recognition, the new kingdom took the side of England and Austria against Spain and France in the War of Spanish Succession. It was in this war that England got Gibraltar.

Seven Years' War
During the Seven Years' War, known in America
as the French and Indian War, Prussia was again on the side of England. While during the Thirty Years' War France was fighting against Austria, during the Seven Years' War France was fighting on the side of Austria. In the war game friends of today become the enemies of tomorrow and enemies of today become the friends of tomorrow. During this war Austria lost prestige and France lost Canada as well as colonies in India.

**Place in the Sun**

In the meantime France as well as Austria was becoming weaker and England as well as Prussia was becoming stronger. The war against Denmark and the war against France made Prussia stronger, and in 1871 the King of Prussia was made German Emperor at Versailles. The new German Empire became envious of French and English colonial empires and started to cry for a place in the sun. But the place in the sun had been taken by France and England, who were bragging about the fact that the sun never set on their domains.

**United Germany**

The Great War was an attempt on the part of Germany to get a place in the sun. But Germany failed to get its place in the sun, while France and England succeeded in getting a bigger place in the sun. The Germans still think that they should have a bigger and better place in the sun. They have annexed the Austrian Germans and the Sudeten Germans on the ground that it is for the good of the Austrian Germans and the Sudeten Germans.

**Nations and Notions**

The French are united, the English are united, the Italians are united, the Russians are united, the Germans are united but the world is still divided. The League of Nations is a failure because nations have wrong notions. Right notions must be spread among nations before we can have a genuine League of Nations.
Germany and Italy are now on the level of France and England. Germany and Italy cannot be expected to be on the level when France and England are not on the level.

NON-CATHOLIC CATHOLICS

Apologetic Catholics
Some Catholics like to apologize for being Catholics. Since Catholicism is the truth, it is foolish to apologize for being Catholics. Since Catholicism is the truth, then Catholics ought to let non-Catholics apologize for not being Catholics. To let non-Catholics apologize for not being Catholics is good apologetics. To apologize for being Catholics is bad apologetics.

Led by the Nose
Non-Catholics say that Catholics are led by the nose by the clergy. Real Catholics are not led by the nose by the clergy. Real Catholics follow their consciences. I must admit that some Catholics are led by the nose. These Catholics who are led by the nose are not led by the nose by the clergy. They are led by the nose by non-Catholics. These Catholics who allow themselves to be led by the nose by non-Catholics ought to be called non-Catholic Catholics.

A Wrong Way
Non-Catholic Catholics tell us that one cannot lead a Catholic life in a Protestant country. The protestation of Protestants is not a protestation against the Catholicism of non-Catholic Catholics. It is a protestation against the lack of Catholicism of non-Catholic Catholics. Non-Catholic Catholics are giving to Protestants a wrong view of Catholicism. To give to Protestants a wrong view of Catholicism is not the right way to make Catholics out of Protestants.

Catholic Principles
Protestants have principles but Catholics
have more principles
than Protestants.
But principles
must be applied.
To have principles
and not to apply them
is worse
than not having any.
Non-Catholic Catholics
fail to bring
Catholic principles
to Protestants
because
they do not dare
to exemplify
those Catholic principles
that Protestants
do not have.

Imitators
Non-Catholic Catholics
like to tell
their Protestant friends,
"we are just as good
as you are."
They ought to tell
their Protestant friends,
"we are just as bad
as you are."
Their Protestant friends
ought to tell
the non-Catholic Catholics,
"you are not
just as bad
as we are;
you are much worse
than we are
for you are
our imitators,
you are not yourselves."

NOT LIBERALS BUT RADICALS

The Word Liberal
The word liberal is
used in Europe in a
different way from the
way it is used in
America. In Europe a
liberal is a man who
believes in liberty
without knowing what
to do with it. Harold
Laski accuses liberals
of having used their
intelligence without
knowing what to do
with it.

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

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TWO LETTERS FROM PETER


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 England 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, futilitarian political economists of the Manchester School of political economy. So what can you expect from New England?

In Louisiana
Waldo Frank says that America is a lost continent and that to rediscover itself
America must go back to Mediterranean thought. Mediterranean thought was brought to Louisiana by the founders of Louisiana, but the people of Louisiana have turned over the State of Louisiana to greedy corporations. The Catholic people of the State of Louisiana had to have a Baptist lawyer by the name of Huey Long to save them from the grip that greedy corporations had on the Catholic people of the State of Louisiana.

In Texas
Spanish Franciscans went to Texas when Texas was part of Old Mexico. Spanish Franciscans taught the Indians to build churches, to build schools, to build mission-storehouses. The ruins of those churches, the ruins of those schools, the ruins of those mission-storehouses can still be seen in the State of Texas. But the Catholic people of Texas are not interested in the ideology of the Spanish Franciscans. They are interested in keeping up with the Yankees.

In California
The Yankees were not able to make wage-slaves out of the Indians. The Yankees used to say: "A good Indian is a dead Indian." By combining cult, that is to say liturgy, with culture, that is to say literature, with cultivation, that is to say agriculture, the Spanish Franciscans who went to California succeeded in making willing workers out of the Indians.

The Catholics of California have not found the way to do for the Catholic unemployed what the Spanish Franciscans did for the Indians. In the meantime the people of California are looking for a panacea at the expense of the taxpayers.

Going to the Right
Frey of the A. F. of L. says that the Communist Party is pushing Roosevelt to the left. The A. F. of L. does not know enough to push Roosevelt to the right. Going to the left is going towards the Industrial Socialism of Stalin. Going to the right is going towards...
the Rural Communism of the Franciscan Founders who founded Rural Communes in what are now the State of Texas, the State of New Mexico, the State of California.

**FIRING THE BOSS**

The C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. help the worker fight the boss. But the worker must have a boss before the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. can be of help to the worker in fighting a boss. If it is a good thing to be a boss, it is a good thing to help the worker to be his own boss. If it is a bad thing to exploit the worker, it is a good thing to help the worker exploit himself. "Fire the boss and be your own boss" is a good slogan for the worker.

"Fire the boss"
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 brotherhood, the Nazi regime stands for the expansion of one race at the expense of the other races.

**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.

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.
THE EUROPEAN MESS

Safe for Dictators
America went into the last war to make the world safe for democracy. But England was not interested in helping America to make the world safe for democracy. Because England as well as France was not interested in Wilson's 14 points the world is in the process of being made safe for dictators. Because the Treaty of Versailles was not based on Wilson's 14 points it did not make for peace; it made for war.

League of Nations
To please Wilson the Allies established the League of Nations. But the League of Nations failed to impart notions to the nations of the League of Nations. In spite of the League of Nations Japan went to Manchuria as well as China. In spite of the League of Nations Italy went to Ethiopia as well as Albania.

In spite of the League of Nations Poland took Vilna from Lithuania.

German Extension
The Treaty of Versailles disarmed Germany, but Germany refused to stay disarmed. And the League of Nations was powerless to keep Germany from rearming. Once rearmed, Germany started to revise the Treaty of Versailles, by going to Austria as well as 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 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.

PAX
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 Homana of the Roman Empire for the Pax Geneva of the League of Nations.

Pax Germania
Germany contends that the Holy Roman Empire was the heir to the Roman Empire, and that the Germans were the rulers of the non-German people of the Holy Roman Empire. Germany contends that the German race is more pure than the other races. Germany contends that a pure race must increase and occupy territory now occupied by mongrel races. Germany contends that enforced unanimity is the way to bring about national unity.

Pax Muscova
Russia contends that the Russian Empire was the heir to the Byzantine Empire. Russia contends that Russian Sovietism is the instrument for the realization of the Marxist dream. While the Mahometans tried to force on the world their brand of Theism, Soviet Russia tries to force on the world its brand of Atheism.

Pax Britannica
England asks: "Is not Pax Britannica better than Pax Geneva, better than Pax Romana, better than Pax Germania, better than Pax Muscova?"
But Gandhi says: "England is not in India for the sake of India, but for the sake of England."
De Valera says: "What England did to Ireland is not to the credit of Pax Britannica."
The United States is not convinced that the way to bring about the United States of the World is by joining the British Commonwealth.

Pax Hibernia
The world is cursed with imperialists. What the world needs is missionaries, not imperialists. When the Irish were scholars they were missionaries; they were not imperialists. When the Irish were missionaries they went all over Europe, starting with England. They had not swords or guns, but knowledge and zeal. Through words and deeds they taught people to rule themselves.
Pax Vaticana
What the Irish scholars taught is what the Christian Fathers taught. What the Christian Fathers taught is what the Holy Father teaches. The Holy Father teaches the supremacy of the spiritual over the material.

During the first world war a Protestant minister suggested that the warring nations accept the Pope as the arbiter. The appeal for peace of Benedict XV was ignored in the last war. Why not learn from the mistakes of the last war?

PERSONALIST DEMOCRACY

Bourgeois Democracy
The economic royalists who believe in property without responsibility do not have the right concept of liberty. They use liberty to become, rugged individualists. They don't use liberty to become gentlemen who try to be gentle. In a letter addressed to French Catholics Cardinal Pacelli, now Pius XII, reminded them that "liberty does not grant license to act against the moral law, nor should social liberties infringe upon the civil order and the common good."

Arithmocracy
People used to say: "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 i
is also due
the fostering of bourgeois
capitalism in modern
Germany.

Turning Sharp Corners
Business men say that
bourgeois capitalism is all
right
and that what is wrong in
bourgeois capitalism are the
abuses.

Rotarians have tried
without much success
to correct the abuses
of bourgeois capitalism.
The turning of sharp corners
by business men
must be laid to the door
of Christians
as well as Jews.
The assertion
that religion
has nothing to do
with business
is the assertion
of Christians
as well as Jews.

Modern Liberals
The separation
of the spiritual
from the material
was fostered
by modern liberals.
Modern liberals
were so broad-minded
that they did not know enough
to make up their minds.
Modern liberals
were the defenders
of bourgeois capitalism
before becoming
the fellow-travelers
of Bolshevist Socialism.
Jews can be found
among bourgeois capitalists,
among Bolshevist Socialists,
and among disillusioned
fellow-travelers.

Racialism
Having given up Jewish
Orthodoxy some Jews tried
to foster (Jewish racialism.
The Jews were a chosen people but they were never a superior race.
The Nordics were never a chosen people or a superior race. And it is not because some Jews became facial minded that other people should be racial minded. Racial-minded Jews are a nuisance and so are racial-minded Nordics.

**Promised Land**
When the Jews were themselves they taught the doctrine of a personal God as well as social ethics.

Bourgeois capitalists as well as Bolshevist Socialists need the belief in a personal God as well as sound social ethics. Hitler needs to read the Old Testament and the New Testament if he wants to lead men into the Promised Land where people do no longer try to cut each other's throats and where the lion comes to lie down with the lamb.

**TURNING TO THE CHURCH**

When I was in St. Louis I met a Maryknoll Father who had recently returned to the United States after eight years in China as a Maryknoll Missionary. He is pleased to see that non-Catholics in the United States are much more curious about the Catholic Church than they were before he left for China ten years ago.

While modern nations give the sad spectacle of going back on their word, intelligent people are turning to the Church as the one moral security left in the world. Father McSorley, great friend of the Catholic Worker, has always favored the opening of small offices where non-Catholics curious about the Church could receive information.
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.

Catholicism
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 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
document of the Common
Good. Now that the artists
do no longer believe in the
document of the Common
Good they sell their work
to art speculators. As Eric
Gill says, "they have
become the lap-dogs of the
bourgeoisie.'
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.

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### 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 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."

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
Gildsman's
Interpretation of History,"
Arthur Penty has much to
say about the revival of
Roman Law. To the
revival of Roman Law
must be attributed the
historical disputes
between Kings and Popes.
Jacques Maritain told us
that Machiavellism is the
modern heresy. By
refusing to mind the
Popes the Kings allowed
Machiavellism
to become
their guiding principle.
"Divide to rule"
is their slogan.

Minding the Pope
Voltaire used to say: "If
God did not exist He
would have to be
invented." If the Pope did
not exist he would have
to be invented. Because
they refuse to mind the
Pope modern nations are
now busy cutting their
own throats, In time of
peace modern nations
prepare for war. In time of war modern nations do not find time to prepare for peace. If modern nations listened to the Pope when he talks about peace they would not have to worry about being ready for the next war.

**We Catholics Believe**

We Catholics believe what Dualist Humanists believe, that there is good and bad in men and that men ought to express the good to get rid of the bad. We Catholics believe what Orthodox Jews and Quakers believe: the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Men. We Catholics believe what Fundamentalists believe: Virgin Birth and Redemption through Christ.

We Catholics believe what the other believers believe plus beliefs that the other believers don't believe: Papal Supremacy and the Universal Church.

**The Catholic Worker Isms**

The Catholic Worker stands for co-operativism against capitalism. The Catholic Worker stands for personalism against Socialism. The Catholic Worker stands for leadership against dictatorship. The Catholic Worker stands for agrarianism against industrialism. The Catholic Worker stands for decentralism against totalitarianism.
FOR PROTECTION’S SAKE

Protecting France
The French believe in protection.
To protect French citizens residing in Algeria they took the country from the natives.
To protect Algeria they set up a protectorate over Tunisia with Bismarck’s approval.
To protect the Senegal they took Dahomey.
To protect Indo-China they took the Tonkin.
To protect Reunion they took Madagascar.
They did not want the English to take Madagascar.
When the English take something they are called grabbers by the French, who consider themselves good patriots.

Protecting England
Because they live on an island the English think that they must have the sea for their protection. To protect the sea they took Gibraltar from Spain and Canada from France. To protect the sea they established the Indian Empire. To protect the sea they went to Egypt as well as Sudan. To protect the sea they went to Australia.
To protect the sea they went to South Africa.
The English drove the Spanish from the sea and now the Germans are doing their best or their worst to drive the English from the sea.

Protecting Japan
The French are doing their best to protect themselves and so do the English and so do the Japanese. To protect themselves they went to Korea. To protect themselves they went to Port Arthur. To protect themselves they went to Manchuria. To protect themselves they are in China. They are in China for the same reason that European nations went to China.

Protecting Russia
Russians used to think that they needed Constantinople for their protection. The Crimean War was fought by France and England to keep Russia out of Constantinople.
The Russians think that in order to be able to protect themselves they must be allowed
by the Baltic States to have naval bases on the Baltic Sea. The Russians say that they went to Poland, as well as Finland, not because they like war but because they like I to protect themselves. They have already the largest area of any nation and they still think that the world would be better off if they had more.

Protecting Italy

The Italians thought that in order to be protected they ought to have the Papal States. They have the Papal States and now they think that they will never be protected until the Mediterranean Sea is under Italian control. In the meantime they went to Libya 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.
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 intelligently, 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 Commerce 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...
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 Bolshevist Socialist, "We got what we got because we got it, and we are going to keep it no matter how we got it." The Bolshevist 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 Bolshevist Socialist is the spiritual son of the bourgeois capitalist. All the sins of the father, the bourgeois capitalist, are found in the son, the Bolshevist 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
What is not logical is not practical, even if it is practiced. What is logical is practical even if it is not practiced. To practice what is not logical though it is practical is to be a bourgeois. A bourgeois is a fellow who tries to be somebody by trying to be

PRACTICAL
like everybody, which makes him nobody. To practice what is logical even if it is not practiced is to be a leader. A leader is a fellow who follows a cause. The Sermon on the Mount will be called practical when Christians make up their mind, to practice it.
BEYOND

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Germans and Poles
The Germans think that they are civilized and the Poles are barbarians. The Germans invaded Poland to, place Poland where they think it belongs, wider the German rule. German rule is a military rule, not a personalist rule. A military rule breaks the will of the people, but does not change the heart of the people. A military rule is materially efficient but it is not spiritually efficient.

Polish Writers
After the first World War Poland established a personalist constitution. But military men in Poland discarded it so as to establish a more dictatoral military State.

Bint Polish writers are not like roost German writers.

NATIONALISM

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 Keformation. 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.

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.
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 humiliation 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.

** 32 **

Thomas Wilson
John Calvin was the first man to legalize money-lending at interest. John Knox, a Scotchman, brought the idea to Scotland. From Scotland, it went to England, where they legalized it around 1575. Thomas Wilson wrote a discourse on usury in 1572 where he quotes the Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church.

When Thomas Wilson was a student Thomas More was Chancellor of England and the Catholic doctrine on usury was still taught in the schools of England.

Maynard Keynes
Maynard Keynes was the financial representative of the English government at Versailles. After Versailles Maynard Keynes wrote a book entitled
"The Economic Consequences of the Peace."

In this book, Maynard Keynes pointed out the bad economic consequences that would result from the Treaty of Versailles. France and England paid little attention to what he had to say. Later on, Maynard Keynes declared that "modern economists ought to ask themselves if medieval economists were not sound when they condemned money-lending at interest."

FOR GOD'S SAKE

Honest to God

One of the slogans of the Middle Ages was "Honest to God." We have ceased to be "Honest to God." We think more about ourselves than we do about God. We have ceased to be God-centered and have become self-centered.

Father Denifle

Father Denifle was an Austrian Dominican. In 1872, he delivered four sermons in Graz, Austria, about "Humanity, its destiny and the means to achieve it." Translated by a priest of Covington, Kentucky, these four sermons were published in America by Pustet, the editor. Father Denifle emphasizes that having forgotten God, humanity cannot realize its own destiny. God has not forgotten man, but man has forgotten God.

American Founders

The founders of America came to America to serve God the way they thought God wants to be served. How God wants to be served is no longer taught in American schools. How to be successful is still taught in American schools. Thinking of time in terms of money is at the base of the thinking of our business men. We put on our coins: "In God we trust," but persist in thinking that everybody else ought to pay cash.
Cardinal Gasquet
Cardinal Gasquet
was an English Benedictine.
He was a student
of that period
of English history
that preceded
the Reformation.
In a book entitled:
"The Eve of the Reformation"
he points out
that externalism
—another word
for materialism—
prevailed in that period
of English history.
The externalism
of English Bishops
made them
follow the King
instead of the Pope
when the King ceased
to mind the Pope,

St. Augustine
St. Augustine said,
"Love God
and do what you please."
We do what we please
but we don't love God.
We don't love God
because we don't know
God.
We don't know God
because we don't try
to know God. And man was
created in the image of
God and every creature
speaks to us about God
and the Son of God came
to earth to tell us about
God.

IF
What a fine place
this world would be
if Dualist Humanists
tried to be human
to men.
What a fine place
this world would be
if Personalist Theists
tried to be
their brother's keeper
as God

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 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 specializing
they will end
by knowing everything
about nothing.

A Negro Student
A Negro student had
a father
who was a Baptist minister.
The Baptist minister gave to his son Baptist theology but no science. And the son wanted to know science. In the University of Pittsburgh the Negro student learned several sciences without correlation. And the Negro student was complaining

Henry Adams
Henry Adams went to four American universities without acquiring a correlated knowledge. He went to England and failed. He went to France and failed. But in France, looking at the Cathedral of Chartres and the Mont Saint Michel, he realized that one could have acquired a correlated knowledge in thirteenth century France. And he wrote a book entitled "Mont Saint Michel and Chartres," now published by the American Society of Architects.

Dr. Herbert E. Cory
Dr. Herbert E. Cory is now Dean of the Department of Liberal Arts of the State University of Washington. The problem of specialization used to worry him when he was an atheist and a Marxist. With the help of a Jesuit
he found the solution. And this led him into the Catholic Church. You can find the presentation of the correlated knowledge of Dr. Herbert E. Cory in his book entitled: "The Emancipation of a Free Thinker." Bruce, of Milwaukee, is the publisher.

ON PERSONALISM

Individual
A stone is not an individual. You can make little ones out of big ones. A tree is an individual. It comes from a germ. "Only God can make a tree," says the poet. A horse is an individual. The horse is not an individual the way the tree is an individual. It has animal life. Man is an individual and has animal life like the horse. Man has also reason, which the horse has not.

A Person
As an animal, man is an individual. As a reasoning animal, man is a person. The difference between an individual and a person is the power of reasoning. Through the use of reason man becomes aware of the existence of God. Through the use of reason man becomes aware of his rights as well as his responsibilities. Man's rights and responsibilities come from God, who made him a reasoning animal. Man's primary duty is to act according to reason.

Faith
To guide himself man has not only reason but also faith. Faith is not opposed to reason, it is above reason. The use of reason leads to faith, but reason cannot understand all the faith. The truths of faith that reason cannot understand, we call the mysteries of faith. To use reason is to philosophize and philosophy.
is the handmaid of faith. Some truths we get through reason and some truths we get through faith.

**Emmanuel Mounier**

Emmanuel Mounier wrote a book entitled "A Personalist Manifesto." Emmanuel Mounier has been influenced by Charles Peguy. Charles Peguy once said: "There are two things in the world:

- politics and mysticism."

For Charles Peguy as well as Mounier, politics is the struggle for power while mysticism is the realism of the spirit. For the man-of-the-street politics is just politics and mysticism is the right spirit. In his "Personalist Manifesto" Mounier tries to explain what the man-of-the-street calls "the right spirit."

**FIVE FORMS OF CAPITALISM**

**Mercantile Capitalism**

In the Middle Ages the consumer went to the producer and asked the producer to produce something for him. There was no middle man between the producer and the consumer. When the producer started to sell his products to the middle man he no longer saw the consumer. The producer saw only the middle man and the consumer saw only the middle man and the middle man was only interested in buying cheap and selling dear. And the functional society ceased to exist

and the acquisitive society came into existence And everybody shouted: "Time is money!"

**Factory Capitalism**

When the use of steam was discovered the middle men started factories. The craftsmen deserted their craft shops and went to work in the factories and became factory hands. Factory owners turned out gadgets to take drudgery out of the home. And then they took women out of the home and brought them into factories. And then they took children
out of the home and brought them into factories. And men had to stay home to look after young children.

Monopoly Capitalism
With the American Civil War, monopoly capitalism came into existence. With monopoly capitalism came the trusts. With monopoly capitalism came high tariffs for the protection of infant industries. With monopoly capitalism came unionism for the protection of proletarianized workers. With monopoly capitalism came trust-busting laws for the protection of the buying public. With monopoly capitalism came Federal laws for the conservation of raw materials.

Finance Capitalism
With the first World War finance capitalism came into existence. With finance capitalism came installment buying. In January, 1927, the Yale Review published an article by a business man in which he said that installment buying has the result of booming boom years and starving lean years. Installment buying gave us the New Era and the promise of a two-car garage, a chicken in every pot and a sign "To Let" in front of every poorhouse. But this promise failed to materialize and people found themselves in the midst of the depression.

State Capitalism
Finance capitalism has not been able to employ the unemployed. The State has now assumed the task of employing the unemployed. Economic activities are now supervised by State bureaucrats. State bureaucrats can give the people State supervision. State supervision is not a substitute for personal vision. And without personal vision people perish. Personalist vision leads to personalist action. Personalist action means personal responsibility. Personal responsibility means dynamic democracy.
FOR A NEW ORDER

The Age of Reason
In the seventeenth century a Frenchman by the name of Descartes discarded Thomistic philosophy and formulated a philosophy of his own. St. Thomas’ philosophy starts with Aristotle and helps the reason to accept revelation. For St. Thomas Aquinas reason is the handmaid of faith; not so for Descartes. The eighteenth century became known as the age of enlightenment or the age of reason. An American by the name of Thomas Paine wrote a book entitled "The Age of Reason."

The Age of Treason
The use of reason was discarded by the intellectuals of the nineteenth century. Romanticism, positivism, pragmatism, one after another, became the fashion in the nineteenth century. In a book entitled "The Treason of the Intellectuals" Julien Benda, a French Jew, says the intellectuals gave up the search for truth 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

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.

**Works of Mercy**
But the Bishop, although he is a Bishop, cannot teach an empty stomach. Some people are Bishop-shy because they are hungry, shivering or sleepy. So the Bishop asks the faithful to feed the hungry, clothe, the naked, shelter the homeless at a sacrifice. Feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, sheltering the homeless at a sacrifice was the daily practice of the first Christians. The daily practice of the Works of Mercy is what we can call Catholic Action No. 2.

**Social Reconstruction**
We are asked by the Holy Father...
to reconstruct the social order. Reconstructing the social order means the creation of a Catholic society within the shell of a non-Catholic society with the philosophy of a Catholic society. Catholic bourgeois made the mistake of trying to keep up with non-Catholic bourgeois. Catholic reconstructors must create a Catholic technique in harmony with Catholic thought. Social reconstruction by Catholic laymen and women is what we can call Catholic Action No. 3.

**Three Kinds**

Catholic Action No. 1, or the teaching of Christian Doctrine, must be carried out with the Bishop's supervision. Catholic Action No. 2, or the daily practice of the Works of Mercy, can be carried out with or without the Bishop's supervision. Catholic Action No. 3, or the reconstruction of the social order, through the foundation of new Catholic institutions, must be left to the initiative of Catholic men and women. The function of the Bishops is to be not directors but moderators. Political action is not to be considered as Catholic Action.

**THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM**

**Paraguay Redactions**

In a book entitled "The Magic Mountain" Thomas Mann has a character who has become a Jesuit after having been a Marxist. As a Jesuit he could understand Communism much better than he could understand it as a Marxist. In Paraguay the Jesuits established a Communist society. Part of the land was held individually. The other part, known as God's land, was cultivated in common. The produce was used for the maintenance of the aged, the infirm and the young.

**Proudhon and Marx**

"Communism is a society where each one works according to his ability and gets according to his needs."
Such a definition does not come from Marx; it comes from Proudhon. Proudhon wrote two volumes on "The Philosophy of Poverty" which Karl Marx read in two days.

Karl Marx wrote a volume on "The Poverty of Philosophy."
Karl Marx was too much of a materialist to understand the philosophical and therefore social value of voluntary poverty.
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 move-
ment?

It takes dynamic persons.

What do you mean by dynamic persons?

Persons with convictions, who foster actions based on convic-
tions, not based on someone giving orders.

Then the driving impulse must come from within people, you
would say?

A leader must be a personalist. If he is a personalist, he will
not be a dictator. He will change the attitude of others through
the power of example. It takes an awful lot of patience.

Would you have the members of your farming commune all
eat at a common table?

No, I am against the community kitchen idea. Each family
should have their own house.

How about the single persons on a farming commune?

The ideal is to have them live in the homes of the married
couples. However, this must not be forced but must come
through the couples themselves accepting the single persons.

Why do you prefer this way?

To develop a community spirit. In my town, there were two
brothers, one married with a wife and children and the other
unmarried. The latter lived with his brother. One day his
brother was killed by a tree as they were working together.
The unmarried brother then became the guardian of the family. That was the true Christian spirit.

*How would you break down that feeling of isolation people have in the country?*

It must come from the development of a community spirit. We wish to be halfway between the collectivist idea of everything in common and the hermit way with people being rugged individualists.

*Could you mention a book where some ideas on the person-artist 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 his 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 housekeeping, 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 Gue-ranger, 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 signifi-cance 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 topsail and so makes for a weakened soil. Such a soil makes the plants weak and easily hurt by the bugs and insects.

Yes, I know. At home we used to have big burrowing rats in the fields—taupes, we called them. They helped to work the soil. The commercial fertilizer would certainly have killed them.

Perhaps they were like our gophers. But, anyway, Peter, if what Lord Howard says is true, and he gives a whole lifetime of study to back his ideas, then our methods of farming have been nothing short of criminal.

Yes, our farmers too often aren't farmers at all. They are land miners. They just take stuff out of the soil and don't re-place it right.

The miner just takes things out of the earth and never re-turns 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 re-placed. The patriot would be then the person who read only the fewer good books, not the person who reads the trash.

We begin to see all the connections when we think in this organic way. A good farmer plants trees along the edges of his fields. That keeps the wind from eroding the soil.

Yes, and it also lessens the impact of the rain, which is apt
to wash out plants and make the good topsail run off, especially on hills. When I think how banks lend money on mortgages to farmers who only "-mine" their land, I wonder how stupid they are. The land may look the same, but the loss is in the soil. I don't think that many mortgages demand that the land be returned in the same good condition it was received.

Speaking about mortgages, my father had to borrow money from time to time. But he borrowed it on his honor as a farmer, and a good farmer. There was no mortgage. When the man who loaned the money wanted it back, my father paid it if he had it, or if he didn't he tried to find another person to lend him the money until he could pay it. He would then repay the first lender. It was all done on honor; no mortgages.

Getting back to the sheep, Peter. How often were these sheared?

Once a year—in June.

Did you do your own carding and spinning?

We did formerly, but got away from it.

How about chickens? Did you have to buy grain?

No, because we processed our own grain. We grew it ourselves. The chickens ate the gleanings, and there was a lot of undigested grain from the animals around, too. The wheat straw was mixed with the silage, and there was often some grain on it. The chickens scratched for the undigested grain. The chickens got the leftovers from the meals, too. We had no ice, and food wasn't kept from one meal to another.

Did you make your own bread in the villages?

Yes, the bread was made in the village oven, which was an outdoor oven. It had a covering in front to protect the bakers from the rain. The people from the village used to gather around the oven when baking was going on. It was a great place for round-table discussions.

The meat you ate, then, would be mostly chicken and mutton and lamb?

No, we sold our chickens and sheep, and ate pork and sausages and the different pork meats.

How about replanting of trees? When you cut trees for firewood, did you have a system of replacing them by replanting?

Our trees weren't so many, and so we only cut the branches. This was in three-year periods. We tried to pick trees whose leaves the sheep would eat.
PETER MAURIN ON THE AIR

He Answers Questions on a Radio Program

[From the November, 1937, issue of the Catholic Worker.]

Q: What would you suggest as the first step toward the solution of economic ills?
A: Feed the hungry for Christ's sake, clothe the naked for Christ's sake, shelter the homeless for Christ's sake, instruct the ignorant for Christ's sake, as the first Christians used to do, which made the pagans say about the Christians: "See how they love one another."

Q: Your first step then would be to spiritualize service to others by expressing the spiritual in the material. How would you do this?
A: My idea is to have people who choose to be voluntary poor live under the same roof and sit at the same table with the involuntary poor, setting an example in spiritualization of human relations, thus influencing others to follow this standard.

Q: How can we carry this influence into our everyday work life?
A: By having the voluntary poor and their associates remind the owners of capital of the responsibilities of ownership and teach the wage workers that labor is a gift, not a commodity to be sold for "what the traffic can bear."

OWNERSHIP

Q: What do you mean by the responsibility of ownership?
A: Ownership does not exist to acquire more wealth, since all wealth belongs to God and therefore must be used for the service of God's children. The owner is God's trustee. God wants us to be our brother's keeper; what the rich do for the poor for Christ's sake is what they carry with them when they die, for Jean Jacques Rousseau says that when a man dies, he carries in his clutch 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 (**!**). The following list shows where the omitted paragraphs may be found elsewhere in the book.

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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  
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