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Careers

IN CHRISTIANITY

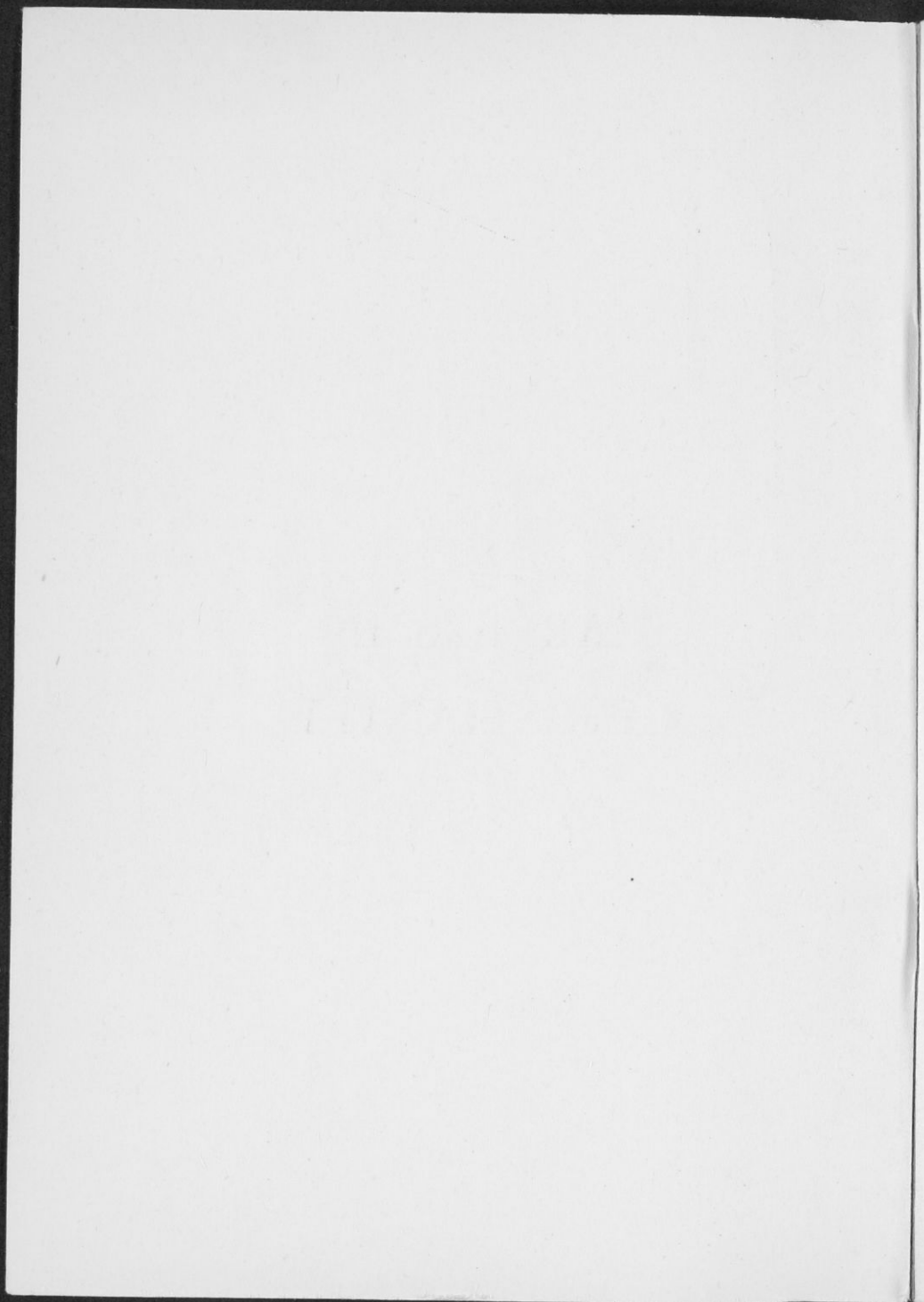
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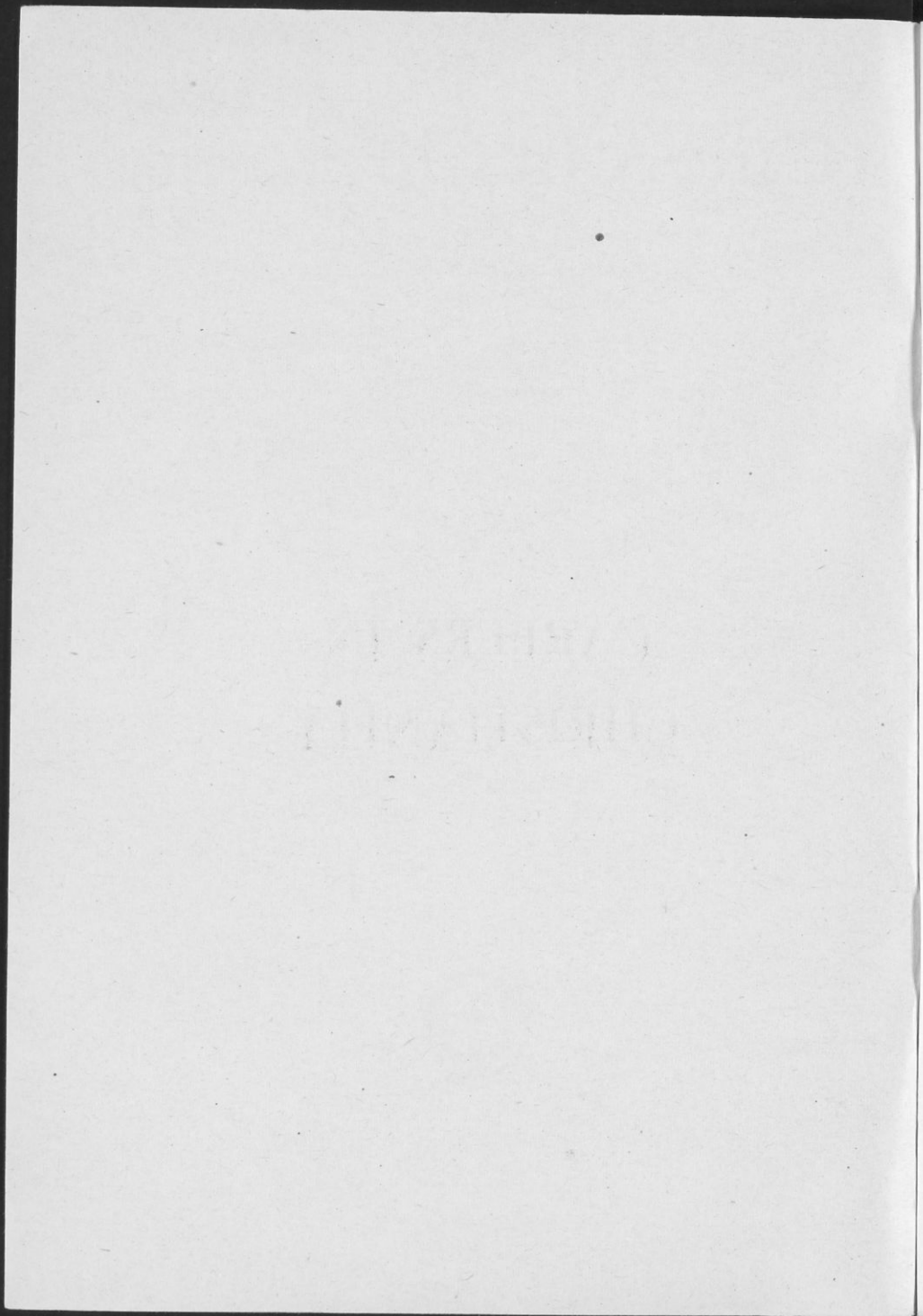
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CHRISTIANITY



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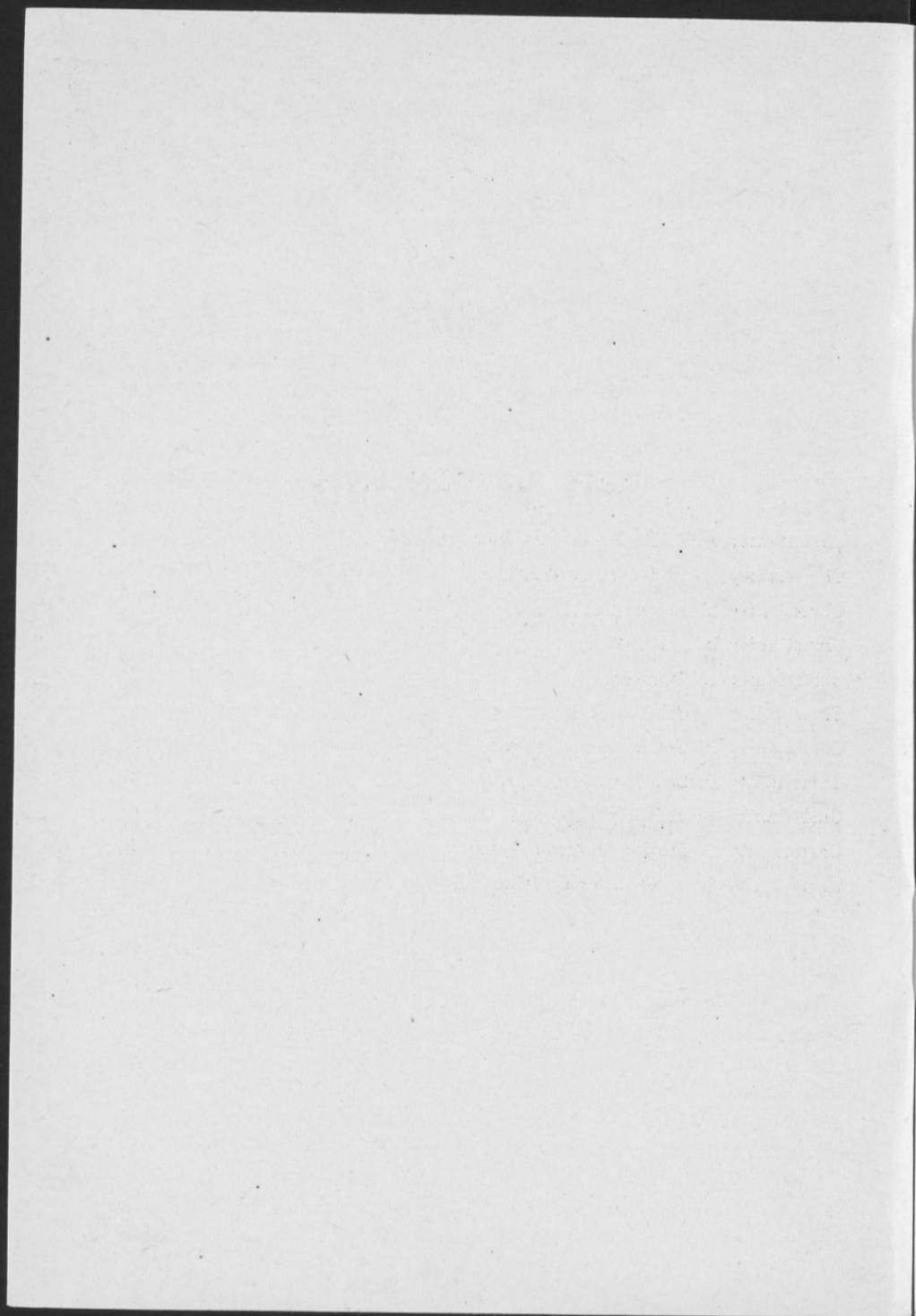
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CHRISTIANITY AND THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

Address Delivered July 1, 1951

I suppose that well informed Americans of all types of religious belief, and of none, will agree that Christianity has been the most potent influence in the development of the American way of life.

The beginnings of the American way were all made by Christians. The discoverers of America were Catholic Christians. Whether the discovery of the American Continent is to be credited to Christopher Columbus, or Leif Ericson, the Norseman, or even to the legendary Irishmen who may perhaps have reached the shores of North America from their home in Iceland, the discovery must be credited to Catholic Christians.

Not only were the discoverers Catholics, but the first explorers were Catholics. They were a company of English Catholics, under the leadership of John and Sebastian Cabot who reached the shores of North America in 1497.

The heroic story of the explorations and discoveries of the French and Spanish Catholic missionaries is too long to be

repeated here. However, there are two aspects of the work of the Spanish missionaries that must be mentioned. They seem to be too little known, or too easily forgotten. The Spanish Catholic missionaries practiced non-segregation of races in their schools, teaching the Spanish and Indian children together, and they vigorously opposed slavery. The Pope even decreed the excommunication of anyone who enslaved the Indians.

Next to religion, education has been the most powerful influence in the development of the American way of life. It seems particularly appropriate on the Catholic Hour to remind ourselves not only that the first Christian churches in what is now the continental United States were the Catholic churches established by the Spanish in Florida and New Mexico, but the first schools in what is now our United States, were opened by the Spanish missionaries in these same areas. Catholic schools under the auspices of Spanish Catholics were started in Florida in 1594, and in New Mexico about

1600—some years before either the First Dutch Reformed school opened in 1633 in New Amsterdam (now New York), or the famous Boston Latin School opened in Boston in 1635.

It is clear then that if we look back to the foundations of America in discovery and exploration, in religion and in education, we know that the far beginnings were made by Christians, by Catholics.

Time prohibits the discussion of the history of Catholicism on the American continent in the long years from the discovery until the end of the Colonial period. However, there is one aspect of the Catholic story in this period that in these days deserves frequent repetition. When the Catholic Lord Baltimore took his first colony to Newfoundland under conditions which allowed Catholic Englishmen to escape from the restrictions placed upon them in England, he welcomed in his company English Protestants who wished to go with him. What was beyond any question the first important governmental act in North America based on the principle of religious freedom, was Baltimore's provision of a Protestant chapel and Protestant minister to serve the

Protestant portion of his company in Newfoundland. Perhaps more important still, the first formal act of a legislative body in what became the United States, which proclaimed religious freedom, was that of the predominantly Catholic Maryland Assembly in 1649. This act put into words as law what had been the practice in regard to religious freedom from the beginning in Maryland.

Before passing on to the period of our life as an independent nation consider in summary the foundations of America, and the American way of life in which the Catholic Christians were first: discovery, exploration, religious worship, education, religious freedom, racial equality, and opposition to slavery. All of these were given first to the American continent by Catholic Christians.

The majority of signers of the Declaration of Independence were practicing Christians, most of them of course Protestants. One of these practicing Christians, was the distinguished Charles Carroll of Carrollton. He was the only Catholic signer of the Declaration. However, considering the proportion of Catholics in the population at that time, one Catholic to fifty-five

non-Catholics, was a considerable over representation of the Catholics. From the Declaration of Independence, through the writing of the original Constitution in 1787, and the ratification of the Bill of Rights in 1791, Catholic statesmen participated actively in the preparation of the constitutional structure of the American way of life. Again, in the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, the Catholics were greatly over-represented in having two Catholic signers of the Constitution (Daniel Carroll of Maryland, and Thomas Fitzsimmons of Pennsylvania) to 37 non-Catholic signers. If there had been proportional representation of Catholic and non-Catholic signers, there would have been 2 Catholics and 266 non-Catholics instead of 2 to 37.

I have not been able to find any evidence that any part of the Constitution was adopted that failed to have the hearty approval of the Catholic members of the Convention, or that they wished to have included any part that was left out. The Constitution of 1787 was satisfactory to American Catholics.

When the Bill of Rights was written in the First Congress, Daniel Carroll was an active participant in its preparation in the

House of Representatives, and Charles Carroll in the United States Senate. Both the original Constitution and the Bill of Rights were written by Christians, the large majority of whom were Protestants. But Catholics took an active part in framing both documents, and urgently favored the ratification of both.

Our Constitution, including the Bill of Rights, establishes the American system of democracy and civil liberties. Certainly one of the basic civil liberties of the American way is religious freedom. This is particularly important on this broadcast. The original Constitution provided that there should be no religious tests for public office under the United States government. This was obviously most welcome to Catholics, who, in many of the Colonies, and in some of the young states, had been excluded from public office, and from similar opportunities to participate in the life of the community. The constitutional prohibition of a religious test for public office under the federal government produced opposition to the adoption of the constitution on the ground that this would allow Catholics to hold office. But this opposition was eloquently and

successfully answered by leading Protestant clergymen and laymen.

The first clause of the Bill of Rights reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." As Professor Corwin of Princeton has written, this says, and means, that Congress shall not legislate on this subject *either for or against* an establishment of religion. Since Congress may make no law about an establishment, it is obviously impossible for an establishment of religion to be set up for the United States as a nation.

The First Amendment had no application to state action. It was designed to express (not to create) the freedom of the several states from interference by the federal government in what Jefferson called the "domestic concerns" of the people—such as religion, education, freedom of the assembly, and of petition.

The established Protestant churches in a number of the former colonies were passing out at that time. Four of them had already been disestablished; five were still in existence when the Bill of Rights was written. From the date of the disappearance of the Congregational establishments in New England in the

first part of the 19th century (the last one in Massachusetts in 1833), there was no important controversy in America concerning the constitutional prohibition of a federal establishment of religion until recent years.

So far as I have been able to discover no responsible American *of any religious group* has advocated an establishment of religion in the United States since the original Protestant state establishments were eliminated. I have not been able to find, or find a reference to, any Catholic leader in our history, who has wanted the Catholic Church made the established Church in the nation, or in any state.

The phrase "an establishment of religion" in the Constitution clearly meant to the men of the First Congress, and the men of the time who ratified the Bill of Rights, what it had meant for centuries, both in Europe and America to scholars in general, Catholic and Protestant, lay and clerical. This meaning was, and still is to scholars, *a favored position, granted by the government, to one religious group only*. Such a religious group might be a church, as the Anglican or Congregational of the early American establishments, or Protestantism, as in the original Con-

stitution of South Carolina, or Christianity as was attempted in Virginia and defeated by Madison's great *Memorial and Remonstrance*.

This interpretation of the first clause of the First Amendment has been endorsed, defined, explained, and acted upon substantially without exception throughout our entire history until our own times. In our day, however, particularly in the last decade and a half, there has been an aggressive attack made upon this original, universal, historical interpretation of the First Amendment. It would appear that the objective of this attack is to separate not only Christianity, but all religion, from any cooperative contact with government, education, public life, and in fact with American life in its entirety. This objective can be largely accomplished if a new meaning can be given to the First Amendment without consulting the American people. The most important expression of the new meaning of the religious clause of the First Amendment, is found in two recent Supreme Court Cases: the Everson Bus Case and the McCollum Released Time Case.

In a dissenting opinion in the Everson case, Justice Rutledge

wrote that the *purpose* of the First Amendment "was to create a complete and permanent separation of the spheres of religious activity and civil authority by comprehensively forbidding every form of public aid or support for religion . . . the prohibition broadly forbids state support, financial or other, of religion in any guise, form or degree." In the majority opinion of the McCollum case, Justice Black, speaking for the Court, took substantially the position of the Rutledge dissent and said that *neither a state nor the Federal Government can pass laws which aid religion*.

The plain record of history shows that:

(1) *Every Congress we have ever had, has appropriated government money in aid of religion or religious education.*

(2) *Not a single relevant Supreme Court decision before that in the McCollum case in 1948 is based on the interpretation of the First Amendment used in the McCollum case.*

(3) *Every outstanding scholar in the field of constitutional law, from Joseph Story to Edward S. Corwin, has explained and defended the religious clause of the First Amendment simply as a prohibition of legislation by Con-*

gress concerning a monopoly of government favor given to any one religion, never as a prohibition of government aid to religion on an impartial basis.

(4) *Every state government in our history, in every state, has used government money, facilities and personnel, in aid of religion and religious education. Not in all possible ways, to be sure. In some ways the various state legislatures have refused to aid religion, as was their privilege. However, no state government in American history has, either in words or in action, ever endorsed the McCollum Case interpretation of the First Amendment, either before or since its promulgation.*

(5) *Every president of the United States from Washington to Truman (including both Jefferson and Madison, by the way) has used government funds in aid of religion in various guises, forms and degrees, throughout our entire history.*

Anyone who doubts the accuracy of the historical record that I have just summarized can find complete endorsement of this position, with ample, valid, and completely documented evidence, in an article by Edward S. Corwin in the Winter 1949 number of "Law and Contemporary

Problems" published by Duke University. Mr. Corwin, Professor Emeritus at Princeton University, is widely held to be the most distinguished scholar in Constitutional law in our time. In this article Professor Corwin wrote: "In a word, what the 'establishment of religion' clause of the First Amendment does, and all that it does, is to forbid Congress to give any religious faith, sect, or denomination a preferred status." After discussing *Madison's Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments*, Professor Corwin remarked "Madison's conception of an 'establishment of religion' in 1785 was precisely that which I have set forth above—a religion enjoying a preferred status."

This universal historical meaning of the phrase "an establishment of religion" is sometimes referred to today as a "novel Catholic interpretation," in spite of the long historical record to the contrary. The interpretation of the First Amendment is "novel" only to those who are unfamiliar with American Constitutional history, and it is "catholic" only when the word is spelled with a small "c"—meaning universal.

Professor Corwin also uses

the famous quotation from Thomas Jefferson which is *not* quoted by the opponents of the standard interpretation of the First Amendment. Jefferson wrote as follows in regard to religion in the University of Virginia in 1822:

"It was not, however, to be understood that *instruction in religious opinion and duties* was meant to be precluded *by the public authorities*, as indifferent to the interests of society. On the contrary, the relations which exist between man and his Maker, and the duties resulting from those relations, are the most interesting and important to every human being, *and most incumbent of his study and investigation.*"

Professor Corwin sums up the real meaning and purpose of the First Amendment in these words: "The principal importance of the amendment lay in the separation which it effected between the respective jurisdictions of state and nation regarding religion, rather than in its bearing on the question of the separation of church and state."

Professor Corwin gives considerable space in this article to a discussion of the McCollum Case and he concludes as follows: "All in all, it seems clear that

the Court, by its decision in the McCollum case, has itself promulgated a law prohibiting 'the free exercise' or religion, contrary to the express prohibition of the First Amendment!"

In addition to the general opposition to religion some men are today trying to persuade the American people that Catholics do not, and cannot, sincerely believe in the American system of religious equality and freedom before the law.

Overwhelming evidence to the contrary is available in probably every good library in America. American bishops, priests, and laymen have approved, endorsed, taught, and observed the American system without important exception from the day when its expression was formulated in the Constitutional Convention and in the First Congress. From John Carroll, the first American Catholic bishop, down to the statement of all the Catholic bishops in November, 1948, the American bishops have clearly and consistently supported the American system of government relations with religion.

The contest is not over. Almost every week brings new evidence that outstanding non-Catholic leaders are taking firm positions against the forces of sec-

ularism and atheism in general, and anti-Catholicism in particular. I am convinced that the great majority of those who have been deceived are not bigots; they are uninformed and misinformed Americans. They need information. They need to have the facts of history, biography, law, and Christian doctrine made known to them. I feel sure that they will welcome the truth; not all of them, but most of them. I am confident that the modern attack upon freedom of religion and educa-

tion, and upon our Constitution, can be defeated, if only all those who believe in the beneficent influence of religion upon American life unite in its defense. They must make known, and defend, the influence of religion on the rich, free life which (although as yet in some ways imperfectly realized) has been not only the hope of Americans for generations but which is today, specifically and emphatically, in various ways, the hope of the freedom loving members of the human race.

CHRISTIANITY IN MODERN-DAY WRITING

Address Delivered July 8, 1951

I am that very peculiar creature, a book reviewer. Probably you have never seen a book reviewer. You may well suspect that there are no such persons, that the discussions of new books which you glance through in the papers are the result of spontaneous combustion on the part of a typewriter, that nothing remotely resembling a human being could possibly be involved in their production. I beg you to believe that any such assumption is, in spite of the evidence, quite untrue. Reviews are groaningly composed by mortals no different from you except that much of their time is spent in forced rather than free reading, in staring at a piece of leeringly blank paper and despondently wondering how to begin the notice they must write, in combing out of the finished article such threadbare words as "intriguing" and "exciting" and "richly rewarding," and in hoping and praying that they have done the books they assess exact justice.

I have been leading this sort of penitential existence for fif-

teen years. I tell you so not to boast of my powers of survival, but by way of presenting credentials before I undertake to discuss today's subject. If one reads half-a-dozen books a week and spends much of the rest of the time in writing about books and keeping informed on the populous world of books, it is as inevitable as the coal dust in a miner's moustache that one will pick up a bit of knowledge as to trends and currents in contemporary writing and reading, and be able to say something about Christianity in Contemporary Writing.

Suppose we start with a question: "Is there any interest today in books with religious themes?" It would be imprecise, but far from flippant, to answer this with another question, and a rhetorical one at that: "Is there any interest in books which do not have some sort of religious content?"

When the best seller balance sheet for the entire year 1949 was drawn up, it was significant, surely, that, in the non-fiction field, the four books of

any substance which placed in the top ten, were explicitly religious. The others were manuals on Canasta, picture books, and novelty items of that sort. But the books with any claim to being styled literature, were specifically Christian. So that today, if one chooses to write of the theory and practice and repercussions of Christianity, one does not thereby condemn himself to a bread-and-water-in-a-garret existence. There is a public for such books, and it is sizable.

Or consider the list of books selling in greatest quantity throughout the country just now. It contains fifty titles. Eight are works dealing expressly, and sometimes exclusively, with religion. A number of the others touch on religion, either at length or in passing or by indirection. Here again is proof that Americans are interested in books treating of religion, so interested that they are even willing to buy them.

Still again, if you are familiar with publishers' lists, you observe that some firms which never before sponsored religious books, are at present including them in their output. It is not piety or idealism which prompts

this change of policy. Primarily, publishers are business men; they are in business to make a profit; they do not invest in manuscripts which are likely to leave a trail of red ink on their ledgers; they are alert to taste and response on the part of the public, to the workings of the law of supply and demand.

A final example can be found in the expansion of religious book departments in bookshops and the increase of bookshops devoted entirely or largely to religious books. Here, too, are indications that ever more people are purchasing books unmistakably Christian in character.

Why is this so? In attempting to handle that question, I shall consider non-fiction first, and then say something about fiction.

As for non-fiction, the answer is, I think, that shattering crisis has flung out of their featherbeds many people previously preoccupied with dreams of tinsel and triviality, the secondary and the superficial, the pleasant or the merely pleasurable. Suddenly shocked awake, they find that the world is shuddering to pieces, and their own houses splitting and tumbling down. And so beset, they have no stay.

For what they have lived by, lived for, is revealed as absurdly inadequate to their needs. They are compelled to recognize, more or less clearly, that the trouble is drastic, that the issues which make ours a time of tumult, causes such anguish, and threaten us with extinction if they are not successfully dealt with, are basic issues, rock-bottom issues, a matter of ultimates and absolutes. In such, they are unschooled, and they desperately search out counsel that is sterling and not silver-gilt brass.

This explains, for example, the spectacular and long-sustained popularity of Thomas Merton's "Seven Storey Mountain," a religious book which has gone through innumerable printings. Here is the autobiography of a still young man who might sit for the definitive portrait of our age. Into a few years he crowded a rioting variety of experiences which took him to country after country on the map, country after country of the mind. Almost everything that there was to be tried, he tried. He shopped the intellectual and spiritual bargain basement of the contemporary world from end to end, only to find everything it offered shoddy,

and maggotty, and ruinous in the price exacted. And then, when disillusionment was complete and despondency settling in like unthawable winter, he began to see the first faint shaftings of the True Light, and soon its rising like the day, and finally its noontime glory. He found Christ, not just the name, not just the story, but the living Christ in the Church.

Some people may have read this book for the style, some for the colorful personal history it unfurled, but most went to it for its vivid first hand account of the availability and the viability of the eternal verities in this twentieth century. Most people went to it as to a spring from which to drink the waters of eternal life. It showed them not *a* way in the wilderness but *the* Way home.

Or consider the three latest books of Bishop Fulton Sheen. In the order of publication, they are "Peace of Soul," "Lift Up Your Hearts," and "Three to Get Married." Each of them has been a best seller, not just inching over the cellar doorstep of that list, but going swiftly upstairs on an elevator. The first two were calculated to clear away the murk of false notions about the

good life, the fog of distress, and anxiety, which enwraps so many millions. There were "peace-of-mind" books in plenty, all glibly prescribing for the ills eating away the minds and hearts of men. But most of them fell into one of two unwholesome categories. There were those simply platitudinous, saying in effect that the cure for insomnia is plenty of sleep. There were those simply poisonous, saying in effect that the infallible method of ridding oneself of a headache is to slice off one's head. They peddled either silly nonsense or sinister nonsense.

And so when Bishop Sheen came along and said, "See here, the trouble is in the soul, the derangement is spiritual, and this is the way to clear it up," he attracted readers by the hundreds of thousands. What he gave them was pristine Christianity, undiluted. It was straight Christian doctrine, straight Christian morality, straight Christian asceticism as applied to the problems of the moment. They like it, and keep coming back for more, as witness the current popularity of his latest book, *Three to Get Married*. In this he shows the fullness and the beauty and the

fruitfulness of love as Christianity sees it and enables people to practice it. It is a commonplace that something like a blight has fallen on modern marriage. Husbands and wives come to loathe one another and to part in bitterness; homes are divided, then destroyed; families are scattered in bleeding fragments as the sacred circle of domestic love is broken; children carry spiritual scars as long as they live because of the turmoil of contention which has replaced the tranquility of love. Bishop Sheen's book restores to view the forgotten loveliness of love when it flows from and returns to God. It is an outspokenly Christian book, and it is already a popular favorite.

The conclusion, then, is that people of all shades and degrees of belief are just now eager to read books which are authentically and powerfully Christian. They want to have the Christian vision of reality, and especially of the human predicament, put in focus for them. I don't say that they are clamoring for stuffy sermonizing or sanctimonious vaporings. But they are asking the Christian writer to give them the good, undenatured bread of Christian truth, to take

the Christian principles and apply them to the disorders, personal and social, which bedevil men and women today, to show them how Christian revelation and Christian spirituality takes the curse off existence and makes it possible to live with purpose and confidence, to attain integrity, to enjoy happenings, to fulfill the longings which stir and hunger and thirst in all of us. In a word, they want to be brought to God and to have God brought to them.

And if anyone is capable of writing well, with dexterity and liveliness and penetration and impact, if anyone is capable of presenting the Christian idea in language attractive and affecting to the mid-twentieth century reader, he most certainly will not lack an attentive, appreciative, and numerous clientele.

The Mertons and the Sheens will always be few, because genius of that stamp is rare. But there are scores and hundreds of others doing comparable work and reaching readers by the thousands. There is room for more, many more. It would be untrue and unfair to suggest that just anyone can leave a milling machine or a thresher

or sales slips or a gas pump or a kitchen and become a successful writer, a professional writer. Indeed, there are already too many writers who just can't write. But an immeasurable treasury of Christian subject matter awaits discovery and presentation by people who have it in them to write. I mean, for example, the Catholic history and biography about American subjects which could be made most appealing to American readers. Everywhere one goes in this country, one chances on true stories from colonial times, the Revolutionary period, the frontier days, the Civil War, indeed right down to the present, which clamor for telling, since they are vibrant with human interest and have the halo of divinity about them, too. Books by the dozens remain to be written which will give us the stories of figures great if not renowned who, here in our own midst, lived in, and radiated, to others the presence of God.

As for fiction, I do not hesitate to say that the only fiction of stature in our times is that shot through with the Christian philosophy of life.

Fiction, of course, is never mere entertainment, never mere

reporting or photography of life. It is always an interpretation of life, a commentary on life. And the interpretation is made in terms of one or another philosophy of life. By a philosophy of life is meant a set of answers to such fundamental questions as these: Who is this creature man, and why is he? What is human nature? What is its source? What is its end? What is the good life? What are the laws and the values by which life is governed and measured? Everyone has a philosophy of life, whether he realizes it or not.

I repeat, that the only great fiction of our area is that pervaded by the Christian philosophy of life. By "great" I don't mean the novels so styled by the critics today, only to be relegated to the rubbish heap tomorrow. I mean, rather, those novels which most incisively probe into the soul of man, lay bare the roots of his agony and his ecstasy, come to grips with core and pith of his being. I mean those novels which illuminate the mystery and mortal ordeal of our species, which solve the riddle of our self. I mean those novels which suggest the full dimensions of reality, which show

our place in it, our context, so to speak.

And it is only the novel permeated by the Christian philosophy of life which does that. Take, for example, the novels of Graham Greene, such as "The Power and the Glory" and "The Heart of the Matter." They are plainly from the pen of a master, so far as technique, and skill, and command and employment of the language are concerned. But, much more important than that, they are theological. That is, they are concerned with the relationship between man and God, between the doings of every day and eternity. "The Heart of the Matter," which the Book-of-the-Month Club distributed and which was one of the most discussed novels of recent years, treated of love, and particularly of love of God, which is generally thought of as a matter of feeling, something emotional, sentimental, but which actually, as Mr. Greene demonstrated, is a matter of a union of wills, with the human will brought into exact accord with the divine will.

It sounds abstruse, dull, a gruelling bore? Actually it was fascinating, even—to use one of those book reviewer words—en-

thrilling, as the superlative novelist demonstrated it in the lives of characters one could never forget. And it met with a surprising response from a public one might think indifferent, if not allergic, to such a subject.

Hence I am saying nothing preposterous when I tell you that readers welcome fiction with a Christian viewpoint and a Christian savor. I might illustrate that further by alluding to many and many a title, to fictional treatments of the life of Christ and the Apostles, to historical romances about great climacterics in the course of Christendom, to stories contemporary

in character and setting, whether tragic or comic, which are suffused with the Christian spirit.

But perhaps I have already said enough to prove that Christianity has a major place in today's literature, that a career as a Christian writer in any number of mediums brings all manner of recompense to those able and willing to give themselves to it. In the beginning was the Word, says St. John in telling us of the making of man and the world; now the Word must, through words, be brought to bear on the remaking of man and the world.

CHRISTIANITY IN JOURNALISM TODAY

Address Delivered July 15, 1951

Journalism offers a field for Christian effort that is second to none today.

We are living in a time of crisis and confusion. Our basic principles as Christians and as Americans are being challenged at home and abroad. A great battle on a world-scale rages for the soul of man; a battle that we must win. In this battle truth is our strongest weapon. In fact it is our only real weapon. Yet never before has it been more difficult to obtain the truth of current events for the American public. We need thousands of forthright reporters and editors who will insist on obtaining the truth despite the obstacles and the distortions and the lying propaganda and give it to the world.

How important is this effort may be realized from a quick glance at the efforts of our avowed enemies, the Communists.

Russia and her satellites and her stooges in all countries, including the United States, are carrying on the greatest propa-

ganda campaign of all time. This campaign has two objectives; to discredit the Christian Churches and the United States. In this campaign the Communists do not care how they win so long as they do win. They twist and distort the news. They deliberately give out false information. They misrepresent our motives and give us motives that we never had. They use the press, the radio, and even diplomatic usages to make us appear to be what we are not, and could not be. They have no moral restraints, no Christian principles to direct their actions. There is no law to which they will not stoop. They use every means available to them to discredit Christian civilization.

In the United States the Communists have tried to infiltrate the press, the radio, and the motion picture industry, and have done so with considerable success. They tried to get into every industry that passed along information to the public. They knew that if they could direct, or even slant, that information they could influence American

thinking, and in time perhaps take over the American republic.

The Communist attempt to misrepresent the American position in Korea illustrates their tactics and lack of morality. Here again we have a good example of the principle of the "big lie," which they learned from Hitler and Goebbels. The free world knows that the United States acted in Korea with fifty-odd other members of the United Nations to stop the Communists from over-running another free country. The free world knows that the Communist attack on South Korea came after long preparation and as part of a master plan for taking over Asia; and that the United States and the United Nations acted only in response to that attack. Yet the Moscow propaganda machine, and the other Communist propaganda mills, insist that the "American Imperialists" are the aggressors in Korea and for the most selfish and sordid motives. The tragedy of it is that millions upon millions of ignorant people in Asia who have not the truth available to them are accepting this lying propaganda as the truth.

The truth has always been important to Americans as a people. We operate under a free

government responsible to the will of the people. So it has always been vital to us that the people of the United States know what their government is doing and that the government has an idea of the will of the people. This is why we have freedom of the press in our constitution. But with world leadership suddenly thrust upon us the truth is doubly important to us. We need it not only to govern ourselves but also to help other nations. Americans cannot give leadership to a world they do not know. They cannot deal with problems that cannot be explained to them. They need facts and not propaganda. So it is absolutely necessary that they have accurate and fair and dependable news of world conditions. Americans can get such news only from free and sincere journalists, trained in objectivity, and working with a high sense of Christian morality and public responsibility.

It is easy to have an opinion; but it is not easy to establish a fact. It is easy to pump out lying propaganda; but it is not easy to get the complete truth and to give it to the people.

Few people outside of journalism, and not so many in it, are aware of the influence of

modern communications on a free people, like Americans. We have had a far-reaching revolution in communications in the past century or so; but its full impact has been felt only in the past decade or two. Few people have stopped to appraise its effect. Among those few are the Communists, and they have tried to turn it to their own evil purposes.

It is hard to realize that a little more than a century ago both men and news travelled no faster than the sailing ship at sea and the horse and buggy on land, that is, about nine miles an hour. Then came the railroad, the steamship and the telegraph. They were followed about three decades later by the telephone. About six decades later, came the automobile, the wireless and the airplane. In our own time came radio broadcasting, facsimile and television. The result is that the President can now speak to the United States, King George to the British Empire, and the Pope to the Catholic world. News of events in far away and strange countries pour into newspaper offices in the United States in a matter of hours, sometimes minutes, after the event. And if the news is of major significance a picture of

the scene or of the leading actors will arrive within a few hours. The newspaper with this news, thousands upon thousands of copies of it, will in turn be rushed by trucks, railroads and airplanes all over the United States, and even to foreign countries. But before it can reach the reader the radio has broadcast the news to millions of listeners. Thus people at home can follow happenings in London, Tokyo, Rome or Buenos Aires much as they previously followed happenings in their own local community.

We have conquered both time and space. Ideas and news flow about the world with the speed of light. They do not stop at national borders, and we have a smaller and more integrated world than we once had—than we had only fifty years ago. A disturbance now in one part of this world affects the vital interests of people in many other parts. An invasion in South Korea has repercussions all over the inhabited world. The same is largely true of an oil crisis in Iran, a famine in India, or an election in France. We have a new kind of world, although not many realize it. Or if they do they have not stopped to think of the consequences. One thing is

certain, however, this smaller and integrated world must have peace to survive, and to have peace the people must have the truth about themselves and their activities.

This new dynamic world moves and acts on quick and accurate information. Almost all modern activities demand it. Certainly business, education, government, scientific progress, and international relations require it. Wrong judgments based on false information can prove costly to both individuals and nations. The truth should be available everywhere and to all people. Obviously no man's judgment can be better than the information on which he founded it. Give a man false propaganda or distorted or incomplete data and you pollute his whole reasoning process. This is the terrible injury that the dictators of the police states are inflicting on their peoples. It should never happen in the free world of the democracies.

What is known as the journalistic technique is needed for the proper direction of this vast new system of communications that girdles the world and can be a source of great good or unbounded evil. Simply stated this technique is the ability to report a

news event on the basis of its facts and without regard to the prejudices or interests of the reporter. This seems easy but it is the most difficult task that the journalist ever encounters, and few indeed accomplish it. It is what is known in American journalism as objective reporting. It approaches what the philosophers know as absolute truth. It implies high moral standards, complete fairness, scrupulous accuracy and a deep sense of responsibility to the public. It applies to editing the news as well as the gathering and writing of it. In other words, the news should be gathered and written on the basis of the facts and displayed in the newspaper on the basis of its interest or importance to the readers of the newspaper.

The men and women who direct the other communications should also have been trained in this journalistic technique. It is certainly vital to the radio broadcaster of the news and important to the commentator. It should be the guide of the man or woman who writes the television program, the radio script or the motion picture scenario. It is absolutely vital to the editors of the big news services, the picture services, and the large feature

services. The editor of the national magazine is better for long training in it. It is helpful to the chief editor of the book publishing firm. It is the basic training in the communicative arts. Without it they cannot meet their responsibilities in the kind of world we have today.

Nothing would please me more than to be able to tell you that American journalism is meeting its responsibilities today. This I cannot do. It would not be the truth. It would not be objective reporting.

There are great newspapers in the United States, and at their best they are the best in the world. These are doing an outstanding job of gathering and presenting the news to their readers. But you can count them on your fingers. The great news agencies, The Associated Press, the United Press, and in large measure The International News are also doing an outstanding job of gathering and distributing the news of the United States and of the world. They are aggressive and objective. They are the best news agencies in the world and the American people owe them a debt of gratitude. Apart from these notable examples the press of the United States is a sad affair. Hundreds

of newspapers not only do not face up to their responsibilities, they do not come up to their opportunities.

The primary function of a newspaper is to print the news. Yet the vast majority of American newspapers are published to present entertainment rather than information. An analysis of the usual run of a large city daily newspaper will reveal that it prints around 100 columns of reading matter, and further study will show that about 75% of this space is devoted to entertainment features of various sorts and 25% to news. This kind of newspaper can find plenty of space for comic strips and Hollywood gossip and sexy pictures, but it cannot find space for critical world situations that may well change the whole course of American history and affect every living American, and generations yet unborn.

Too often this reading matter, whether news or features, is of low quality, morally and literarily. Too often a large part of it embraces stories of local scandals, vice and crime. These, of course, should have a place in the news budget of the average newspaper, but their significance should not be exaggerated. The facts should be printed to in-

form people of conditions in the community, but their sordid angles should not be played up to gratify a morbid curiosity or to excite juvenile passions. Too often the criminal is presented as something of a hero instead of as the cheap punk that he is. Too often the privacy of the individual or the sanctity of the home is violated to make a story and a headline. Too often details are reported that should have been left for the medical journal. Too often court cases are tried in the news columns. Too often the really significant news of the community, of the nation, and of the world, is ignored or slighted by superficial treatment. Too often trivial features of the news are blown up in leads and headlines because they supply color or so-called news interest, when in fact this amounts to distortion of important news information.

The publisher and the editors of this kind of newspaper think they are producing a newspaper at the level of their readers, and many times they are. Their mass circulation proves that. But they have a low opinion of their reader, and they do little or nothing to elevate him. Such publishers and such editors and such newspapers almost never

command the respect of their readers and of the community. Usually their real objective is the dollar in the cash register. Such publishers should be manufacturing shoelaces or directing a fleet of trucks instead of giving leadership and direction to a newspaper charged with the grave responsibility of informing the citizens of a free democracy.

In justice to the American press it should be stated here that it is improving steadily. It is better today than it was twenty-five years ago, and it was better then than it was at the turn of the century. Such as it is, and there is certainly room for improvement, it is the best in the world today. The proof of that rests in the fact that the American people are the best informed people in the world.

Fortunately there are many men and women of high purpose and good morals on newspaper staffs. Not infrequently they are better than the newspapers they produce; and would turn out better newspapers if they had a free hand.

At its best the American newspaper makes a tremendous contribution to the community it serves. It supplies reliable news

on which the community functions and its citizens do their thinking. It interprets local, state, national and international news events for its readers and clarifies their significance from the American viewpoint. It gives leadership to the community. It battles for all worthy civil, cultural and physical improvements. It watches for any governmental irregularities and any impingement of the rights of the individual citizen. It helps mold a sound public opinion.

Most impartial students of the American press agree that its one great need today is a code of morals, a code somewhat similar to those which guide physicians, lawyers, engineers and other professions or occupations. This code should be based on simple Christian morals. It should fix a low below which no newspaper could go without retribution. It cannot, of course, supply ideals and principles to publishers and editors who do not want them, but it would guide the

staffs of newspapers in gathering and writing and editing the news and would of itself make for better newspapers. The very fact that the staff of a newspaper would know in advance about what its competitor would do would be helpful, and there would no longer be rivalry in the display of filth.

If the American way of life is to continue, if our Christian civilization is to survive, it is necessary that the truth prevail in this world of explosive ideas and fast communications. This can only be done by defeating Communist propaganda. The Communists expect to win; in fact they consider victory inevitable. They can be defeated only by objective American reporters and editors guided by Christian ideals and by American newspapers that will print the truth. This to my mind is a fine missionary field for sincere and intelligent men and women who want to serve their country and their God.

CHRISTIANITY IN LABOR

Address Delivered July 22, 1951

My fellow Americans of the radio audience.

As a Catholic, as a citizen and as an individual workingman, clothed with the high privilege of speaking for more than six million of my fellow workers, it is my mission here this afternoon to give as best I can, the basic principles on which the organized labor movement functions.

There will be those, of course, who will hasten to say that the actions of organized labor sometimes give the lie to our claims. I concede the truth of the criticism, but I also point out that it is unfair to expect perfection from the labor movement alone. Workers are individuals with the imperfections of all other men. For thousands upon thousands of years we have all had before us the Ten Commandments. The history of those mandates is one of repeated failures. But I believe there has been progress, too. The trend toward decency and better behavior, although slow, has been in the main steady. I am optimistic enough to believe that more

people are taking the Ten Commandments seriously now, than twenty-five years ago.

The topic of this discussion, "Christianity in Labor," might seem to some people a narrow application of moral principles to a broad philosophy.

Let me try to answer this objection, if I may, by defining the sense in which I am using the title "Christianity in Labor." I claim no competence as a theologian, but I do know that our present Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, has repeatedly called upon Catholics to cooperate with all men of good will in the field of social reconstruction. As recently as the Summer of 1948, in addressing the College of Cardinals, he said, "We turn to the Catholics of the whole world, exhorting them not to be satisfied with good intentions and fine projects, but to proceed courageously to put them into practice. Neither should they hesitate," he said, "to join forces with those who, remaining outside their ranks, are nevertheless in agreement with the social teaching of the Catholic church . . ."

This spirit of friendly cooperation between Catholics, Protestants and Jews has always characterized the American labor movement. American unions — unlike some of the unions in Western Europe—are “neutral” as to religion — neutral in the sense in which this word is used by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical “On The Reconstruction of The Social Order.” This doesn’t mean, however, that American unions are neutral as to morality and social ethics. Their policies and programs are solidly based upon the principles of the moral law and, in my opinion, are in harmony with the basic principles of the social encyclicals of the Popes.

You will understand, therefore, why I find it very easy to work within the CIO with men of good will, regardless of their race, creed, color, or national origin. I know many men of different faiths or no faith at all who are trying to solve the economic problems of the United States according to the principles of the natural moral law.

As I have said, I believe that the trend of mankind is in the direction of decency and morality. Every day, more and more people are shocked by the vicious

aggressions of Communism. They are also becoming more and more aware of other aggressions committed against their fellow man because of difference in race, creed, color or national origin. They are paying attention also to the exploitation of some men by other men who are moved solely by greed.

In the centuries passed it is quite easy to see where too many people were neutral as between justice and injustice. Except where their own personal interests were concerned, these people were neutral in their consideration of many problems that are accepted today as everybody’s business. Their neutrality was based of course on their acceptance of the theory that their destiny and the destiny of all other men could be worked out on the sole basis of material values. Many people still feel that way. The struggle in the world today, in fact, is between material values and moral values. The free peoples are coming more and more to realize that human values cannot be preserved unless moral values are recognized and conserved.

Regardless of the words used, this concept can be recognized in the words and deeds of the real

leaders of American labor. There is nothing new about the concept. Catholics especially should recognize it. Pope Leo XIII, Pope Pius XI and our present Holy Father have stated over and over again that we must base all our actions on moral values.

To get back to my specific topic—Christianity in Labor, — let me refer to something that all my listeners have heard over and over again, and it is this: *Labor has Dignity*.

Now, I'm afraid that that important truth has become hackneyed and even boresome to many people. They dismiss it with a yawn and do not try to understand just what it means. Well, it has real meaning for me—moral meaning and religious meaning, because I heard a solid and convincing explanation of it one time. Let me share that story with you.

Twenty-five years ago when I was a young high school student in Glassboro, New Jersey, there came to our parish church one Sunday a mission priest. In his sermon this simple, earnest man pointed out that our congregation was comprised mainly of workers and their families.

He told us that *Labor has Dignity*. But he also told us why.

He reminded us that when Almighty God created man, He "put him in the garden to dress it and to keep it." In other words, man was given a divine mission to improve the earth that had been created for him. Then came, of course, the fall of man, the original sin. As the penalty, Almighty God decreed that the dressing and keeping and improving of the earth was to be burdensome and hard. But, said our preacher, there was no change in the original mission of improving the earth. The work was to go on and on, even though the labor be hard.

"Therefore," said our little priest, "always remember that regardless of the work you do, whether it is digging in the ditch or working in a factory, you are carrying on the work of the first creation started by Almighty God Himself. All useful human work has divine dignity. Take pride in it."

Believe me, most of the workers of America do take pride in their work. I know many of them and I am never offended if one of them patronizes me a bit when we are discussing his particular skill. Everyone of you

has seen a carpenter, or a machinist, or a blacksmith step back and look critically at the job he has been working on. You have seen, too, the smile of satisfaction or the frown of disapproval that came next.

This pride of workmanship is responsible in large measure for the position of the United States today in the field of production. The American worker leads the world in productivity, efficiency and skill. We all know that.

I now come to the point where it becomes necessary for me to look for a yardstick to use in discussing this topic of Christianity in Labor. I could, of course, present to you a long bill of complaint on the side of labor. If I tried to draft such a bill I would probably be accused of being an agitator. Therefore, I will look elsewhere for the bill of complaint. No Catholic has to look far for it.

It happens that this year of 1951 is a very important milestone for organized labor all over the world. This year marks the 60th anniversary of the great encyclical "On the Condition of Workers" by Pope Leo XIII, and also the 20th anniversary of the other great encyclical "Reconstructing the Social

Order" by Pope Pius XI. It is in those two great documents that I find labor's bill of complaint, and likewise the moral solution of the problem.

In 1891 when Pope Leo spoke out, the world was in a state of economic crisis. The doctrines of materialism and individualism had divided all society into two warring camps. On the one hand were the great owners of property who controlled most of the earth's natural resources. On the other hand were the vast mass of working people and unemployed who had virtually no property at all.

Karl Marx had created and spread widely a doctrine that the problem could be solved on the sole basis of material values. Kings, emperors, and politicians in general also had a variety of materialistic solutions. Neither Marx nor the political leaders recognized that the trouble came entirely from materialism, and that it would take more than another brand of materialism to cure it.

It was at the height of the controversy in 1891 that Pope Leo spoke out.

Looking back over the centuries he could see clearly the various steps that led to the degra-

dation and distress of the common people. He could see the greed that had developed towards the end of the Middle Ages. He could see its growth through the Eighteenth Century and the Industrial Revolution. Lastly, he recognized clearly that in 1891 greed had come to be referred to as "enterprise" and avarice was referred to as "economy."

While Pope Leo deplored Marxism, he gave his closer attention to the conditions that made Marxism possible. His denunciation of Marxism was closely linked with his denunciation of individualism and materialism. He tied them together.

He was fully aware of the trend of the times. Pressures had already been directed against him to condemn the American Knights of Labor. At his request Archbishop Gibbons, later our first American Cardinal, investigated the Knights of Labor. The charges were proved unfounded.

Pope Leo's Encyclical made two tremendous impacts. In my judgment, the more important impact was the encouragement it gave to exploited workers who welcomed the voice from the throne of St. Peter. The other

impact was, of course, the outburst of denunciation and criticism that thundered against the Holy Father's position. The character of the assaults upon him are the best evidence of the worth of the Encyclical.

It is not my intention to quote verbatim from either of the great Encyclicals. I will, however, paraphrase in my words what I, as a labor leader, find in them.

Pope Leo recognized that the workers of his day stood as the isolated and defenseless victims of callous employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. He pointed out that the earth, although divided among private owners, was created to minister to the needs of all men.

Emphasizing that capital and labor are indispensable to each other, he enunciated what to me is the high point of that great document. He said mutual agreement between and among men made for pleasant relationships, while conflict produced confusion. As I understand him, he was merely saying that only an organized society could be an orderly society; in other words, disorganization created disorder.

Pope Leo said it was shameful to treat men like chattels, and

that to profiteer at the expense of human needs was condemned by Divine Law. He said that to defraud one of wages due was a sin crying to heaven for vengeance. He pointed out that possession of private property was one thing while the use of that property was quite something else; and that both concepts must be interpreted in terms of the common good. He boldly asserted the authority of the Church to intervene in economic matters on moral grounds.

Then he went on to say that the State itself must enact necessary laws to insure public well-being and private prosperity. It is only by the labor of the working man, he asserted, that States grow rich, and he added that workers, because of their poverty and helplessness, had claims to special consideration. He pointed out that strikes resulted mainly from hours that were too long, work that was too hard, or wages that were insufficient. While property owners certainly had a right to be secure, workers, too, had property and possessions to protect.

Then addressing workers directly he reminded them that life on earth has an eternal objective and that God Himself

respects human dignity. Therefore to consent to injustice is beyond the right of any individual. While the *personal* element in labor may permit an individual to accept any wage he chooses, the *necessary* element requires the worker to get enough from his labor to sustain himself and his family. He denounced failure to do just that as a crime.

In pointing the right path, he told the world that owners and workers could effect most of their objectives by organizing to deal with economic problems. He then made his most startling statement of all when he pointed out that labor unions are among the most important of all human organizations. For the State itself to prevent such organization is to deny the right of its own existence. He said that laws prohibiting organization were not in accord with either natural or divine law and therefore must be considered as a species of violence.

Despite the clarity with which Pope Leo wrote, many persisted in misinterpreting what he said. The result was the creation of a great deal of planned confusion as to what his encyclical actually meant. That confusion

was cleared up forty years later by Pope Pius XI, who used the anniversary of May 15 in 1931 to issue his Encyclical on "Reconstruction of the Social Order." He called opposition to labor organization criminal injustice. Affirming the right of the State to say what is licit and illicit in the use of property, he pointed out that wealth must be distributed among individuals and classes so that the common good would be promoted. He said that care must be taken to prevent more than a just share from accumulating in the hands of the wealthy.

Pope Pius broadened the scope of the Papal teaching. He said that to lower or raise wages merely with a view to private profit was contrary to social justice. He added that prices must be brought into proper relationship with wage levels, truly an important commentary on today's extortionately high cost of living. Pope Pius went on to say that a proper order of economic affairs could not be left either to free competition or to economic supremacy. He denounced the concentration of tremendous economic power in the hands of a few who are not the owners but merely the trustees

or managers of capital. He added that the State is degraded by permitting such economic conditions to exist.

Both of these great spokesmen for the common man gave their attention to Marxism. Pope Pius XI summed it up in a few pointed sentences. He expressed sorrow because workers had been misled into materialistic and atheistic doctrines that had for their ultimate objective the totalitarian state. But then he said that those who neglect to remove or modify conditions that exasperate the people, are most severely to be condemned.

I believe that the programs of our great labor organizations on this continent reflect the teachings of the Papal Encyclicals. Because of the neutral form of organization we follow as a rule in America, our philosophy is not openly identified as Papal social teaching. Nevertheless, the logic and the reasoning of the natural and the divine law dominate the policies of our organizations.

I will not burden you with the step by step developments that have taken place in the labor movement over the last 60 years side by side with the spread of Papal Encyclical teaching. In

one way the progress has been slow but then, of course, we must recognize that the spread of Encyclical teaching likewise has been slow. There has been resistance in high places to the growth of the labor movement and the spread of Encyclical teaching. I know what has gone on in the labor movement, and I cite the sharp criticism that Pope Pius XI directed at Catholic leaders who opposed the teaching in the Encyclicals. While, as I say, the progress has been slow it has been rapid in comparison to what occurred in the centuries prior to 1891. All honest labor leaders give full credit to the contribution that Papal social teaching has made to our progress.

It is interesting to compare the scope of human activities covered by the labor movement of 1891 and the labor movement of today. Sixty years ago unions limited their objectives to wages, hours and working conditions. There was virtually no political action. Today it is far different. In this year of 1951 we find labor still occupied, of course, with the basic fundamentals of wages, hours and working conditions, but even those items have been consider-

ably expanded. We of labor no longer base our demands for security in employment on a day-to-day material basis. Bare subsistence has been banished from the negotiation table. We reject the thinking of cold-blooded economists who exclude moral values from their reasoning.

And so today you find organized labor extremely active in many fields. We maintain that housing, the education of children, medical care of the people, civil rights, conservation of natural resources, foreign policy and agricultural questions are all part of the economy. We know that Papal teaching supports us in these endeavors. Because we do not believe that labor has any unqualified prerogatives, we do not hesitate to insist that management likewise has no unqualified prerogatives. We continue to insist that labor have a voice in all decisions.

Just as narrow men still persist in misinterpreting Papal teaching, they also persist in misinterpreting our position. We are *not* for socialization of all industry. We do maintain, however, that when any industry attains a position where it exercises life and death control over the people, then it should be pub-

licly owned and controlled if it cannot be controlled by other means. We likewise maintain that where private industry fails to meet the needs of the people, the State must step in and meet those needs. We are encouraged by the fact that Pope Pius XI took precisely that same position on public ownership.

We of labor agree with the Papal definition of the functions of labor unions. These organizations of ours are not, as many people claim, merely defensive. We engage ourselves mainly in positive programs which look to increasing the welfare of all men everywhere, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin. Those are the purposes for which we were organized and they follow the definition of labor union functions set forth by Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI. We are for the well-being of all men, but not as a mass. That is the concept of the Communist and the economic imperialist. We reject it. Our interest runs to individuals, each of them a member of human society, and each of them the innate possessor of human dignity. It is the

dignity of the individual and the dignity of his labor which we are defending.

As I read the Papal Encyclicals I notice throughout this stress on human dignity. If this dignity is to be fully exercised it must be assured of security in every sense of the word—in childhood, in adult years, and in old age. That security cannot be attained alone by purely material considerations. It is not only a material issue. It is a moral and spiritual issue.

We therefore resist the formulae and programs of those who for one reason or another try to confine these discussions to material aspects. One group, those who wish to be economic dictators, want private totalitarianism. Their horizon stops at the cash register. The other group of the Kremlin variety want political totalitarianism. We believe totalitarianism of any sort is vicious and destructive of human dignity. We are intent on making real democracy work. We will not be exasperated by advocates of totalitarianism into surrendering to similar un-Christian methods.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDUSTRY

Address Delivered July 29, 1951

Christianity may exist in Industry in two ways. By *remote* and by *direct* influence. The remote influence is evident today in the growth of ordered living, the abolition of slavery, social security, improved living conditions and the recognition of the right of workers to organize to safeguard their rights.

The direct influence of Christianity in Industry is not so evident, for that would imply a radical departure from present economic policy, both on the part of capital and on the part of labor.

First, on the part of capital. A Christian must recognize that the word "Capitalism" was unknown until the end of the eighteenth century. The word "Capitalism" has many shades of meaning, and the economic system which bears that name has many forms, ranging all the way from what is reasonably good to what is downright wrong. One such form called Liberal capitalism, which condoned monopolistic practices, is a system by which great masses of wage earners are subject to

capital in the hands of the few who are able to divert business activity to their own will without due regard for the workers or the common good. Capitalism in *this* sense was founded on the non-Christian or even anti-Christian principle of "historical Liberalism," that is, the owner of property may do with it whatever he pleases. The function of the state was purely negative, like a policeman who does not interfere in other people's business.

This kind of capitalism which meant freedom only for the one who has, and mere existence for those who have not, created so many injustices that in some parts of the world there was a strong reaction which has resulted in various forms of State-Socialism and Marxian Communism. Here it is not the liberal Capitalist or owner who determines who shall get all, but the Dictator. As the liberal capitalist justified his selfishness on the grounds that he was acting on behalf of humanity, so the communistic dictator boasts that he is doing all for the benefit of

the workers. Liberal Capitalism concentrated wealth in the hands of a few owners; State-Socialism or Communism concentrates it in the hands of a few bureaucrats. Actually, Socialism is nothing else than the forcible organization of a chaos created by the selfishness of many of the rich of the old capitalistic system. It merely carries to an extreme the false principle that man lives only to create wealth, either for a few individuals or a few bureaucrats. The Liberal Capitalist said: "This is mine, for me"; Communism says: "This is ours, for us, but I the Dictator will tell you what is yours."

If Christianity were introduced into industry, these two false principles that property exists solely for the individual, or that property exists solely for the State, would have to be abandoned. The new principle would be: *the individual and private property* must serve not only self but also the common good. In other words, the *right to property* is not only personal, but it is social as well.

What then does Christianity dictate? Here it teaches, that since the modern property owner has already surrendered a por-

tion of his title to profits, namely, management and responsibility, a fair portion should pass to the workers. Hence the official teaching of the Church is: "wherever possible there should be a modification of the wage systems, so that the worker will receive a just and sufficient living wage or a right to a share in either the profits or ownership of industry."

The Church is in favor of a wider distribution of wealth, primarily for the sake of freedom. One may ask, why am I free? And the answer, because I have an *immortal soul*. Only a *spirit is free*. Ice is not free to be warm, nor is fire free to be cold. As the soul is the spiritual guarantee of my freedom, so property is my economic guarantee of freedom. I call my soul my own because *I am*; I call property my own, because *I have*. Property is the extension of personality. That is why, in the reverse, Communism, which destroys property, destroys personality. The *immorality* of Monopolistic Capitalism and the *immorality* of Socialism or Communism is in the fact that it puts *concentrated ownership* either in the hands of a few Capitalists or a few Bureau-

crats, both irresponsible, and therefore an insult to the dignity of man.

It seems to me that Capitalism has been very short-sighted. By not voluntarily returning to society either in the form of shared property, or in the form of charity, a portion of its profits, it has thus prepared the way for Government to take most of the profits. The result is that now neither the workers nor charity receive their just benefits, but primarily the Government and its bureaucrats. If the Capitalists complain that the workers are irresponsible, it is because Capitalism in the past has not made them responsible. The best defenders of a true capitalism are those who have some capital to defend. Workers might sit down on someone else's tools, but they will not sit down on their own.

In brief, the differences between either old Monopolistic Capitalism, State-Socialism, or Communism and Christianity are as follows: Under Monopolistic Capitalism the owner kept all the eggs in *his* basket and gave the workers a few of them in the form of very low wages. Under Communism and Socialism, the State makes an egg

omelet and gives the workers a piece of it, even though they want their eggs fried sunny side up. Christianity says: Divide the hens, then let every man get his own share of the eggs and cook them as he pleases.

This appears to be the right and just solution and implies that labor should get a few hens, provided it also assumes a definite share in the responsibility of industry. That brings us up to the Christian solution of the labor problem and here I set down some of its principles:

1) Labor, capital and brains should all unite for the common good, and to ask which is more important is like asking which is the most important leg of a three-cornered stool.

2) The right of labor to organize is a natural right, but its primary purpose is not only to "increase the output" as the Soviet Union holds, nor to pit itself against capital as a competing force to get shorter hours of work and higher and higher wages irrespective of the common good, as it is so often the case today. Rather its aim should be to join with Capital in such a way that both may share in the fruits of their combined efforts.

3) Labor must not be regard-

ed as a "hand" as the old Monopolistic Capitalism regarded it, nor as a "stomach" as Communism today regards it, but as a personal co-partner, for it is "entirely false to ascribe the results of industry to either Capital or labor alone."

4) Labor should not fall into the old error of Capitalism. Capital once said to labor: "You work for me and I will keep the profits"; labor would be wrong in now saying to Capital: "I will take whatever you make, but you keep the headaches." If labor has a right, it also has a duty and responsibility, for these are never found apart.

5) As Capitalism today is subject to the State for the common good, so that its profits, its inter-state commerce, its social insurance and security are all subject to State-inspection, so should Labor organizations be subject to Government inspection for the common good. As Capital is not an end in itself, neither is a labor organization. Neither may offend against the common good, or be a state within a state or claim they have rights independent of their duty to society and the common good of civilization.

6) Capital today has very lit-

tle money to give away because of government control, but Labor organizations, inasmuch as they are free from such control, have money in their treasuries which could be used not to sabotage property but to gain good will among all peoples. This would be achieved by works of charity which Labor organizations once performed in the days of living faith.

If this ideal could ever be achieved I could see where Labor would have quite a distinct social advantage over Capital. Capital is the servant of *justice* today, either through government control or its contracts with labor unions. But labor organizations could be the servants of *charity* by the use of their funds for those high purposes to which they were initially dedicated.

In the middle ages, Labor organizations, or "Guilds" as they were then called, used their funds to aid their members in Christ-like ways. For example, they erected entire villages for the old and indigent workers. One of the 12th Century unions wrote in its constitution, and I quote: "Whosoever shall fall into old age or poverty or into helpless sickness, and has no

means of his own shall have such help as the leaders and brethren of the guild think right," unquote. Workers who died without means were "to be buried at the cost of the guild."

Who is it that could find fault with present day labor unions if they practiced that kind of Christian charity towards their own members and for the common good?

Such is the Christian way; partnership, co-operation, justice. If only we would make it work. Naturally the Christian ideal will not work if we do not accept the basic teachings of Christ. Many of us are selfish, greedy and out to get ours regardless of the fellow man. This false philosophy cannot produce co-operation and partnership. We have to give in order to receive. The world today cannot stand for selfishness and greed as the main ideas in business. History tells us that. During the nineteen twenties we had much selfishness and dishonesty in industry. Then came the crash and with it, the rise of Hitler, the growth of Socialism and the boldness of Communism, along with more and more power in Government. People will not take another depression like 1929,

and Stalin knows that. It has to be self-control or government-control. We must practice Christian principles, or we must take orders from a government dictator. It's that simple. Either we shall have Christianity and freedom or totalitarianism. It is up to all of us who are engaged or interested in industry to make the choice.

Since so few people today believe practically in God and the fullness of Christ in His mystical body, we would not expect them to do this. But it is worth knowing that when Christianity impregnates a union, the *soul* must be cared for as well as the body.

In resume, therefore, the principles governing industrial life, to mention only a few, are:

a) Social justice and social charity, *neither* of which virtues *alone* will suffice. No amount of charity can make up for violations of justice—and no amount of justice apart from charity will attain a proper moral status for members of the human family.

b) The compelling honest co-operation between owner and worker for their own individual welfare and the benefit of society.

c) The social and moral duty and responsibility of the owners of wealth.

d) Freedom on the part of individuals and smaller groups to form industrial organizations to protect themselves against larger groups, especially the State.

e) Universal duty of social justice—relating everything in its right order for the good of the individual and for the commonweal. Moral reform must march side by side with social reform.

All these principles are based on the spirit of the gospels, the moral law and the virtues of Charity and Justice.

These suggestions for capital and labor you may say are ideals. If this be so, then Christianity has become one with the impractical. Actually, these are not merely ideals, but practical Christian solutions to the problem of industry. Before they can be realized, however, the hearts of men must be changed. All economic reconstruction is conditioned on spiritual betterment. A good social order is dependent on Christian living, but Christian living is impossible without Christ. And may I say here that Christ belongs neither to Capital nor Labor exclusively; neither

can the Rich nor the Poor claim Him uniquely.

Although social and economic troubles by which we are harassed appear to be the real factors in the world's present unrest, they are merely symptoms of a more deep-seated evil. For when you study any social ill deeply enough, you will find that it rests on an economic injustice and when an economic injustice is analyzed it is apparent that it is the result of moral weakness. There is therefore only the moral problem of how men and women in industry live. We are not going to bring lasting peace into the world by mere economic or social changes. They are usually the results of ill-disciplined human nature. Christ came to bring peace on earth to men of good will. We shall know lasting peace and have real security only when men bring Christ back into their lives and He becomes the guiding force in the thinking and living and the planning of individuals and of nations.

The leadership of America is the only ray of hope left for the free peoples of the world as well as the millions behind the iron curtain but that leadership must be militant, active and Christian, and based on a philosophy

that will prove that the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God really works. THAT'S CHRISTIANITY IN INDUSTRY. It is that and not our army and navy or the atomic bomb that will defeat the diabolical and atheistic Communist hoards. American Catho-

lics particularly have the grand opportunity to show such leadership now, even if they have to go it alone, before it is too late, in order to save humanity as well as their own personal skins or better still, of course, to do it for the honor and the glory of God.

CHRISTIANITY IN SCIENCE TODAY

Address Delivered August 5, 1951

In the traffic of man with the world of nature, modern science is the one highway of the mind that has never had a full, Christian inspiration. Philosophy has been a servant of theology. Architecture in the past has uttered sermons in stone. The great art of the western world has been Christian art; and our literary heritage is a record of Christian man and Christian motives. But the one great discipline that has shunned the favors of religion has been modern science.

At first glance, this coldness of science to religion might seem a mere historical accident that a renewal of Christian fervor would overcome. For at the time when science was gaining ground in the world of matter, Christianity was losing ground in the hearts of men; at the time when modern culture was riding onward to its shining material triumphs, western Europe was reeling backward into spiritual defeat. But true as all these facts may be for history and tragic as they may be for man, they do not reveal, as a

matter of logic, how science fits in with the organic Christian culture of the past and with the eternal Christian principles of the past, the present, and the future. To unfold that logic, it is useful to ask what science is not, then what science is, and finally what is the meaning of Christianity in science today.

First of all, what science is not:

To speak of religious poetry and Christian art, of Christian philosophy and the Catholic novel, makes sense. It does not make sense to speak of religious physics, Christian biology, and Catholic chemistry. There are Christian men and Christian principles. But there are not Catholic electrons nor Christian laws of gravity. From even these shadowy examples, it is quite clear that modern science has a different color from other activities of the mind which have burned their brightest in the light and the warmth of Christian inspiration.

Christ came to Christianize men. No other visible creature save man has been drawn up to

a supernatural status. The mountains and the seas, the stars and the atoms, the animals and the plants could not be elevated to a loftier realm than they now dumbly inhabit. But through Christ, man was born again into a new life above his natural one, the life of grace which is the life of God. No wonder that we cannot speak of a Christian electron. The lenses of science can observe at most only the aspects of the visible universe that have never been Christianized and never will be Christianized.

Moreover, the revelation of God was not deposited as a scientific textbook to compete with modern biology and chemistry. Revealed truth instructs man not in laws that rule the material world and touch his body but in laws that lead to another world and save his soul. That is why the Ten Commandments are Christianized, but not the law of gravity.

Science cannot refute religion, and religion does not compete with science. The same judgment could be reached about religion and art or religion and poetry. Yet there does happen to be a Christian art and a Christian literature. Why then

not a Catholic physics or a Christian chemistry?

Art and poetry and literature and even philosophy turn man inward upon himself. They are achievements by the mind and for the mind, and they put the mind in possession of itself, rendering it free, open, aware of its dignity as a creature and its destiny as a soul. These activities show reason at its highest natural summit. They free man from attachment to sense pleasure and open him to new altitudes. They are works of the interior man, the man that Christianity perfects by grace. It is not surprising then that artists and poets, novelists and composers, philosophers and even architects, should find rich outlets for their genius under Christian auspices.

Mapped out against these other activities, modern science takes a different direction. Except in a dim and feeble way, it does not aim to perfect that inner man which grace raises aloft. It puts the mind not so much in possession of itself as in possession of nature. In science, the interest of the mind is channeled to things outside itself, the things that can be counted and controlled. Sciences

like physics and biology focus upon outer sense experience and ignore those inner lights of the spiritual mind. The sciences leave the sense world at its own level; they decline to push onward to the deeper level of causes and reasons, which are the highway to God.

It is easier to show what science is not than to answer our second question, what science is. It is always easier to be negative rather than positive, to destroy rather than to construct, to burn a picture rather than stroke out a new one. The world-picture of science should not be burned but only hung within a larger gallery and against the background of other pictures, like those of philosophy and theology. In a science-minded century like this, the task of our universities should be the squaring of what is positive in science, with well established principles known by other means. This is not to condemn science. It is only to integrate it. And only when so integrated within a full perspective, divine as well as human, can the science, which man's genius has carved out, serve the cause of truth, the cause of man, and hence the cause of science itself.

Against a backdrop of know-

ing what science is not, what shall we say that science is?

The two wings that have brought science to its present heights are first experiment and secondly measurement. These are not the only organs of scientific method, but they are the vital ones that rule everything else in the logic of the laboratory.

Experiment should be clashed against experience by which the ordinary man gains access to knowledge. Experience takes things as they are. Experiment does not; it controls things; it disturbs them. It is a controlled experience or a controlled sense-perception. To the extent that science controls phenomena, say the fall of a body or the course of a disease, it understands them. Prediction, as in forecasts of the weather or in charts of the stars, is a substitute form of control, yielding man knowledge of facts as though he were directing them. In the strict scientific method, only what bows to human power is grasped by human minds. Here man understands only what he can make according to his own image and likeness. He holds communion not with the values that master him but with

energies that serve his own purposes.

A similar story is told by measurement. How do we get our scales and clocks and yardsticks? All of them are patterned upon our senses. The foot-measure, for instance, was made from a comparison with human feet. Scales are built and their readings made meaningful only because we know what weight is, by means of holding something or pushing something with our own hands. A light-year is appreciated by reference to an ordinary year, and the ordinary year is standardized by the daily cycle of night and day affecting our bodies. Now the meaning of all this is that for scientific method, the reference-point for all measurements and the final readings of all instruments are scaled down to the size and structure and sensation of the animated body of man. Science tailors the universe to human size and makes it speak only a human language. What is not proportioned to our bodies and what is in fact not material at all, scientific method must pass over in silence. The scientific world thus becomes a world thought out—as far as such a project can be carried—in the

image and likeness of man. The truths and values beyond control and beneath measurement must forever escape experimental test and the finest instruments our laboratories can devise.

Yet an important part of human life is occupied with making things through proper control and measurement. Here is the area where the rich positive meaning of science may be fruitfully found. Although science ignores the truths and the values that master man, it does enable him to prosper in his own dominion, the mastery of nature. Although silent about the goals of man and the laws that direct him goalward, science does enable man to construct whatever he needs to make his material life more comfortable, more convenient, and more conducive to his human dignity and to his destiny that is divine. Here then is the fulcrum where science and Christianity may meet. Though not directly perfecting the inner man, science eases his outer life so that this inner nature can develop the more freely and fully. It yields the material resources for the expression of spiritual energies at both the individual and social dimension of

human life. But there is one thing that it does not yield—the uncontrollable and immeasurable truths that compel our intellect and the good that commands our will.

What then is the problem of Christianity in science today? It is indeed a central problem of our century. For science, in the minds of men who decide in advance that there is no world except science's, has stumbled out of rank in the line of march that is our spiritual culture and our Christian vision. For a long time, science has often been invoked to liberate man from the dogmas of religion; today, in the atomic age, men are asking Christianity to deliver them from the dangers of science. For a long time, authority in religion has been challenged on the grounds of controlling truth; today nearly everybody agrees that atomic energy is too dangerous and must be controlled.

Christian minds know that science and religion can work harmoniously together, the one developing matter in the service of man and the other developing man in the service of God. The atom bomb could be controlled by a Christian conscience, because Christian con-

science is controlled by the truth of the only Master that there can be, namely, God.

Christianity in science today is not a fact; it is a need. It is not an achievement; it is a goal. Science is in secular hands because science came forward in an age of un-Christian and secular hearts. The task of Christian culture, which is really our western culture, is to recover that science for the service of man's destiny. It is not an easy task and not one that can be done without the hard, patient labors of our universities. But upon its achievement in this, the atomic age, there hangs in the balance the future of all our civilization.

What is needed first of all are heroic efforts of Christian educators toward a more organic integration of science with the whole of learning. This project means, concretely, that science-teachers locate their subject-matter on the whole globe of knowledge and chart out those other truths, in the nature of things and in the revelation of God, which escape control and exact obedience. These references to other fields should not be relegated by Christian educators to the mere introduc-

tions of their courses in the sciences.

Let us take an example: The typical modern physicist and even the modern biologist are now claiming that they cannot detect purpose but only chance and disorder in nature. At the appropriate traffic signal in a physics or biology course, the Christian teacher can take up this challenge and show that at a level beyond science purpose and order can be glimpsed by man and that in a world without order and without purpose even the activity of the scientist would be impossible.

True enough, such a discussion does lie outside the frontiers of the science being taught but not beyond the range of human interests. Philosophy may be accidental to science, but it is not accidental to man. In stronger words, although there is no physics which is Christian or biology which is Catholic, there are biologists who are Christian and physicists who are Catholic. A critical need in our Christian institutions of higher learning is a staff of teachers who can handle both the sciences and theology in their classroom. Such teachers can integrate science and Christianity because they are inte-

grating men who are both scientists and Christian. Their graduates, in turn, will be as a leaven in their own professional careers amid secular colleagues.

There is then at the intellectual level a great need for courses in the sciences which can introduce good philosophical or theological answers to questions that secular minds solve with a bad philosophy. In the second place, there is an even more immediate need for Christian principles to control the power which modern science has lavished on modern man. Such power is neither good nor evil. It is simply indifferent. Yet it cannot be applied with that same indifference; and if the resources of the atom are to be commandeered for human progress, then it is urgent that the Christian conscience of our society be recovered. Our educators and our writers and our statesmen must emphasize that even political control of atomic energy will not, in the final count, be enough. There must be a Christian conscience in the omnipotent scientist lest he explode his atoms to the collapse of civilized society. Both in Britain and in America, there have been serious leaks in atomic secrets. Against such

disloyalty to government and to God, a Christian conscience can guide scientists and guard society.

That is a big reason why we need Christianity in science today.

No more fruitful career could await talented young Christians who study science in its various branches but keep their own roots in Christian soil. This is a call not merely for Christian students but for Christian scholars, minds that love ideas and truth and are willing to be painstaking in their search of knowledge—without regard for economic gain or other practical consequences. This is a call to parents that they dissuade their children from choosing a career only because of economic returns or social advantage and that they encourage their sons and daughters that the primary object of college studies is the development of the mind and the pursuit of truth for its own sake. This is a call to business men of suitable means to help our Christian schools in the work of re-integrating the Christian mind which science and industry, while profitable commercially, has lured away from truly Christian interests.

Let it never be said that our science and our industry profited at the expense of our schools and our culture and that the men who made and now make such profits did not make their returns to culture in general and to Christian education in particular.

Christian minds that know philosophy and theology in addition to the sciences have a crucial role to play in overcoming the mental paralysis that is shrivelling the typical American university into so many atomic departments, each aiming to apply the scientific method to its subject matter. The method of physics and chemistry and biology has been extending its monopoly during the recent period to psychology, sociology, ethics, history, and even literature. In view of what science is not, such over-confidence in the scientific method is fated to failure in our universities and in our culture. Six years ago this month, the atomic bomb plummeted down on Hiroshima. Already in the infancy of the atomic age, it is quite apparent that science alone cannot protect man against the power that it has created.

The full meaning of scientific fact and the adequate control of

scientific power depend upon the recovery of science by Christian culture. What is Christian in the work of a scientist can be as a soul and what is scientific can be as a body. With Christianity and science pooling their resources, civilization in its spiritual and material totality can advance beyond

measure. With science alone, our civilization will become as a body without a soul, a dead body, a corpse. Without spiritual food, our civilization will become the prey for the vultures that its own materialism is hatching.

May God grant to all scientists to be Christian and to many Christians to be scientists.

CHRISTIANITY IN GOVERNMENT TODAY

Address Delivered August 12, 1951

I have been asked to talk to you today about Christianity in government.

The whole history and tradition of the government of the United States is founded upon Christianity and democracy, where the people exercise the ultimate civil authority, guided by Christian principles of justice, equality and respect for the dignity and rights of the individual.

Today our Christian democratic way of life is challenged by an atheistic totalitarian dictatorship that denies God and denies the inherent rights of the individual. It is only a little more than five years ago that we fought the greatest and most costly war in history to put down the totalitarian dictatorship of Nazism. We won that war. But we have not found peace. A new totalitarian threat challenges us.

The fundamental principle of this totalitarianism is that the state possesses complete power over the citizens. Under a totalitarian government the individual citizen is nothing more than

a tool of a gigantic machine. Whatever rights he may enjoy are granted him by the state. And if the rulers of the state decide to restrict those rights or even take them away entirely, they are free to do so. His property, his education, his work, his religious worship, his very life—all these depend entirely on the will or the whim of those who grasp the power of government.

Since a totalitarian government denies that the citizens have any personal, inalienable rights, it also must logically deny other basic truths. It must deny the immortality of the human soul, for if it admitted that the citizens are destined to eternal life, it would have to acknowledge that they are in some respects superior to the state. A totalitarian state must deny the existence of God, for if it admitted a Supreme Being, it would have to recognize limits to its own authority.

This is the very antithesis of our own government of the people, by the people, for the people. It directly challenges the concept expressed, when America

first spoke as a nation, in the Declaration of Independence.

The Declaration of Independence said: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness."

By declaring these rights to be God-given rights, natural and unalienable, the Declaration of Independence asserted that no government of men had bestowed them and no government could add to them, diminish them, alter them, or take them away.

The first ten amendments to the Constitution — the Bill of Rights—enumerate certain natural rights which no government shall abridge, including in the first amendment freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly.

The exercise of civil authority under our government, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the principle that all men are created equal, must be carried out under the Christian principles of mercy and justice, applied equally and even-handedly to all

citizens. Civil authority must be exercised—in the words of the United States Constitution—"to promote the general welfare." This means there must be no special treatment for some above others, no special privilege for any citizen or group of citizens at the expense of any other citizen or group of citizens.

As one who has spent many years in public service—as a legislator, councilman, and mayor—there can be no doubt in my mind that the man who becomes a public official takes on grave responsibilities.

Certainly now, as Director of Price Stabilization, I can say that this is true. For every regulation issued by the Office of Price Stabilization is likely to affect every man, woman and child in America.

Every man in public office takes on a dual responsibility; to His Maker as the source of all authority; to the people whose welfare depends upon his wisdom and his integrity. He must be true to his responsibilities to both.

In each case, he must be guided by his conscience. Regardless of the care he exercises in making his decisions, those decisions

are often subjected to violent differences of opinion. For the American people cherish — and must always continue to exercise freely—their right of free speech and free criticism.

The fact that citizens are obliged to respect and to obey civil authority does not deprive them of the right to express their opinions about the efficiency and the policies of those who govern them. It has always been understood that we may speak our minds, openly and frankly, about the way in which civil officials fulfill their duties.

It is interesting to recall that Pope Pius XII, in his Christmas message of 1944, praised the democratic way because, as he said, the citizen is not compelled to obey without being heard, and has the right to express his own views about the duties and the sacrifices imposed upon him.

I have always found that fair and honest criticism is helpful to me as a public official. Whether it be criticism of the bus service on Seventh Street—while I was Mayor of Toledo—or criticism of price control regulations issued since I have been Director of Price Stabilization—I have always sought to give full consideration to the views of

everyone. There can be no other course.

We are all inclined to pay more attention to our rights than to our duties.

Let me talk a little now about my duties as Director of Price Stabilization.

It is not a popular job. This is a job that calls for the unpleasant task of enforcing controls and restraints on the American people. And our people have a traditional dislike of governmental controls.

I dislike governmental controls myself. But in this emergency period price stabilization is a job that *has* to be done to protect the American people and the American economy against inflation. Price stabilization is an essential part of our emergency defense production program. It is necessary to obtain the maximum production from America's mills and factories, from her fields and farms, for our security and for the military strength able to put down any aggression that threatens our peace and freedom.

The people, through the Congress, have decided that a price stabilization program is necessary. I think that decision grew out of their concern for the

Christian principles of fairness and equity.

The job of stabilizing prices will become more difficult in the year ahead—rather than easier. In 1952 our government will be spending 65 billion dollars a year for defense. This year we have been spending at the rate of 35 billion dollars a year.

As long as the stabilization of prices is my responsibility, I shall do the job to the best of my ability, under the guidance of conscience, for the benefit and welfare of all the American people.

I have a job to do as Director of Price Stabilization. But along with all Americans, I have another job to do as an individual citizen.

We talk about the consumer, the businessman, the farmer, the worker. Let us talk about Americans. Each one of us must approach the days ahead with the thought that he is first of all a citizen concerned with the future of his country and of the world. Each one of us must approach his everyday tasks with the conviction that everything he does is important in preserving our democratic system, important in extending to other peoples of the earth the free-

doms we cherish.

We cannot talk of equal sacrifice when some men and women must change their entire way of life, suffer and perhaps even die for their country in war. But we can use our best efforts to see that the essential burdens of this emergency are borne as equally as possible on all citizens here at home.

As consumers we must realize that sacrifice is necessary for our own protection. We must buy only what we actually need. We must pay no more than legal ceiling prices. We must buy carefully and wisely and patriotically—using and saving everywhere that we can.

As businessmen we cannot expect to have "business as usual" when there are not usual times. We must build the future confidence and goodwill of our customers, against the day when there are no controls and no seller's market. This is not only patriotic in time of emergency. It's just good business.

We must operate price controls and other government programs in ways that maintain the incentives of our people. Human beings have many objectives. Most of us want material comfort and security. Americans

have equal concern for national security and for political freedom. At this time price controls and the other emergency actions government is taking are essential means of achieving those big objectives.

We know that the atom bomb can destroy a nation. The experience of other countries shows that America could be weakened and destroyed just as surely by the effects of inflation.

Inflation eats away the buying power of our income. Already price increases have added billions of dollars to the defense costs the American people must pay. Inflation destroys the value of savings, pensions, insurance and annuities — and wipes out the incentive for saving. Inflation works its greatest hardship upon those least able to meet rising prices—the low-income groups, the working man with a family, and those who must live on fixed incomes, such as the dependents of men in the armed forces, the aged and the disabled.

I believe that we can hold the line against inflation. We *must* hold the line. Stabilization is an essential part of our measures to make America strong against any threat from the forces of

tyranny that threaten our democracy and our Christianity.

We have the experience to stabilize prices. We know the problem and we know the remedies. In the midst of the last war—with inflationary pressures much more intense than they are today—we held the rise in the cost of living to only 4.3 per cent over a three-year period.

But in the final analysis, the strength, the stability and the happiness of a nation depend on the citizens of a nation—the men and women who form the rank and file of our people.

No matter how large a staff we may have in the Office of Price Stabilization, no matter how much we expend in time and effort, the program cannot be successful without the backing of the American people.

A program of price controls that enters so intimately into the daily lives of everyone cannot be imposed and run from Washington. Public support and understanding all over the country are fundamental to the success of price control.

I have faith that the American people will not neglect those virtues of good citizenship. I have faith in the wisdom and understanding and self-restraint

of our people, and in their willingness to work and share and sacrifice for the common good.

For myself, I can say with all humility and sincerity that as

long as I serve the people of America through their government I shall exercise authority always with a full awareness of the source of that authority.

CHRISTIANITY IN LAW TODAY

Address Delivered August 19, 1951

In my estimation, the most impressive compliment to the profession of law is found in the following observation of Lenin, the notorious Communist Revolutionary. "In Russia," he said, "we have abolished the bourgeois legal bar." Lenin overstated the case, of course. With the advent of official atheism and absolute dictatorship in Russia, the legal bar did not need to be abolished; it automatically disappeared. Under Communism the legal bar vanishes along with the ministry of religion, because the business of the barrister and the work of the theologian are simultaneously dissolved in the tyranny of the God-less, all-powerful state. God-less because it is all-powerful; and all-powerful precisely because of its God-lessness.

The basic concern of the lawyer is with the rights of man. The legal profession thus begs the whole question of man's inherent nature. Is man a deliberate creature of God, or is he just an unexplainable complex of purely physical energies and en-

tirely subject to the absolute management of superior material forces? There is no way to split this fundamental question down the middle and thus conveniently to compromise its challenging issue of human rights.

If man is merely and exclusively physical, he has no "rights" at all. In such a condition, the whole range of his activity is held under a revocable license from the state. He may think of such a license as "liberty," a "civil liberty" he may call it, and he may hire a so-called lawyer to help him construe this thing and hold it for him. Nevertheless, what one holds at the pleasure of another is not a "right" at all but a mere privilege. And where anything and everything the human being has, including *life* itself, is continuously subject to arbitrary expropriation by the mere application of force—law in such a place has disappeared, and the profession of law is no longer tolerated. This is the full implication of what Lenin said about the abolition of the legal bar in

Communist Russia. At the same time, his statement points up the significance and importance of the legal profession to the people of the United States.

In this country the profession of law does not merely *beg* the big question concerning human nature; here the legal profession is officially constituted as a clear, affirmative *answer* to that question. For while there may be grave doubts in the minds of individual lawyers concerning man's nature, no such doubt is discernable in the *base* and body of American law itself. That base and that body are built upon the assumption that man is created by God in God's image and in God's likeness; the assumption that human rights are endowments of the Creator, which, for *that very reason*, human law must preserve.

Into this firm mould of basic principle the law of the United States is firmly cast by the categorical language of the American Declaration of Independence. This Declaration included the significant statement "that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." From the government which proceed-

ed from this Declaration *all* American Law has been projected. American Law is thus constituted as an instrumentality for the protection of God's gifts to mankind. As ministers of justice, lawyers thus seek to bring to every man that which is his due, under the law of God, precisely as that law is implemented by the Constitution and acts of American government.

All this may sound shockingly strange in the wide area of scrupulously secular scholarship, so-called, into which the study of law has presently drifted, but the ancient moorings are clearly visible to all who have the honesty to look at them. For where is the lawyer, professor or student of the law who will deny the historical fact that the United States was launched upon the "self-evident truth that all men are created equal?" Backward and forward through the time of this epochal declaration, 175 years ago, one encounters incontrovertible evidence of the firm religious faith upon which that Declaration was based, and, which was then and there woven inextricably into the warp and woof of our legal system.

Coincidentally with the obnoxious Stamp Act,—1765—, Black-

stone's Commentaries were published including this statement: "This law of nature being coeval with mankind and dictated by God Himself, is, of course, superior in obligation to any other. It is binding all over the globe in all countries and at all times; *no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all of their authority mediately or immediately from this original.*"

Here was an accommodating legal groundwork for the language of the Declaration of Independence. But the association of religion with our law went much deeper than these broad declarations of basic principle.

At every point in the development of our civil and criminal jurisprudence one finds religious faith and religious practices universally acknowledged for hundreds of years prior to the American Revolution, going into the base and foundation of our American legal system. Let us take such a commonplace example as the requirement of intention as a prerequisite for guilt in criminal cases.

If one person kills another, why is the intention of the killer all-important in the determination of his guilt? As far as

the injury to society is concerned, the victim is just as dead and the social loss just as great in an unintentional homicide as it is in the case of a deliberate and premeditated murder. If the sole object of human law is bound up with the protection of society, then the sole test of an offense should be the injury to that society.

In the Commentaries, just referred to, Blackstone answers this question this way: "Punishments are inflicted for the *abuse* of that *free will* which God has given to man. Consequently, it is just that man should be excused from those acts done involuntarily or through unavoidable force or compulsion . . . An involuntary act has no claim to merit, neither can it induce any guilt."

Thus, crime is punishable in and under our law, only when the necessary elements of a *sin* are present in the committer. Now "sin" is a moral concept and consequently it is patent that our criminal courts are "Moral Courts" in the strictly religious connotation of the term "Morals." The famous "*corpus delicti*" requires evidence that the injury was inflicted by a "*human being*." Why? Because only human beings have moral and therefore legal responsibili-

ty in and under our system. In searching out the crime the court must find the *guilty personal conscience*. Unless a guilty conscience is involved there is no criminal jurisdiction.

The same is true of the civil side of our legal system. Our courts entertain suits between persons only. No American lawyer has ever litigated a suit for or against such impersonal non-entities as "labor," "capital," "management," "the underprivileged," "the economic Royalists," or "Wall Street." Such impersonal entities are frequently indicted in the newspapers but never by a state or federal grand jury.

When the injury complained of in these impersonal, blanket popular and political indictments comes on to be redressed in the courts—if it ever does—the first requisite is to break through the barrier of this confusing "class-consciousness" and find your man. In other words, the court must find the guilty personal conscience. The culprit, if there is one, may be a broker, a banker, a laborer, lawyer or politician, but if there is any criminal guilt—it is and must be shown to be personal, and if there is any civil liability—that is personal too.

Despotisms, on the contrary,

dispense their "justice," so-called, upon considerations of status instead of personal performance. Under Despotism, it is not what a person *does* but who that person is that really counts. The prisons of Nazi Germany were filled with people whose only offense was their race, their religion, or their station in life. Millions are languishing in Russian jails today for the same or similar "offenses."

In these Collectivist systems a crime does not require the personal commission of an offensive act. It is enough if the suspect is "offensive" to the government.

In the United States, on the contrary, our system requires that persons be awarded and punished for what they *do* rather than because of who or what they are. It is more than a coincidence that the rewards of Heaven and the pains of Hell are passed out on the same basis of personal performance. The mere fact that one is an aristocrat or a proletarian gives him no passport through the Pearly Gates; neither does such a status keep him out. In the moral order, reward like punishment is a strictly personal achievement. The same moral formula is in the warp and woof of our legal system.

Thus, with us the practice of law is carried out on a deliberately constructed moral pattern—and this continues to be true whether the legal practitioner knows it or not. In truth, therefore, the profession of law ranks just below the priesthood as a career in Christianity.

It is painfully obvious, nevertheless, that most lawyers do not regard themselves as religious or even quasi religious missionaries. Our world is worsened at this critical time precisely because law and the practice and profession of law is regarded as the strictly secular survey of *boundary* lines drawn by the unaided inspiration and initiative of mere men for the confinement of those recurring human passions that are damaging to the public weal.

This attitude has propagated the unfortunate but quite general impression that man-made law is the *entire* self-subsisting rule of human action and that the only wrongs are those that are created by the law's express prohibitions.

In this popular estimation, civil legitimacy is slyly substituted for moral virtue as the governor of the people and of the body politic. In this way the broad range of the Ten Com-

mandments is narrowed to the necessarily small compass of our civil and criminal code. Pushed to its logical extremity this theory will break the back of our legal system and substitute some form of tyranny for our tried and true principle of American *self-government*.

It is precise disregard for the principle of American *self-government* that has now brought us the unholy harvest of headline revelations concerning so many forms of cheating, bribery, corruption and finally a special Congressional Committee, if you please, to draw up principles for the honest administration of public office.

It is high time certainly to recall James Madison's warning that in framing our Constitutional system we staked the future of these political institutions upon "the capacity of mankind for *self-government*." This means that our system of limited law and Constitutionally restricted government can succeed *only* if our people retain the capacity for *self-control*, in conformity with the moral law of God.

Our American Constitutional and legal system is projected upon definite moral presuppositions. The system presupposes

that the generality of the American community will refrain from what Blackstone calls "criminal depravity of the will" out of respect for the laws of God from whom the freedom of the will proceeds.

Under our system the policeman (and I use the term "policeman" here merely as a convenient synonym for our civil system of law and law enforcement) does not originate right or wrong. The temporal criminal code that the policeman enforces is and was intended to be an implementation of the Ten Commandments. The policeman is a mere projection of the responsible individual human conscience, and in no case was he expected to be a substitute for that conscience. The policeman was hired to poke his club into that calloused and comparatively small area of humanity which the moral law does not penetrate.

If the policeman is in disrepute today, it is precisely because too many Americans have forgotten the relatively small job that the policeman was expected to perform. The American system of law was not designed to do a single-handed job of reducing crime and preserving the order and peace of the

entire American Community. The founders of the American Constitutional and legal system recognized the futility of any attempt to make a good and orderly society out of bad and disorderly people. They would have been the first to admit that without the restraining influence of the moral law upon the individual consciences of the overwhelming majority of any community, the civil administration of temporal laws would be undated by a tide of demoralization. This basic traditional American reliance upon God and Religion is evidenced by every American political and constitutional document from the Mayflower Compact to the Constitution of Arizona. George Washington summed all this up in his Farewell Address when he said: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that natural morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles." So said Washington.

But today many lawyers have forgotten that "justice" is a moral concept, pure and simple, and that our entire legal order is deeply rooted in religion. Our

administration of justice necessarily breaks down when all or any part of it is uprooted and used as a flail to beat peace and progress into a completely materialistic community. The modern "police states" of the world have the *only* system of criminal administration adequate to keep order in the strictly secular society.

Now, as always, it is as William Penn sagaciously said:

"Those men who will not be governed by God will be ruled by tyrants." This side of the iron curtain there is no alternative to a quickened sense of responsibility for the individual conscience "under God and the law." When the legal missionary quickens his client's conscience he serves the law and his client's best interest at one and the same time. He likewise serves his God, and his country.

CHRISTIANITY IN MILITARY LIFE

Address Delivered August 26, 1951

I suppose that most Americans know that our United States is a Christian nation, with a Constitution and a Bill of Rights written by Christians. It is founded upon the Christian principle that all men are equal in the sight of God, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. It is based upon a profound and abiding faith in the essential goodness of man and a firm belief in his inherent dignity and integrity.

These beliefs and these principles are at this very moment being challenged by a powerful anti-Christian, anti-God government that denies the validity of our most cherished ideals. It is a government that preaches atheistic materialism. It rejects the importance of the individual, and subordinates him to a ruthless and all-powerful dictatorship. It would substitute the whims of a tyrannical minority for a system of government based on the moral law and on the recognition of the rights of man.

We, here in the United States,

representing as we do—and in spite of our shortcomings—the finest flowering to date of democratic government, are the principal target of Communism. World Communism is fighting us today, not only with guns of its satellites, but with every method of warfare known to its fanatic leaders. Communism intends to win, and it can afford to be patient. At the same time, it fully realizes that the most formidable enemy in its path is Christianity, and the Christian belief in the dignity of the individual man.

The defense against this evil lies in the hearts of our people. But the most visible means of that defense is in our Armed Forces. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that our Armed Forces themselves be guided by Christian principles, lest in the very process of defending our liberties and our way of life, we lose them.

At this moment, then, Americans may well ask: "What part do Christian principles play in the lives of our service person-

nel? Does Christianity have a place in military life?"

Let me assure you that Christianity does have a place in military life, and its basic principles play a significant part in the training programs of all our Armed Forces—the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. This should be surprising to no one, because genuine military leadership and, in fact, many successful policies on human relations, are in cadence with Christian principles.

Like the Government of the United States, the Armed Forces do not give preferred status to any religious faith, sect, or denomination. Our men and women are free to worship as they please, or not to worship if that pleases them. Yet, they are given every encouragement and every opportunity to worship God in their own way no matter where their duties take them—even in the midst of battle. The Army, the Navy, and Air Force all have Chaplains Corps made up of energetic and devoted men dedicated to the task of providing moral and spiritual guidance to the men and women who happen at the moment to be in the service of their country.

These Service men and women, I need hardly say, are not

a group apart from the American people. They are an integral part of American society. They are products of American environment and represent every walk of life, every race and religion, every state and territory of this Nation.

During the past year our Armed Forces have increased in size to nearly 3½ millions. Probably for a good many years to come hundreds of thousands of our young people will be passing annually through our training centers and training schools. Hundreds of thousands will be receiving continuous training in operating units after basic training is completed. The job of training is, obviously, a tremendous one—one that carries with it grave obligations. We, in the Armed Services, are keenly aware that the size, character, and quality of the American fighting force place a heavy moral, civic, and social responsibility on military leaders at every level of command.

The primary mission of the Armed Forces is the security of the Nation. In accomplishing its mission it must produce effective fighting men. Everything else is related to this objective. Let there be no misunderstanding about that.

But what is an effective fighting man? Who is this tough soldier we hear so much about? How should he be trained? What is realistic training? And where does Christianity fit into the picture?

The effective fighting man is one who is prepared not only physically and militarily, but also morally and spiritually to face the ordeal of battle. It is not enough that he be hardened physically and be proficient in his particular military skill. All the skill in the world is of no value in battle unless it is used; unless the man behind the gun is willing to do his allotted task in spite of danger and in spite of the most discouraging conditions.

Battle calls for more physical endurance and genuine courage than anyone would normally be called upon to display. It is in that hell that you discover who are the tough fighting men. They are seldom the men who talk tough, who revel in obscene language, who boast of their drinking ability and immorality, who are derisive of the leaders, who have little respect for themselves or for any of their comrades.

The really *tough* fighting man is the man with physical endur-

ance, courage, initiative, determination, intelligence, and respect for himself and for the men of his organization. And when the going is rough, he is quite likely to seek a renewal of strength in prayer. His sense of responsibility will not permit him to hide from combat. He will drive forward to close with the enemy while the so-called "tough" guy, as likely as not, will hide in the brush.

What is it that makes a man fight? What gives the Infantryman, for example, the courage to leave the comparative security of his fox hole and face the danger ahead with only his rifle for protection?

Men fight, or fail to fight for a variety of reasons, but chiefly I believe, because there is in the heart of every normal individual a desire to do the right thing; to deserve the good opinion of his associates and of his superiors; to be accepted and acknowledged as a member of the group; to be wanted — even to be needed. These are the basic reasons why a man fights. They find expression in the virtue of loyalty; a man's loyalty to himself, to his unit, to his loved ones back home, to his country. It is this *esprit* that buoys him up, helps him to accomplish the seemingly

impossible while enduring what would otherwise be unendurable.

The development of such *esprit* is the objective of a realistic training program. Realism in training means a great deal more than carrying out a strenuous or arduous schedule. A realistic program is based on the nature of the individuals to be trained. These individuals are Americans. Furthermore, they are *creatures composed of body, and mind, and soul*. Realistic training programs, therefore, must be and are designed for Americans; they must and do make provision for the physical, mental and spiritual development of the men being trained.

For the American fighting man the will to win or to die in trying to win is founded on understanding; and there can be no understanding without knowledge on which to base it. When the young American citizen passes through the gates of the Reception Center or Receiving Station, he is not then cut off from the influences that produce consciousness of the wide range of civic responsibilities in a republic. He is not then cut off from the institutions that stimulate mental and moral growth.

The fighting man will have little desire to "do the right thing"

if he has no faith in the righteousness of the Nation's objectives in fighting. This faith we must nurture by supplying him with free access to information, and the opportunity to use it. More than that, we must anticipate his normal questions and supply him with answers.

It is the purpose of special information programs in the Armed Forces to keep the serviceman informed while he is at a camp, a base, or a station, on maneuvers, or in combat. Through newspapers, pamphlets, radio broadcasts, organized discussions, map displays, posters, and motion pictures, Armed Forces information programs supply him with facts about matters of concern to him both as a serviceman and as a citizen. Information programs equip him to discuss significant issues with his comrades and to form his own opinions.

We have found that, on the average, better educated men tend to show a stronger sense of obligation than those with little or no formal or informal education. We know that educated and enlightened persons make better soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines, and, incidentally, make better citizens. Therefore, to lift the educational level of our Service personnel we have establish-

ed an extensive off-duty education program throughout the Armed Forces. Right now, more than 150 thousand students are actively engaged in academic education. In the last twelve months approximately 50 thousand reports of educational accomplishment were submitted by the Armed Forces to civilian educational institutions for those students who applied for academic credit. An astonishing number of servicemen have received high school diplomas and credit in higher civilian institutions for study while in the Armed Forces.

Basically, information and education are not innovations in our Armed Forces. General Washington directed his officers "to impress upon the mind of every man, from the first to the lowest, the importance of the cause and what it is they are contending for." He directed that his officers explain to the men the "grounds and reasons" for Congressional action. And when he asked Thomas Paine to acquaint soldiers and civilians with the gravity of the crisis, Paine wrote his series of rousing pamphlets, the first of which began with the words: "These are the times that try men's souls."

I believe that "men's souls are

going to be tried" more severely this year and in the years ahead than ever before in American history. International communism is a pseudo-religion that drives its fanatic followers inexorably toward world control or self-destruction. Men's *bodies, minds, and souls* must be girded to meet this dynamic philosophy that is so disguised as to make tyranny seem new, promising and desirable.

Commanders who recognize the reality of the spiritual side of man encourage in their organizations the fullest use of a religious program. Not only do our Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish chaplains minister to servicemen and women in the same way civilian clergymen do, they also play the central role in Character Guidance Program.

Character Guidance Councils have been set up in Armed Forces organizations in an effort to duplicate as closely as possible the wholesome influences of the home and the community. The councils coordinate recreational programs, informational and educational programs, and chaplains programs. The Chaplain's Hour is usually a discussion period which stresses the moral obligations inherent in United States citizenship. In

their contacts with our Servicemen the chaplains endeavor to teach the fundamental human values and the basic moral virtues. One aim of the coordinated program is to stimulate the interests of our personnel in sports, good music, good books, historical tours, academic schooling and other wholesome activities during their off-duty hours.

Let me make it clear, however, that no informational, educational, or character guidance program or any other program to improve morale or morals, can substitute for leadership. Such programs are only tools for the commander of men to use in his exercise of leadership. The full responsibility for the welfare of his men rests on the commander alone.

But if he is to succeed, his exercise of leadership will have to be founded on the same Christian principles as these programs. The commanding officer and his commissioned and enlisted assistant cannot exercise real leadership unless they are guided by the first rule of good human relations. Christ, the greatest Leader and Teacher, said that "All things whatever you would that men should do to you, even so do you also to them." Leaders who handle their

men as they, themselves, would want to be handled under the same circumstances have learned the Golden Rule. Whether or not they are conscious of it, there is Charity in their hearts, and they have learned the first and most important lesson in leadership.

Our leaders are convinced that the establishment of good human relations does not mean a relaxation of discipline. The kind of discipline we seek to develop in our Service people is self-discipline. It is the discipline a free Nation demands of its citizens. It is the Christian discipline of self-control and strength of will. Discipline is not to be measured exclusively by the smartness of saluting, the neatness of dress, or the rigid position of attention. It is measured by the behavior of the individual when he is no longer under supervision. True discipline comes from within; it compels a man to do the right thing because it is the right thing to do, and he knows what is right.

The task of translating our Nation's lofty ideals into an actual force in our everyday lives is, of course, the responsibility of the American family, community, and school. But if we are

to train the *whole man* in the Armed Forces, we cannot assume that every trainee is fully aware of the significance of fundamental principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. Neither can we assume that because some of our men have no apparent respect for moral principles that they will not benefit from spiritual and moral training. We know that we must train men and women to cope with the realities of a world in mortal ideological conflict.

Whenever our training programs and normal operations are being conducted with full realization of the nature of the people we train, our Service personnel is being influenced by

Christian principles. They are the same principles that recognize the dignity, the individuality, and the God-given rights of every man and woman anywhere in the life of this Christian Nation.

Your son or daughter in the United States Armed Forces is recognized as an individual whose spiritual as well as physical needs must be provided for, whose morals must be safeguarded, whose mind must be supplied with the broad range of facts about local and world affairs that all American citizens are entitled to, whose military discipline must be self-discipline based on understanding, and whose right to justice and to good treatment is as inalienable as his duty to defend his Nation.

CHRISTIANITY IN MOTION PICTURES TODAY

Address Delivered September 2, 1951

For millions of the American people the Labor Day week-end marks a turning-point in their habits devoted to the pursuit of entertainment.

During the Summer months chief emphasis has been upon outdoor attractions and activities.

With the approach of Autumn the public in increasing numbers resumes its dependence upon the motion picture theatres of the nation as its chief source of entertainment. The present moment is therefore a timely one for an examination of those moral and social influences of motion picture entertainment which make it a force of deep and far-reaching significance in the modern world.

The impact of the motion picture upon the public interest arises in part from its unique artistic and technical resources—resources which enable it to tell a story in the most graphic, compelling and easily understandable manner yet devised. The impact arises in part also from the magnitude of the audi-

ence which it has been able to attract. Every two weeks the motion picture theatres in the United States are visited by persons to a number which closely approximates the entire population of the nation.

In view of this power and scope of the motion picture there inevitably arises in the minds of right-thinking persons an awareness that this vital force—so potent in its influence upon society, especially youth in its formative years of character building—must be so guided and so directed as to achieve its vast potentialities for good and, meanwhile, avoid the ever-present dangers of evil.

Just as it is said that a public gets the kind of government it deserves, so it may also be said that a public gets the kind of entertainment it deserves. In order to deserve and to obtain motion picture entertainment properly representative of the superlative standards of which the screen is capable, there is an imperative need for an alert, informed and zealous public opinion—a public opinion cor-

rectly informed as to the responsibility it truly shares with the motion picture industry.

In a democracy the ideal of good government is dependent upon the intelligent use of the ballot. Similarly it may be said that good entertainment in the field of motion pictures, or elsewhere, depends upon the intelligent use of the admission ticket, which is your ballot of approval or disapproval. The Christian ideal of noble and inspiring theatrical entertainment can not be realized in a vacuum of public indifference.

A distinguished American prelate, the late Archbishop Mc-Nicholas, who was the chief architect of the plans and purposes of the National Legion of Decency, clearly defined the individual's responsibility. The Archbishop said that it is the duty of everyone to form "a right conscience" about motion pictures. By that he implied a two-fold obligation: First, to seek information and guidance as to the moral character of an attraction; and, secondly, when viewing an attraction to fix in mind and conscience the true principles of morality and to apply them to the action taking place on the screen. This the viewer is obliged to do so that

he may be vigilant against the approach of any representation which may be harmful to his moral well-being.

The essential nature of motion pictures which automatically involves a moral implication should be carefully noted. Motion pictures commonly show human beings in action and reaction upon one another. The relationship involved, and the manner of its presentation, inevitably effects in some measure a moral response from the audience.

As a theatre patron follows the fictional representation depicted upon the screen, his intellect and emotions, consciously or unconsciously, give response and reaction. He approves or disapproves of what the screen characters are doing. He is moved to sympathy or to antagonism. When principal screen characters, either by what they say or what they do, express attitudes toward what is morally right and what is morally wrong, members of the audience are subjected to an influence which may color, and indeed is very likely to color, their future thought and behavior.

The theatre patron should remind himself of the obligation to form "a right conscience" when he meets that domestic tri-

angle story which presents the wife unsympathetically as a device to make palatable the husband's adulterous interest. High on the list for vigilance is the story of young romance that condones extra-marital relations on account of parental objection, financial difficulties or, perhaps, an impending embarkation for foreign service. Then there is the familiar plot design in which the heroine, to advance a career, defeat an enemy spy—or for whatever purpose good in itself—tramples the moral law to gain the objective. Again, there is the comedy subject that either ignores the reality of goodness and virtue or makes it ridiculous. Also to be noted is the story which presents an evil person—criminal, outlaw, debauchee—in such a pleasing manner as to inspire admiration and even imitation.

That clarion voice of moral leadership in the modern world, the late Pope Pius XI, in his encyclical on motion pictures, identified and contrasted the effects of good motion pictures and bad motion pictures with this clear and definitive explanation:

"Everyone knows," declared the Holy Father, "what damage is done to the soul by bad motion pictures. They are occasions of sin; they seduce young people

along the ways of evil by glorifying the passions; they show life under a false light, they cloud ideals, they destroy pure love, respect for marriage and affection for the family. They are capable also of creating prejudices among individuals, misunderstandings among nations, among social classes and among entire races.

"On the other hand," continued the Holy Father, "good motion pictures are capable of exercising a profoundly moral influence upon those who see them. In addition to affording recreation they are able to arouse noble ideals of life, to communicate valuable conceptions, to impart better knowledge of the history and beauties of the fatherland and other countries, to present truth and virtue under attractive forms, to create at least the flavor of understanding among nations, social classes and races; to champion the cause of justice, to give new life to the claims of virtue and to contribute positively to the genesis of a just social order in the world."

The improvement of the quality of the demand; a betterment in the discrimination and appreciation of theatre audiences, is an imperative necessity if continued progress is to be made

toward the goal of truly ennobling and inspiring theatrical entertainment — entertainment consistent with the spiritual ideals of the principal religious groups of the Western World— Catholic, Protestant and Jewish.

It is futile to blame Hollywood for not producing motion pictures of a character for which there is no precedent to justify a presumption of popular support. Hollywood has often ventured upon avenues leading to productions of higher intellectual, moral and religious significance, only to encounter public indifference. Such a result, in effect, is a vote of disapproval on the part of the public. Such a vote weighs heavily against further adventuring in that direction.

If the public, thoughtlessly or willfully, bestows its favor upon pictures of low moral tone and gives scant and begrudging attention to the finer subjects, the result is inevitable.

The producer seeks and cherishes the approval of persons representing the moral leadership of the nation; he strives to merit the encouragement of people of taste and discrimination. But he is, all the while, bound by the economic laws of his industry.

Production is intended for a mass market and unless it receives mass market support the producer cannot succeed. Pictures of a type which fail in receiving popular support will not be made. The decision rests with the theatre-going public.

Motion pictures are an integral part of the current affairs of the nation. They are sharply subject to the trend of the times. This fact, in face of various prevailing influences, calls for an ever-increasing effort on the part of those who would prevent this great and influential medium of expression from being diverted to the ends of those who reject the spiritual destiny of man and deny the primacy of the moral law. Most importantly, it is to be remembered, motion pictures are part of the environment of youth. They may either complement or contradict the lessons of the Church, the home and the school.

Unmistakably in evidence among these are those trends of the times which would dishonor virtue and glamorize vice, which would deny the moral law and in its stead would promote a psychiatry which explains away the sense of guilt due to moral transgression as just a bad dream. If these trends are to be

negated in their potential influence upon the character and effect of motion picture entertainment, it is evident that those who would safeguard a wholesome ideal in entertainment are confronted with a formidable challenge.

The motion picture is largely based on material adapted from the stage, popular literature and other sources of current fiction material. The moral flavor of the resulting motion pictures is inevitably influenced in some measure by the moral attitudes of the material in its original form.

It is unfortunately true that many of these media are now colored with ideas repugnant to religion and morality. An example is to be noted in the current best seller in the novel list—a story thickly coated with sacrilegious and blasphemous reference and gross obscenity. On the New York stage it is only the exceptional attraction that merely ignores and does not assault the moral law. Magazine literature, in word and in illustration, has, especially in the post-war period, been moving steadily in the direction of less and less moral restraint, less and less respect for the traditional Christian standards of marriage, family life and the obli-

gations of the individual to his God and to his fellow man.

None of these media, fortunately, approaches in public contact the mass audience which patronizes motion pictures. But each of them is indirectly an influence on motion pictures and, as such, augments the problem of those who would rightly guide the moral and social influence of the screen. Thus it becomes exceedingly plain that a contest of critical import is in the making. Only an alert, informed and determined public opinion, dedicated to the ideal of entertainment which respects the spiritual destiny of man and the moral law, can determine the issue on the side of what is right in principle and humanly decent in practice.

The organized motion picture industry in the United States is not unmindful of the grave responsibility inherent in its custodianship of the entertainment motion picture. To the end of meeting that responsibility, acting within the traditions of Christian and Jewish moral teachings, the industry has adopted a production code of ethics based on the objective principles of morality and intended to safeguard the moral

and social influences of the screen.

While the Production Code is not a panacea, it has been the means of stemming the approach of a vast quantity of objectionable material. It has eliminated or tempered much unfit detail of production. It has, during its twenty years of application, elevated prevailing concepts of production in relation to what constitutes legitimately admissible material within the moral law and the norms of acceptability that prevail amongst the peoples of the Western World.

The Code does not escape the slings and arrows of persons who espouse the moral error of art for art's sake, nor by those who, rejecting the primacy of the moral law, want no restraints to stand in the way of headlong pursuit of what they choose to regard as artistic realism. From such quarters arise insistent pressures, addressed to the end of effecting an abandonment of all restraints, within and without the industry, calculated to maintain the moral integrity of the screen.

This influence is formidable because it is well represented in the opinion-forming agencies of the press and radio. It has access to a wide public. It is an

important part of the challenge which must be answered if moral and religious standards compatible with the essential needs of a good society are to prevail in the public entertainment of the nation.

Theatrical entertainment fulfills an indispensable role in modern life. For many millions of our fellow citizens it is a school from which are drawn the lessons which, consciously or unconsciously, are reflected into their daily habits of thought and behavior, thus making the quality of the influence of theatrical entertainment a matter that assumes, even in a patriotic sense, a vital national interest.

There is no mystery why the enemies of our democratic form of government and democratic way of life are now and always have been tireless in their efforts to ridicule, confuse and finally destroy arrangements and undertakings of whatever character intended to maintain decent standards in theatrical entertainment.

The democratic form of government, based on the concept of the dignity of man and the subordination of the state to man's natural and supernatural purpose, requires for its very

security and survival the maintenance of decent moral standards in public entertainment.

This momentous fact is sharply emphasized under the august authority of Pope Pius XI in his declaration that, "People who in times of repose give themselves to recreations which, especially to the young, constitute occasions of sin, are in grave danger of losing their greatest—even their *national*—power."

The real partnership, and hence the real responsibility, of the whole public in determining the moral and social character of public entertainment is clear and inflexible.

The rightful discharge of that responsibility requires that the public be ever alert, careful and discriminating—ever mindful of the grave consequences which are at stake—consequences affecting the strength and security of even the nation itself.

CHRISTIANITY IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS TODAY

Address Delivered September 9, 1951

International life today as in the past is essentially a search for the formula that will allow national communities, zealous of their sovereignty and independent character, to live together with a minimum of friction.

The problems of peace and war which have absorbed, to an astonishing degree, the energies and the thought of the people of our century are deep rooted in the nature of man and transcend the immediate contingencies that produce the innumerable tensions of which we are victim.

In a word, the question of international relations and, by the logic, the ceaseless search for an effective and constructive international order among peoples is simply one version of the permanent struggle of man to fulfill his purpose for existing, namely, to accomplish on earth with himself and with his fellow men those ends for which he was created. Shorn of this supernatural, spiritual content, international affairs have no meaning beyond the jockeying for power, the destruction of a rival, the

elimination of an adversary or the accomplishment of an immediate, limited mission.

The major difficulty, it would seem, in the search for stability and harmony is that the whole idea of order and of hierarchy has been sacrificed to expediency and in nothing is this more evident than in the persistent insubordination of men to God, without which the tranquility in order of Saint Augustine is impossible.

The idea has been repeated until it has become almost trite that a brotherhood of man is meaningless without the pater-nity of God. If this indispensable element in the orderly structure of human society is removed, ignored or positively rejected, permanency and solidity are lost.

The natural society is universal, including all men everywhere. His Holiness, Benedict XV, expressed it in 1914 when he cried out in anguish: "Who would imagine as we see them thus filled with hatred of one another that they are all of one common stock, all of the same

nature, all members of the same human society."

A characteristic of our time is the total divorce between principle and action. So wide has the abyss become that the invocation of principle as the determinant for a given action or a policy is construed as sheer abstraction and waste of time.

In all their perversity, the marxists haven't abandoned this notion, for the communists apply a set of rules or of principles to their action. Not only have we lost the concept but even the memory of it seems to have grown dim, for one of the great tragedies of the past thirty years has been that we refuse to assume that others are guided by a principle, however erroneous it may be, and conclude that pure pragmatism and a sort of optimistic intuition as each issue arises will carry us through.

This muddling through business may be all very well for the ordinary, inconsequential contingencies of every day, but the conduct of foreign affairs and particularly the establishment of the kind of world order that will assure healthy international relations cannot very well be accomplished when there are neither standards of values to

which to recur, moral restraints that cannot be overstepped or a clear goal toward which to move.

Hence, the terrible negativism that besets the western world today. Fear, and almost nothing but fear is given us as the motivation for policy and action.

The Soviet system is bad because, it is expansionist and threatens what we choose to call "our way of life." Were the Soviet dictatorship to guarantee that it would step not one inch beyond the boundaries of the territories now held in subjugation, I daresay the western states would be relieved beyond measure and perfectly willing to chalk up as a loss the millions of victims of Soviet degradation beyond the Iron Curtain.

In a word, the desire to avoid war even if the avoidance is not equivalent to peace, overrides the impulse toward justice—justice for those who are remote from us—justice even for those with whom we have no immediate visible ties.

There certainly has been no dearth of plans for the reconstruction of the world and for the attainment of an appropriate international organization to run affairs in such a manner that war would become unthinkable. Our age is literally strewn

with plans, blueprints, schemes, ideas and projects. The number of institutes, committees, commissions, round tables and meetings that have dealt with how to organize international society since 1919 probably represent more vocal and pulmonary expenditure than everything said up to the end of the First World War since the beginning of time.

Nor are we lacking in experts. Their number is legion and plague us with a gnawing persistence that sometimes makes one despair of the whole show.

The Christian is very properly concerned about the nature of these projected organizations, be they the Geneva League or the Manhattan edition today. The thing that disturbs the Christian conscience is not the inability to organize—for twentieth century man has developed the faculty of mass action to an incredible degree—but why and for what.

A world organization has something better to do, says the ordinary man, than to provide a platform for the expression of views — windy or eloquent though they may be—by every foreign minister all over the world. Our expertness in fashioning machinery and techniques

is accompanied by an almost comparable inability to infuse this complicated apparatus with a spirit that will make it move in a commonly accepted direction.

At the beginning of the late war, the London Tablet, in its usually reflective and sagacious mood, spoke out as follows:

“Victory will mean nothing unless it prepares the way for peace conceived in Christian terms—the question which matters ultimately is whether, when we win, we can provide the leadership in Europe which shall seed a common settlement upon that spiritual and moral foundation for which good men are ready, and to prevent which bad men are prepared to drag us all to ruin. We as Catholics know that the requisite guidance and moral strength can only come from Christianity, and Christianity at its best. Do we intend to keep the secret to ourselves?”

The idea expressed here is no novel one. It has been reiterated time and again in the Christian world. If it sounds singularly quixotic to talk of the restoration of a medieval Christianity in which all men bow to the same moral standards and honor, even if in the breach the

same moral code, it is not entirely improper to think that there is a very real task in restoring Christian nations to a wholehearted conviction in the value and permanency of their own beliefs.

The terrifying crisis of disbelief with its consequent hesitation, vacillation and confusion, is the most serious indictment of Christians who refuse, internationally, to profess their Christianity. After all, the international order is merely the projection of the individual, the family, and the nation.

We of the western tradition, be it Europe or America, have developed a peculiar and criminal reticence about raising moral issues. If something is done within the precincts of the United Nations, curious indeed would be the delegate who poses the question: Is it right or is it wrong? The probable discussion will hinge on: Will it work? Will it get us out of the particular jam we are in? Will it postpone the need for doing anything at all?

One of the major difficulties in the harrassment which we suffer is an inadequate diagnosis. The socialists and their sycophants argue that world peace

is hopeless until we have a planned, economically directed world. This makes of one single factor an absolute.

Economics, as well as science, all tell us what lies along certain directions if we choose them. They do not tell us why, except perhaps to assure us that the abundant life will be at the other end. The problem of international relations cannot be tackled in depth until it is recognized in all its aspects—political, economic, biological, moral and religious—as one problem.

The Christian theory of international order is not just another proposal about how to organize something. It is not a convenience, a panacea or even simply a way to avoid war. It is a proposal that takes into account the corporate character of man and sets him down in the twentieth century in the perspective of his history, his experience and the reason for his existence.

I would stress very strongly the Christian sense of perspective. Men have, it is true, a positive genius for making the same mistake over and over again. In the brief lapse of time between the two world wars, singularly little was learned that would

have made it possible to avoid the pitfalls of 1919 when 1945 came around.

In speaking of historical perspective and tradition, I am not conjuring up a lot of archaic ideas that were perhaps first bruited about at the Council of Nicea. By historical perspective, I mean a recognition that man now is the result of what a great many generations before him have been. His nationality, his customs, his prejudices, his sensibilities and the particular role that his people or nation have played, all form a part of this.

Mr. David Lloyd George was accused at Versailles of rearranging the map of Europe without knowing any geography. It would seem that history is not one of the areas of human knowledge about which men today are notably gifted.

There is a problem of continuity in all this. Each effort we make tends to start out from the premise that either nothing has ever been done before in the same direction or what was done was not worth doing.

The Christian Church has the particular advantage of having been around long before any of the modern nations existed. It is not without a certain emotion

that we note the broad sweep of Christian pronouncements on precisely the same questions that beset us today: war, peace, international justice and equity.

Saint Clement, Supreme Pontiff at the end of the first century asked God "to give to us and to all the inhabitants of the earth Peace and Concord and to direct the counsels of Princes in accordance with what is right and pleasing to Him."

St. Augustine of Hippo came exceedingly close to formulating the bases of international law and his dicta have a modern sound.

Saint Thomas Aquinas has written in a manner which it would well profit us to take heart.

Francisco de Vitoria laid the basis of international law as we know it today and said a great many things that are considerable more distinguished than those uttered in lofty international circles in this year of grace, 1951.

There is a Christian stake in almost every aspect of international life, from this conception of the international community itself to the practical, moral application of the rules of war. The nature of man and his destiny

can hardly be separated from his conduct on earth. When this conduct is collective, as in the case of a nation or group of nations, the moral element is no less imperative than when the matter concerns the individual. Questions of sovereignty and nationalism the excesses of which have so long constituted sins against charity and justice, public morals as in the case of the traffic in narcotics, slavery and human rights, about which the United Nations has dealt so long, so laboriously and to many, so tiresomely.

Almost every item regarding human rights touches on the nature and dignity of man and even the most pretentious secularist would hardly claim that Christianity has no word to say on this particular issue. Population problems, displaced persons, the forcible transfer of peoples, new opportunities for colonization and the aid and succor due to those who have suffered dislocation are all questions of the most obvious moral import.

In the field of economics, the whole problem of a proper distribution of the world's goods to assure sustenance for all constitutes not merely a technical,

administrative affair, to be left to obscure civil servants, but a moral issue of the first magnitude.

The development of new devices for wholesale destruction are not problems for the physicist or the chemist whose specialized knowledge has forged them, but a question of morality. Whatever may be the technical triumph in the manufacture of the atom bomb, it is incomparably less important than its use, if it should be used again at all.

Men can find no basis for the peaceful solution of their conflicts within themselves. At the risk of saying something that is self-evident, I would insist that no supra-national body, no collection of governments, no supreme tribunal of nations can possibly have any purpose, if the law to be applied in the event of a clash of their interests is to proceed from a kind of watering down and dilution of the maximum on which they can agree. His Holiness, Pius XII in *Summi Pontificatus* has enunciated that with perfect clarity:

"It is clear enough what is meant when the rights of nations are altogether excluded from the divine law and made to depend on the caprice of in-

dividual rulers as their sole sanction. It means that those rights are being dethroned from all the estimation, from all the security which they enjoy and are being left at the disposal of hasty minds, intent on public or private advantage."

Peace is not merely the absence of war. It is not merely the avoidance of trespass. Peace is not the reign of tranquillity under police surveillance. It is order and harmony and peace of soul—individual and collective. An international police force or even an army might very well serve the useful purpose of stopping aggression. But once that aggression has been stopped there is no guarantee that the attitude of mind necessary for peace will prevail.

"There is no peace to the wicked" says the Holy Spirit, and in the encyclical *Caritate Christi Compulsi*, Pope Pius XI dwells on this idea:

"Because they live in continuous struggle and conflict with the order established by nature and its Creator. Only when this order is restored, when all peoples faithfully and spontaneously recognize and profess it, when the internal conditions of people

and their outward relations with other nations are founded on this basis, then only will stable peace be possible on earth."

This subservience to the order that God has established for men and within which men refuse to live is essential. With it come the partial victories over those forces that make for conflict and strife, enumerated by Pope Pius XII in his message, *Crazie, Venerabili fratelli*, on Christmas Eve, 1940: Victory over hatred, victory over distrust, victory over the dismal principle that utility is the foundation and aim of law, victory over potential conflict arising out of the unbalanced state of world economy, victory over the kind of egoism which, relying on its power, aims at impairing the honor and sovereignty of nations.

If the principles on which Christians should base international thought and action are clear enough, it is another thing to apply them to the actual realities of today.

We live in a divided world: a division that goes deeper perhaps than at any time in recorded history. The traditional rivalries of empires and of dynasties have given way to a split

that is inspired by diametrically opposed ideas about man and his place in the universe.

It is becoming immensely clear—if it were ever otherwise—that with the communist system, and I use the word system and not people, there is possibility of collaboration, permanent compromise or understanding. If on the communist side it is possible to attribute to those in control a doctrine, an idea, an attitude toward the world that is reasonably uniform, on our side this is considerably less clear.

The largest part of the world that is non-communist belongs to what we may broadly call for the sake of clarity, the western tradition, that is, the way of life and system of ideas that come from Greece and Rome. There is reluctance in many quarters to call this array of peoples and cultures, Christian, and still less to employ an old and very honorable expression, Christendom.

The overwhelming majority of the non-communist peoples, from Scandinavia to Australia and from South Africa to the Philippines, whether they profess a vigorous Christianity or not, partake of the common heritage

and this in essence is about the only thing they have in common.

This two thirds of the world, vaguely aware as it is that the struggle in which we are engaged is spiritual and theological and not merely political or military, has yet to retrieve full consciousness of its mission. So low have religious values fallen in most of our lands that every effort is exerted to disguise the nature of the conflict under any designation except the one that it very plainly is.

In immediate terms, what attitude should Christians take toward the part of the world that has been plunged into darkness? It seems to me absolutely crucial that we define the character of our responsibility toward those who suffer martyrdom under communism and at the same time exert every influence on governments to the end that national and international policy regarding them respond to the highest dictates of conscience as well as practical politics.

We cannot liberate them as things stand today, short of war. We cannot urge them to rise up in rebellion against their enslavers because they cannot do it alone. Only time will make clear

what positive action can be taken on their behalf.

In the meantime, they must know that the world is with them, that it is not reconciled permanently to their eclipse, that men of good will everywhere pray for them and beg God in his mercy to give them strength to bear their heavy burden.

It is easy to forget, unless events become spectacular, those who for the past ten or more years have been blacked out in the communist night. For all of them from the small Baltic peoples, so mercilessly crushed, to the Poles, the Ukrainians, the Czechs and the Slovaks, the Hungarians and the Roumanians, the Croats, Slovenes, Serbs and Bulgars, all bulwarks of historical Christianity, there can be no forgetfulness.

In their struggle, that appears so hopeless at times, the least we can do is to keep alive the fire of solidarity and the assurance that in our hearts everywhere their destiny is inextric-

ably linked with ours and that we shall not forget.

By the side of the anonymous masses who suffer in silence, the Christian world has been blessed with a new generation of martyrs, Mindszenty, Stepinac, Beran, the hierarchy of Roumania, the Lutheran bishops of Hungary and the rank and file of the clergy who are submitted to the slow torment of reprisal and suppression. If we forget them in their spiritual trial, the political betrayal of the recent past will become an even blacker stigma on our record.

Christianity, then, is part of international life because Christianity is in the world. The remedy for the illness of man's soul in his quest for a decent life in communion with his fellowmen of every race and color, is only to be found in terms of eternity. If a formula is possible and sometimes these very complex things are reducible to very simple terms, it would be, "the restoration of all things in Christ."

THE PURPOSE OF THE CATHOLIC HOUR

(Extract from the address of the late Patrick Cardinal Hayes at the inaugural program of the Catholic Hour in the studio of the National Broadcasting Company, New York City, March 2, 1930.)

Our congratulations and our gratitude are extended to the National Council of Catholic Men and its officials, and to all who, by their financial support, have made it possible to use this offer of the National Broadcasting Company. The heavy expense of managing and financing a weekly program, its musical numbers, its speakers, the subsequent answering of inquiries, must be met. . . .

This radio hour is for all the people of the United States. To our fellow-citizens, in this word of dedication, we wish to express a cordial greeting and, indeed, congratulations. For this radio hour is one of service to America, which certainly will listen in interestedly, and even sympathetically, I am sure, to the voice of the ancient Church with its historic background of all the centuries of the Christian era, and with its own notable contribution to the discovery, exploration, foundation and growth of our glorious country. . . .

Thus to voice before a vast public the Catholic Church is no light task. Our prayers will be with those who have that task in hand. We feel certain that it will have both the good will and the good wishes of the great majority of our countrymen. Surely, there is no true lover of our Country who does not eagerly hope for a less worldly, a less material, and a more spiritual standard among our people.

With good will, with kindness and with Christ-like sympathy for all, this work is inaugurated. So may it continue. So may it be fulfilled. This word of dedication voices, therefore, the hope that this radio hour may serve to make known, to explain with the charity of Christ, our faith, which we love even as we love Christ Himself. May it serve to make better understood that faith as it really is—a light revealing the pathway to heaven: a strength, and a power divine through Christ; pardoning our sins, elevating, consecrating our common every-day duties and joys, bringing not only justice but gladness and peace to our searching and questioning hearts.

127 CATHOLIC HOUR STATIONS

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127 CATHOLIC HOUR STATIONS

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