

Corrigan, Jones I.
The Church and some...
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The Church and Some Outstanding Problems Of The Day

by

Reverend Jones I. Corrigan, S. J.,
of Boston College

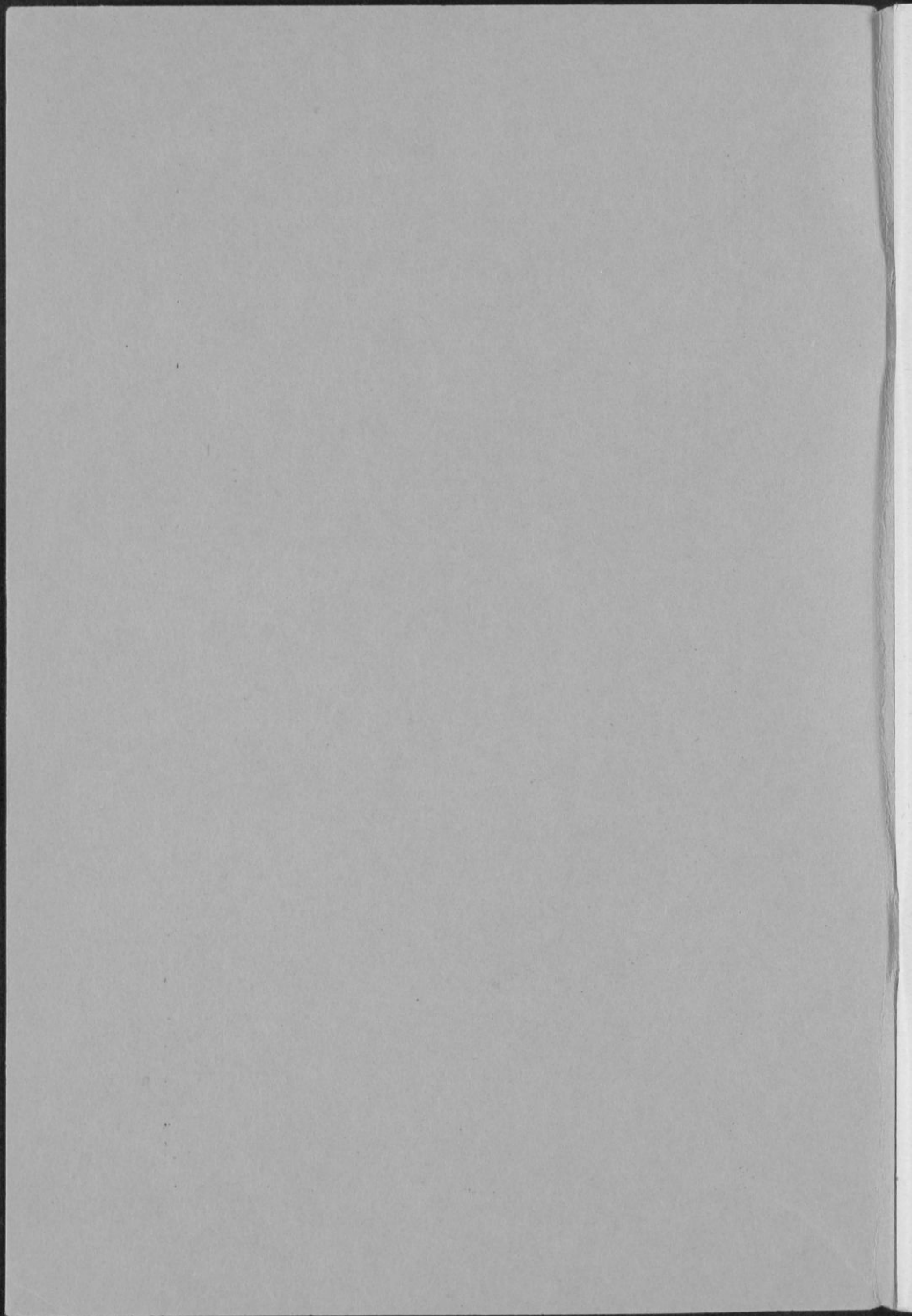
Nine addresses delivered in the Catholic Hour,
sponsored by the National Council of Catholic
Men with the co-operation of the National
Broadcasting Company and its Asso-
ciated Stations.

(On Sundays from September 4 to October 30, 1932)

- I. The Nation's Youth Problem.
- II. The Nation's Divorce Problem.
- III. The Nation's Crime Problem.
- IV. The Machine Age.
- V. The World Crisis.
- VI. Unemployment.
- VII. Peace and War.
- VIII. The Citizen's Public Duty.
- IX. Christ or Chaos.



National Council of Catholic Men
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FOREWORD

Seldom, if ever, in the history of our country has the morale of the Nation been so low. It is not alone the depression which is causing concern to thinking men in every walk of life, but the prevalence of crime and lawlessness, the corruption in public office, the conditions among youth, the decay of morals, the disappearance of religious influence, these are the questions that are giving every lover of America anxious moments for the stability and permanence of our great adventure in democracy.

In these short Radio Addresses an attempt is made to marshal the facts, point out the trends, and indicate the needs which may help to a solution of these Pressing Problems of the Day. It is the conviction of the author of these broadcasts that Washington was right, eternally right, when he declared enlightenment, and morality, and religion to be the pillars of the State. Our heritage of freedom rests upon those three supports. If the Nation totters, it is because dry rot has eaten away the solid substance of the pillars. Only a revival of genuine American citizenship, based on enlightenment, strengthened in morality and inspired by religion, will bring back that sense of responsibility without which our free institutions cannot endure.

If these broadcasts help even in a small way to rescue our democracy from the perils that beset her, the author will feel more than repaid for the labor they have entailed.

DEDICATION

To the National Council of Catholic Men, whose aim and object is identical with the purpose of the author of these broadcasts, to wit, that the fuller, richer life in Christ may be the lot of all, the simple Radio Addresses contained in this pamphlet are devotedly dedicated.

THE NATION'S YOUTH PROBLEM

Address delivered on September 4, 1932

“How beautiful is youth! How bright it gleams,
With its illusions, aspirations, dreams!
Book of beginnings, story without end,
Each maid a heroine, and each man a friend!
All possibilities are in its hands.
No danger daunts it, and no foe withstands;
In its sublime audacity of faith,
'Be thou removed,' it to the mountain saith,
And with ambitious feet, secure and proud,
Ascends the ladder, leaning on the cloud.”



It is thus that the poet pictures youth, active, energetic, wholesome, noble and true. It is thus that all of us who are in contact with the Nation's young life know youth to be in thousands of our homes, where the ringing laughter of joyous, innocent children is the sweet music that assuages parental cares and rewards parental sacrifices.

Let not current pessimistic criticisms of youth distort the true picture, nor blind us to the all-important fact that in her 46,000,000 children, America has a possession beyond price, a treasure unequalled, a hope for the future that thrills the mind contemplating it. What a picture they make as they troop off to school next week, 23,500,000 of them to our elementary schools, 5,000,000 to our high schools, and 1,000,000 to our colleges and universities. The very presence of a widespread alarm and concern for youth is a sign of health. When public men are voicing the need of safeguarding the youth of the land, it is an indication that the Nation is becoming aroused to the evil influences threatening the young. When business and professional men, clergymen, parents and teachers, are beginning to give thought to the problem, that fact alone begets the well-founded hope that youth, with

“its illusions, aspirations, dreams,” will come through the perils of the new age unsullied and undaunted, if not unscathed.

My plea tonight is for our youth. My message is meant especially, though not exclusively, for the parents of youth, the God-given, privileged guardians of the young. For, after all, if children are the flowers of the garden of the home, who but their parents are the privileged gardeners appointed to watch over and care for those delicate blooms until they come to the full-blown glory of noble manhood and virtuous womanhood? How will our youth, “with ambitious feet, secure and proud, ascend the ladder, leaning on the cloud,” unless their fathers and mothers are awake to the dangers surrounding youth today, and safeguard them from the evil influences that are bringing the bitter heartache to too many of our homes?

One distressing sign of the times is found in the sharp drop in the criminal age within a generation. Thirty years ago, the average criminal age was 40. Today it is nearer 20. The youthful criminal has become a familiar figure. Crimes of violence are being perpetrated by young men in their teens, and the gunman, hijacker or gangster who has passed his thirtieth year is now a rarity. Add to this the conduct-disorders in our high and elementary schools, the statutory crimes involving the young that shock the Nation from time to time, the drinking, petting and carousing parties that have become all too common in American young life, and you will begin to sense that the youth problem is very real, and that parents, and all who have the care of the young, should give thought to the problem as it affects their own

children, at least, in order that youth's "sublime audacity of faith" may be preserved.

Much of the harm to youth is done in certain of our schools and colleges, and here, especially, parents can save themselves bitter regrets, and their children wrecked lives, by keeping their boys and girls away from such institutions. In some of these schools, cynics are undermining the ideals of youth; sentimentalists are basely distorting the emotional life of youth; pseudo-philosophers are sadly misleading youth away from the high principles of noble living, offering in their stead unbridled license as the guiding principle of life, self-indulgence and self-gratification as its goal. What chance has your boy or girl in schools of this type, where polished, paganized professors are deliberately unsettling the religious convictions of the students, and holding out to them the lure of worse than pagan immorality? What respect for religion, what reverence for the authority of law, human or divine, can withstand the subtle, sinister influence of professors who sneer at the "myth and outworn superstition", as they call it, of a personal God?

How can your boy fail to be unsettled when told in some of our secular colleges and universities that the criminal is in no way responsible for his crime, that neither in the criminal nor in the ordinary citizen is there the slightest shred of freedom in any of his acts, that everything is predestined by his heredity or by his experiences since birth, or both?

What wonder that youthful morals are causing concern, when in universities, professing to be institutions of learning, and founded by pious Protestants to promote the interests of Christ and His Church, highly-paid rationalistic professors are

teaching that the Ten Commandments are only a man-made code of etiquette, the crystallized will of a group, not the revealed law of God binding upon the conscience of man! Abandoned ideals, wrecked lives are the outcome, and the bitter salt tears of disillusioned mothers and fathers can never make up to their sons and daughters for the destruction that has been wrought. How parents, who commit their sons and daughters to such sinister influences, can be absolved of direct blame, passes understanding. In God's name, withdraw them in time!

Another fertile source of trouble with the young comes from companionships. The youth problem would be already half-solved, if parents would look into the companionships of their children. Right companionships are both a preventive of harm, and a powerful constructive force in young lives. There is a deep suggestion for parents, and a warning, too, in the fact that criminals under 13 years of age almost always go in gangs. They need encouragement from each other to carry through their escapades. If your boy is a member of a gang, the chances of delinquency are almost a sure wager. Get him away from that influence immediately. But don't stop there. Don't rest until, in place of the gang, you have helped him to form wholesome, vigorous friendships that will, at once, satisfy his natural craving for companionship, and at the same time exert a steadying, strengthening and inspiring influence in his life.

In working with youth, our program, to be successful, must be related to boy nature. It must be long on expression, and short on repression. It must be filled with romance and adventure and thrill, because boys are romanticists and adventurers.

It must be a program that boys like. It must be impelling in its appeal and absorbing in its pull; a program that boys want, and not that men merely want boys to like. A program that a boy likes, but that is not boyish. It must allow for individual variation, for boys are not all cast in the same mold.

It must be a health-giving program. It must build vitality, organic vigor, virility. It must set up habits that carry on into adult life, and that push back the oncoming of senility and senescence.

It must be a character-building program, for effective character can be built only in relation to activity. It must have an appeal to honor, virtue, thrift and integrity. It must develop these virtues without teaching them as such. They must not be imposed, but rather grow out of the activities in which he engages, in a natural way.

Above all, a successful youth program must serve to develop religious and spiritual ideals based upon deep religious convictions. There is no substitute for the religious motive. It unifies life, gives it direction, and inspirational force. Without it, there is an incompleteness about life, a sense of futility in effort, an absence of what modern life needs most: the sense of responsibility, of personal responsibility to Almighty God.

How long shall we delude and deceive ourselves and defraud youth by depriving our young people of the inspirational ideals that come from religion alone? Are we forgetting Washington's wise warning that "reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle?" Our careless neglect in the Christian training of the young is treason to youth and treachery to our country as well. In vain

shall we look for a recession of the crime wave, if we continue to neglect the Christian training of youth. The Christian training and education of youth is one of the most vital problems of the day.

Religion has inspired more literature, more painting, more sculpture, more architecture, more noble living than any other one thing. Where practical religious life wanes, the fuller, richer life decays. Youth workers should ponder, parents should never forget that "Unless the Lord build the city, they labor in vain who build it."

Religious apathy and spiritual illiteracy are the greatest curse of the youth of any land. Religious influence and spiritual inspiration form the most vitally energizing, uplifting and ennobling force on earth. One thing is certain: the real reforms which society in these days is seeking, will come as a result of our religious convictions, or they will not come at all.

Dear friends of the radio audience, the Nation's Youth Problem is your problem. Our youth, God bless them, are the future's brightest hope. To gain for them a fuller, richer life, is your task. They need interpreting, adjusting, steadying. Don't fail them in these crucial times. No labor is lost, no effort wasted, that aims to build better men and women.

Youth's own idealism is our best ally in the battle to save America's youth from the real dangers of the day. It is a glorious task to stir the idealism of youth with courage to dare, with ambition to achieve, with nobility to strive, with inspiration to win.

The early years are vital, for "it's hard to take out of the oak the twist that grew in the sapling." After-remedies often come too late. There will be

discouragements, there will be need of patience, but, withal, there will be the undying consolation too of knowing that through your efforts, you have helped, in some small measure, to enhance the truth of the poet's inspiring words:

"How beautiful is youth! How bright it gleams!
With its illusions, aspirations, dreams!
Book of beginnings, story without end,
Each maid a heroine, and each man a friend."

THE NATION'S DIVORCE PROBLEM

Address delivered on September 11, 1932

The Nation's divorce problem is, at last, arresting the attention of the Nation. Public men are frankly concerned at the increasing number of our broken homes. A changed attitude of mind toward divorce is clearly discernable in the public utterances of the country's foremost statesmen and educators. It is a fortunate, if belated, recognition that, in divorce, our beloved country, America, is facing a peril worse than war, a disease already far advanced, a plague that has become epidemic, with results to our moral and social well-being as a Nation that may give all of us pause.

The figures on divorce are appalling, and tragic in their significance. Last year, in 1931, the number of divorces totaled 183,695. The year before, the number was 191,591. Over 4,000,000 men and women have been divorced in the country since the beginning of the present century. What wonder that thinking men are beginning to ponder. We have now reached the point at which, in America, homes are being broken annually at the rate of one divorce to every 5.8 marriages. It is growing steadily worse and in many of our States it has gone far beyond this. Statistics show, for example, in Maine, one divorce for every 4.6 marriages; in Ohio, one to 3.2; in Texas, one to 2.6; in Wyoming, one to 1.9; while in Nevada, the statistics show one divorce to every 1.5 marriages. Here is the divorce problem in the raw. Extinction lies just ahead.

While Canada to the north of us is counting its divorces in the hundreds, we count ours in the hun-

dreds of thousands. In 1916, there were fifty-seven divorces in all of Canada; that year, in the United States, there were 112,036. Canada's rate is one divorce to every 161 marriages; our rate is one divorce to every 5.8 marriages. That the divorce wave has been steadily mounting in the United States, is best seen by comparative rates over a number of years. In 1887, we had one divorce to every 17 marriages; in 1900, one divorce to every 12 marriages; in 1923, one divorce to every 9 marriages; in 1928, one divorce to every 6 marriages; in 1931, one divorce to every 5.8 marriages. And the Nation's stability and permanence depends upon the permanence and stability of the Nation's homes!

Why blind ourselves longer? These figures clearly have imbedded in them the seeds of national disintegration. Public apathy to the growing evil of divorce and failure to recognize its grave menace are the chief causes which will bring about this disintegration. The figures are shocking. The public indifference to them is tragic. Does this indifference mean that the public is now disposed to condone as necessary what they once regarded as outrageous, and to accept as inevitable what they know should be suppressed as disintegrating and demoralizing? Is divorce to become the normal condition, permanent marriage the abnormal state among us?

The question is pertinent, for the growing disposition to regard divorce as a normal instead of an abnormal condition is shown by frequent signs. Writers of national and international repute are writing in our magazines articles setting forth the materialistic conception of marriage, and seeking to justify divorce by pagan phil-

osophy. Papers carry interviews with false feminists and utopian reformers, whose ideal is nothing higher than selfish earthly happiness, which, in their opinion, should outweigh every moral law, divine as well as human. Current literature and the moving pictures are constantly popularizing the wrong notion that the only escape from marital infelicity is divorce.

Divorce has become what Chesterton calls a superstition. And as a superstition it is increasing. It possesses the appetite that grows with what it feeds upon. Year by year, the wave has been mounting until, today, it threatens to engulf the home-life of America. From one divorce in every 15 marriages, divorces mounted quickly to one in every 10, one in every 9, one in every 8, until now they stand at one in every 5.8 marriages. And the end is not yet in sight.

Up to the present, public opinion has not been sufficiently aroused to take a determined stand against divorce; and public opinion alone can bring the needed reforms. Shall we wait until the American family is extinct? Shall we delay until the American home is shattered? Shall we put off action until national morality is a thing of shreds and patches and national stability irremediably undermined? The time has come to face the facts and destroy this national cancer. The time has come to act like wise men, and rouse ourselves from apathy to action. Divorce weakened ancient Rome to its fall. It is draining the vitality of our country to-day. Rome fell. Will America survive?

The fact is that for a decade or more, in America, marriage has been under constant assault. Sentimentalists have been distorting the true idea of hu-

man love; sensualists have been undermining the true nature of human wedlock; legalists have been loosening the ties of the home and multiplying the grounds for divorce, until today, in the United States, with our forty-eight different codes on marriage and divorce, and our fifty-two causes for sundering the bond, we show the most rapid increase of divorces of any civilized country, pagan or Christian, in the entire world. For the maintenance of family integrity, and for the good of society, if not for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, we cannot get back too soon to the Christian ideal of Holy Matrimony. The utter loss of that ideal is the most terrifying fact in contemporary American life.

We read of great sins and great sinners in times past. But we read also that they excited the indignation of society, and that the greatest sinner of them all never attempted to justify his sin, or to legalize it, or to obtain for it the approbation of his fellow-man, or of the laws of his country. But in our day and time, what do we find? We find the inconstancy and the infidelity of man legalized, acknowledged by the State, in that most infamous, most unchristian, most unholy law by which a man is permitted by the law of the land, to break the bond that he contracted in marriage before the altar of God, and to divorce the pure and holy, and high-minded wife, who was the first mistress of his earliest love.

While Christian law upholds the unbreakable bond, this legislation tells the woman, no matter how pure she be, no matter how holy she be, that she is never secure in her position, that she is never safe from some base conspiracy, that she may be driven forth from her husband's house, covered with ruin,

her name dishonored, her position lost, not knowing where to turn in her mid-life or in her old age—the abandoned, the injured, the down-trodden woman—because the State and the laws have given man power to do it.

By our divorce laws and by pandering to divorce, we have poisoned the public mind not alone by suggesting evil, but by suggesting a plausible excuse for it. As a result, respect for womanhood, wifehood, motherhood, is on the decline, while, as the crowning social menace of divorce, we now find that our criminal classes are being recruited from the children of our 'broken homes'. Ten years ago, if a 'hold-up' case were being tried in our courts, you would see in the dock or on the bench reserved for the accused, hard-bitten, experienced law-breakers between 35 and 50 years of age. To-day, if some one is accused of 'robbery under arms'—one of the most serious charges after murder in our criminal code—you will soon discover that the accused persons are mere youths, anywhere from 17 to 21. Why, during the past ten years, has the age limit of such offenders fallen from 40 to 20? Ask them, and they will tell you. Of these immature young criminals over 70 per cent—and that is a conservative estimate—are the children of 'broken homes'.

While they were mere children, the father deserted the mother, leaving her to support the babies by going out to work, thus allowing them to grow up on the streets and to learn how to evade the truant officer. Or the mother went off with another man, and the unfortunate father, who had to be at his work all day, could not watch over his children's development, and was so tired out when he came

'home' at night that all he asked of them was 'to keep quiet'.

This is the crime history of 70 per cent of our juvenile delinquents and young criminals. They are the awful price we are paying for the folly of our broken homes. Broken homes, broken hearts, broken lives! These are the unhappy fruits we gather from the violation of the great law of Jesus Christ, "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

Of course, I know that some will urge the difficult individual cases of infidelity, of desertion, of cruelty, of non-support, or of incompatibility of temper. But apart from the fact that the very possibility of divorce increases these crimes, and explains their current prevalence among us, there are other ways short of divorce, of meeting the difficulty they occasion. The Christian law of no-divorce is for the general well-being. Like all laws, it bears heavily, at times, upon the individual; but what law for the general benefit of the community is abrogated, because, at times, in individual instances it is found burdensome to the few? No! The good of the Nation ought not be forfeited, or even put in jeopardy, because of the individual, often himself at fault.

Dear friends of the radio audience, religion and sociology are absolutely at one in their appreciation of the paramount importance of the home for human progress and the moral improvement of the race. In both sciences, it is admitted that the destinies of mankind are intimately bound up with the permanence of the home and the stability of the family. The collapse of the home would entail the breakdown of society and the complete disintegration of civilization. At all stages of history, the home and the family have been threatened by the selfishness of men

and by carnal lust and passion. In our day, home and family are facing a new crisis, and are menaced by novel dangers. A reinforcement of the home and the family is necessary if we are to stay the moral dissolution, which already has begun, and which is spreading with alarming and disquieting rapidity. The home is the inner sanctuary of society. As long as it stands intact and undesecrated, purifying influences will go forth from it and pour vitalizing energies into the whole social body. The family can rebuild a nation and reconstruct a civilization in decay. The more closely knit the family and the more compact the unity of the home, the better for society at large, and the moral tone of the Nation as well.

As you sit in your homes and hear these words out of the air, recall the great law of Jesus Christ: "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." That law safeguards your home and every home in the Nation. It is the defender of your fire-side, the champion of your children, the strong bulwark of the Republic itself.

That law stands for the integrity of the family and the sanctity of the home. That law, by securing for childhood the exquisite blessings of maternal affection and the strong protection of fatherly care, has made mankind the everlasting debtor to Jesus Christ. While that law is in observance, a man may face the world, unruffled, serene, joyous,

"His native home deep imag'd in his soul."

How can divorce be right when it destroys the permanent things that make for the Nation's welfare, homes for the Nation's children, and shrines for human love?

THE NATION'S CRIME PROBLEM

Address delivered on September 18, 1932

No incident ever shocked the Nation into a realization of its crime problem like the recent kidnaping of the Lindbergh baby. That heinous, and atrocious, and particularly fiendish crime, brought home to the popular mind, as nothing else could, the fact that the army of desperate criminals which has been recruited in the last decade is winning its battle against society.

How few, even now, have any adequate idea of the extent of the problem! How few appreciate the threat to the orderly processes of life in the rise of organized crime! And yet, publicity here is essential, a knowledge of the facts is vital, if we are to proceed without hysteria to a well-planned, rational solution of this most vexing problem.

Even the sketchy statistics which we have on crime are appalling, but sketchy though they are, they unfold a picture of lawlessness that stuns the mind, and calls for prompt action to wipe out this national disgrace, to meet the challenge of rule by the gangster with the triumph of the law.

Here are some statistics on crime for thoughtful men to ponder; and they are from unimpeachable sources: from Warden Lewis E. Lawes, of Sing Sing Penitentiary; from Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, consulting statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company, and from the report of the commission on crime of the American Bar Association.

In the total crime history of the country, fifteen million have been arrested in the United States for one thing or another, while five million have been in-

carcerated in our prisons, jails or reformatories. To-day we have in prison a number of people equal to the standing army of the United States.

Our murder rate has doubled since 1900. 12,000 murders or homicides are committed every year at the present time, fifty times the number recorded in Great Britain. The criminals at large outnumber the police. There are approximately 135,000 persons who have unlawfully taken human life at large, unpunished, and unafraid, in the United States—about 50,000 more slayers at large than there are policemen in the entire country. What wonder the gangster holds human life cheap. Apprehension for the crime of murder has become a grim jest!

The money cost of crime to the people, directly and indirectly, each year, is more than three times the total income of the Federal Government from customs and internal revenue receipts.

In the face of these appalling figures, considering the cost of the courts, the cost of the police, the loss to the community in dollars and cents, to say nothing of the inestimable loss in human lives and suffering, it is astounding that the average American business man has considered the subject of crime as though it did not in any degree touch upon his world. He has looked upon it as a necessary evil, but one which concerned experts and others, but never himself. Crime touches all of us, in money and taxes if not directly in person.

One billion dollars is taken from the public every year by bucket shops, land and stock swindlers. \$125,000,000 on an average are embezzled each year. Approximately \$525,000,000 are taken from the homes of property owners by burglars each year. Forgers as their share receive approximately \$100,000,000.

Fraudulent bankrupts and credit frauds account for four hundred million, while political grafters and persons who steal from the governments run off with two hundred million dollars more. In the six months ended in February last, American banks and trust companies suffered 288 daylight robberies and 35 night burglaries, that is an average of two attacks every business day.

A conservative estimate of the cost of prevention, detection, prosecution and punishment of crime is estimated at one billion dollars. When you add to this the cost of maintaining prisons and institutions you have a grand total which staggers the imagination and defies apology.

Crime to-day in our country is a profession, an organized business, deliberately entered upon, and minutely organized. The greater part of stealing is done by organized thieves. It is in fact a "crime trust," whose business is burglary, highway robbery and embezzlement, with incidental murder on occasion. But the most sinister aspect of the whole crime problem is found in the corruption of public officials. In some of our large cities, a well-established, three-cornered alliance exists between the police department, the corrupt politician and the criminal element. This triple alliance between grafting police, corrupt politicians and ruthless racketeers has made a mockery of ordered government in many localities.

This inter-fraternity of gangdom, politics and the law enforcing agencies is more than a challenge to the law; it is a supplanting of the law by outlaw combinations, whose greed for easy money has brought the break-down of government and authority very near. An intolerable situation has arisen in which police and public officials are dominated by

politicians, gangsters and racketeers, business men are preyed on with impunity, grafting in public funds has become the rule, and an orgy of crime has resulted, approaching at times to a complete collapse of local civil authority. This is the crime problem at its worst. When the crime octopus fixes its tentacles on the very machinery of the law, what hope is there of breaking its strangling grip?

There is every hope, provided that public apathy can be replaced by public interest. No matter how sinister or hostile social conditions may be, they pass away with a startling abruptness once men and women, conscious of their tyranny, proceed against them. We can never abolish crime entirely. We can check it. We can improve our condition. We can restore the reign of law.

Celerity, Certainty, Finality! This should be the call to arms in the unceasing, nation-wide warfare against the mounting tide of crimes. Celerity of apprehension, certainty of prosecution, finality of punishment—these are the most effective safeguards against the modern bandit. These improvements have to do with police efficiency and the functioning of our courts. There is not the slightest doubt that one of the greatest needs of the Nation today is improvement in the administration of justice, especially of the criminal law. A firm but just criminal law, and honest, fearless courts, are a prime essential for success in the battle with crime in every part of the nation to-day.

But while criminal law and the courts must put the chief emphasis on apprehension and prosecution, the real hope for a crimeless future is in prevention. Unless we can enlist the homes of the nation, and the schools of the nation, and the churches of the na-

tion, in this great work of prevention, the octopus of crime will continue to squeeze the life blood out of the nation.

An analysis of the crimes committed throughout the country reveals the fact that the majority of them are either crimes of greed, or crimes of lust, or crimes of anger. Now greed, lust and anger are human passions. And the training of the young in the mastery of the passions is the work of the home, the purpose of the school, and one of the objects of the churches. May it not well be that the growth of crime among us must be traced to the failure of our homes, to the weakness of our education, and to the defects of our churches in the moral and religious training and education of our youth?

Our antiquated legal machinery, the abuses in the administration of the law, the law's delays, all of these must bear some of the blame for the prevalence of crime among us; but our homes, and schools, and churches too must share the indictment for their failure in the character-building of the Nation's youth, in the effective mastery of the passions, especially the three great sources of crime, the passions of greed, lust and anger. Here is where the preventive work must be done, if the national dishonor and disgrace of crime is ever to be overcome.

How slow we have been to grasp the simple truth that knowledge is power only when combined with moral character! What a price we have paid for our folly in striving in our schools to educate the mind of youth while neglecting to educate youth's heart and conscience! How much better to purify the stream of crime at its source, the untrained conscience, rather than at its outlet, the penitentiary!

Dear friends, the key to the crime problem is in

better homes, better schools, better churches—the character-building forces of the Nation. If a child grows up in a home of moral purity, where love reigns supreme and discord is absent, and attends a school where the education is of the heart as well as of the head; if the idealism of his youthful years is fired by the inspirations which religion alone can supply, then the chances of criminal conduct in that child's after-years are reduced to a minimum. The nation that would conquer crime, must look to the training of its youth!

That word "train" holds the secret. To train means far more than merely to impart knowledge. It means establishing right habits and evoking the powers of conscience to choose the right and reject the wrong. Little good will result from mere instruction about morals. It is training the child to *live* moral ideals that will promote citizenship, check crime, and assure a higher quality of human life.

Dear friends of the radio audience, the crime problem is your problem. If you are business men, you are making a heavy outlay because of crime. If you are parents, the crime problem touches the very safety and happiness of your home. And as citizens, interested in the welfare, the peace, and prosperity of our country, the problem of crime demands the public interest of all.

Are gangsters and racketeers to be more powerful than the forces of law and order? Is the ordinary citizen to be more afraid of the criminal than confident in the constituted authorities of his community? Are our great cities to become so terrorized and demoralized that the organized business of crime may operate without fear of interference and with almost complete immunity from punishment?

When many of the most responsible and thoughtful citizens of the country are asking just these questions privately if not in public, surely the time has come to deal with crime. With the apprehension and prosecution of the criminal, we may have little to do, save to support the authorities in their efforts to secure celerity of apprehension, certainty of prosecution, and finality of punishment. But with prevention, there is not a home in the land that cannot do its part.

If we develop in our children habits of honesty, habits of truthfulness, habits of industry, habits of personal purity, and other virtues essential to the stability of our social structure, we have done our part. In our country we have wealth, power, intelligence; but thus far we have not implanted in our citizenship the power to control wealth and scientific discoveries in harmony with those great ideals which guarantee the happiness and welfare of our people. Through the existence of the crime wave, it is now becoming increasingly clear that society must learn how to teach virtue, and find a way to give every child a systematic training in morality and religion, if the octopus of crime is to be vanquished. Without that, crime will flourish; the Nation will hardly endure,

“Till sovereign law, that State’s collected will,
O’er thrones and globes elate
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.”

THE MACHINE AGE

Address delivered on September 25, 1932

If you were asked to characterize the civilization of our time, to sum up in a word the culture of the present, you would probably answer: "Ours is the machine age." Other civilizations have been called the stone age, the bronze age, the iron age. With equal, if not greater precision and definiteness, ours may be called the machine age.

How the machine has revolutionized life! With what amazing swiftness changes have come! How striking the contrast between the simple life of our grandfathers and the feverish hustle of modern days! On land, on sea, and in the air, machinery has changed the whole face of living, until today, we smile at the simple inventions of the past, which, in their day and time, were thought to be marvels of human ingenuity and inventiveness.

Our wireless telegraph flashes a message clear to the other side of the globe, and the answer is back in our hands within eight seconds. As I speak over the radio, my voice is heard in every part of the country, even before the sound carries through the air to the last hearer in this hall.

The Empire State Building, in New York, rearing its beautiful lines into the air, twice the height of the Washington Monument, is made possible only by the machine. Without machinery, its 57,000 tons of steel never could have been hoisted and put in place; without machinery, its 200,000 cubic feet of Indiana limestone never could have been set; without machinery, its great stream-line tower, with its beautiful crest, gleaming golden in the late afternoon

sun, a thousand feet above the sidewalk, never could have become a beacon for the future mariners of the air.

With machines we tunnel under our rivers and through our mountains; with machines, 600 feet below the surface of the earth, we bore great aqueducts to bring pure, fresh, mountain water hundreds of miles for the teeming millions of our great cities; with machines we construct mile after mile of roads and boulevards, linking the very oceans with ribbons of concrete.

Airplanes cloud the sky and span the ocean—because of the machine; giant locomotives haul our heavy Pullman trains clickety-clack over the rails at a speed of 90 miles an hour—because of the machine; battleships, like floating forts, marvels of precision, efficiency, and power, protect our shores from invasion, our lives from attack—because of the machine.

Yes, ours is certainly the machine age! Whereas the first printing press had a capacity of 800 single printed pages an hour, to-day, our fast rotary newspaper presses turn out a whole Sunday paper, 96 pages, at the rate of 17 copies a second, 1000 copies a minute, 60,000 copies an hour.

The machine age! Is there any limit to man's inventive genius and adaptive skill? Is there any need he cannot fill, any want he cannot supply, any comfort he cannot bestow? So we boast! So we boast!

And yet, strange paradox, while we have been increasing the comforts of life, we have failed utterly to solve living. Indeed it may be asked whether we have not lost much of living in the very quest for life. "Not by bread alone doth man live, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God."

No Nation has solved living that has the record of crime that stains and smirches the fair name of our beloved country. We have not solved living with a murder record 50 times that of Britain, with 2000 kidnappings a year, with a crime cost equal to three times the total Federal income, with juvenile delinquency on the increase and Christian standards of living on the wane. No Nation has solved living where political corruption battens on the public treasury, where public officials are in alliance with public enemies, where democracy itself is threatened by unconstitutional bureaucratic rule.

Even in the economic field, where we might expect the machine to help us most, the machine has not solved living. These are indeed anxious times. We are approaching the fourth winter of the depression. Men's minds are beginning to question the foundations of our economic order. They want to know the "why" of this "panic of plenty". Why are men starving when our granaries are bulging with grain? Why are men idle when the need for industry's products was never so great? Why are millions in poverty when our banks are filled with gold?

The machine age! Yes, the machine has brought us luxuries, but it has brought us unemployment, too. Machines have erected palaces, but the hovels of the poor remain. Our farms have been mechanized in wondrous ways, yet our farmers starve. Ah, No! The machine has not solved living. It has, in many ways, served only to accentuate the problems of life.

Shall we then scrap the machine? That would be to put civilization into reverse. And civilization never goes into reverse. Shall we set the clock of progress back, and ask mankind to mark time in its forward drive for the fuller, richer life? That were

as futile as to try to push back the tumbling waters of Niagara's mighty falls. Shall we go back to the days of yesteryear when steam shovels were unknown and men digged the earth with pick and spade, and found life hard?

No! Never! Machines are here to stay. But the domination, the mastery, the tyranny of the machine must be destroyed forever. It's not in the machines, but in ourselves that we are slaves. Adjustments must be made; adjustments shall be made. The higher aspirations of mankind shall not be thwarted. Machines will be made subservient to men and will extend human happiness.

The same outcry against the machine greeted the introduction of the spinning-jenny, the cotton-gin, the steam engine itself. There were people living one hundred years ago, who would have scrapped the machines had they been given the chance. But who of intelligence to-day would say that the world would be a better place to live in had the development of machinery stopped in 1832?

Whatever may be said against the machine, the fact remains that it has lowered prices, and spread the comforts of life over millions of lives. It has been instrumental in shortening working hours; it has lessened the drudgery of work; it has given our workers factory accommodations far in advance of those available for the workers of past generations, while the many appliances to lighten the labor of the wives and mothers in millions of our American homes are made possible only by the fact that we are living in the age of machinery. All of this, in fair honesty, should be set down to the credit of the machine.

But living in the machine age, the great danger

is lest we come to live machine lives, to become so engrossed and satisfied with the material good things of life as to lose completely the spiritual satisfaction of the soul and open the way to an era of moral decadence where even justice is denied. This would be to warp life, to stunt it, to dwarf it, to darken life, as mere materialism always does by shutting off from life the sunlight of God. "Not by bread alone doth man live, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God."

Ants and bees lead busy lives, but man is more than insect. As long as man is man, his restless spirit craves immortality, his heart finds rest in naught save God. Addison sensed the thought and expressed this deep tremendous truth in those striking lines:

"It must be so. . . .
 Else—, whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
 This longing after immortality?
 Or, whence this secret dread and inward horror
 Of falling into naught? Why shrinks the soul
 Back on itself, and startles at destruction?
 'Tis Heaven itself that points out a hereafter,
 And intimates Eternity to man."

The machine age can help us in the quest for God. It cannot of itself, and by itself, reward that quest. The menace of the machine lies precisely in the tendency of the machine to divert man from that quest, to narrow the comprehension of life to one of its elements, and that its lowest element, the material. When mechanical tendencies are pushed too far, men become nothing but sterile workers like ants or bees. Humanity comes to be regarded as raw material instead of as individuals. The machine must not enslave; it can enfranchise.

Is the machine to kill the spirit and culture of

civilization? In our mechanical era, with its repetitive work, its uninspiring tasks, its deadening monotony, what of intellectual development, what of emotional life, what of art and architecture and music, what of life's spiritual values?

The answer lies with ourselves. Blame not the engineer whose work has changed unsanitary to sanitary factories, reduced industrial accidents and occupational diseases, brightened up shops, eased the load of physical labor. Blame rather ourselves for our failure to see the potentialities in the engineer's triumphs, and to build for ourselves on the foundations he has laid a spiritual greatness comparable in its sphere with the greatest triumphs of the machine age. Not destruction of the machine, but progressive and constructive control of it, is the hope for a fuller, richer and more abundant life for mankind.

The trouble lies not in the machine age but rather in us who live in the machine age. Given a population of human beings who know how to make use of their machinery for great and noble ends, nothing could be more wonderful than that they should have for their use such splendid and effective tools as scientific invention has put at their disposal.

Machines are dangerous and destructive of values only when the men behind the machines are unconscious of, or indifferent to, the necessity of living life on the basis of spiritual values. There is a vast difference between merely earning a living and living a life. The one is drab, the other is inspiring. It is the spiritual values and objectives that make the difference. The immense and tragic miscomprehension of the modern epoch has been its failure to recognize that man, unlike the insect, is essentially

spiritual. When men regain their love and desire for those things for which true religion stands and has always stood, the machine will lose its present menace—the machine age will progressively become an age of almost utopian progress.

Our Blessed Lord, who came that we might have life, and have it more abundantly, Himself marked out the way: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you." If we mechanize life merely, we despiritualize it. If we despiritualize life, we may succeed in earning a living, but we shall fail utterly in the glorious emprise of living a life.

The fuller, richer, more abundant life never forgets that:

"Life is probation, and the earth no goal,
But starting point of man."

THE WORLD CRISIS

Address delivered on October 2, 1932

These are indeed times that try men's souls. We are now approaching the fourth winter of this depression. Reflecting minds have speculated on whether we are not passing through one of the great crises in the history of mankind. World trade has fallen from \$31,000,000,000 in 1929 to \$18,000,000,000 in 1932. In that brief period it has been halved, while unemployment has doubled. Up to June of this year unemployment increased at an average rate of 267,000 a month. If unemployment continues to increase at this rate, we shall have well over 13,000,000 out of work by January, 1933.

The depression has cost the people of the United States \$150,000,000,000 in the shrinkage of our national wealth alone, while in one year, our national income is less by \$14,000,000,000. Private fortunes have dwindled alike with government revenues. Universal bankruptcy, in the view of many, impends. Destitution in appalling magnitude abounds.

We are facing a world crisis. For three long years, in the realm of finance and economics, the devastating conflict has continued unbroken—continued until billions of property values have been destroyed, until proud nations have been driven to the verge of bankruptcy, 70,000,000 unemployed men and women in the world with their dependents forced to the edge of starvation, until fortunes and farms and homes and broken families have been swept into one common sea of ruin and misery.

Even in duration, we have never had a panic like the present. Since 1819, we have had

12 major depressions. The shortest, that of 1848, lasted 5 months; the longest, that of 1873, was with us for 30 months. The present depression, beginning in October 1929, has already lasted 36 months, and in spite of venturesome optimistic prophets—let us be honest—there is not a statesman, financier or industrialist, whether in Washington or anywhere else, who can say when it will end.

Why deceive the people with false hopes? Far better for the country to be informed of the follies and mistaken policies that have brought us to our present plight, than to be beguiled with fatuous and misleading statements about the early return of enduring prosperity. Hopeful signs of recovery there are—yes—but no assurance of relief or that the progress to recovery will be maintained. If we would avoid a recurrence of these distressful days for business, agriculture and industry, if we would save our people from the appalling destitution of the last three years, we must seek out the symptoms of our industrial ailment, diagnose the disease with fearless truth, and apply the remedy, even if it be the knife, else the cancer of depression will remain and the nation waste away slowly to its death.

Many economists are reluctant to assign any one factor as a general cause of the depression. Some attribute primary responsibility for the depression to "malign inheritances from the Great War." It would be far nearer the truth to say that the depression is in large part due to the "malign inheritances" resulting from the creation of large aggregations of capital, some of them of huge proportions, without any thought of the superhuman capacity and social responsibility that such aggregations require of those at the helm. That we went too fast

is now recognized. That we proceeded without a regulator is regrettably obvious.

The movement toward the formation of trusts, mergers, consolidations and reconsolidations, and other financial exploitations of industry and commerce, without check, hindrance or restraint, led to an era of "gambling", to a reign of intensified and aggressive economic selfishness and self-sufficiency that is responsible for most of our economic ills. In a word, we became the victims of the spirit of greed, abandoning the binding obligations of social justice. "Rugged individualism" gone berserk explains the crash. Over-speculation and over-capitalization since the war stand forth as the chief factors that have caused this debacle. A speculative mania of unprecedented volume was indulged in for a long period by a very large portion of the people. Every conceivable kind of financial scheme was devised, placed on the market and sold to the public by unscrupulous, conscienceless, greedy and selfish promoters. The money in the hands of the public, which constitutes the purchasing power of the nation, rapidly diminished. The savings of a lifetime were exchanged for unsound and over-capitalized securities. The investment debauch, stimulated by money-crazed bankers and financiers, and encouraged by madcap industrialists thirsting for profits and power, has left the country prostrate. "Rugged individualism", with the brakes off, has ditched the Nation's business.

Auctioned farms, smokeless chimneys in every city and town, deserted villages, empty tenements, vacant stores and valueless securities, these are the tragic evidences of an economic system that was criminal in its consequences because it was carried

on in defiance of the law of God and even of the requirements of our common humanity.

We stand aghast at the paradox of gold bulging from our bank vaults, money so cheap that it is being loaned at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest, wheat piled mountain high and machinery rusting, in the most advanced industrial Nation in the world, while millions of our fellow beings are denied the frugal comforts of life. What a mockery of human relations when destitution in appalling magnitude abounds on every hand, while unmarketable surpluses of basic commodities, the essential elements of food and clothing, glut the depots and magazines from which commerce is fed!

Out of such conditions, as history teaches, revolutionary movements arise and flourish. The plight of our country and of our people excites concern in every patriotic mind. In desperation our governments, Federal, State and local, are moved to adopt measures of relief with little regard for constitutional limitations or for what, under ordinary circumstances, would be considered as sound economic principles.

The present is no time for hysteria, but for sound, sober introspection looking to recovery, reconstruction, and very much needed readjustment. The problem before us is two-fold; to extricate ourselves from the present depression and to take the necessary steps to prevent getting into like trouble in the future.

Economic planning has been acclaimed as the need of the hour. Yes! Economic planning we must have, but let it be economic planning that looks to the welfare of all, not to the selfish interest of a few.

Much of the economic planning so far advanced is really economic plotting. When bankers and financiers use the depression to bring pressure on farm-holdings and home-owners, that is economic plotting. When Chambers of Commerce plead the depression to persuade Congress to abolish the anti-trust laws, that is economic plotting. When business men, under pretense of the business slump, cut help to bolster profits, that is economic plotting. When captains of industry plan the introduction of machinery with inhuman disregard of the displaced employees, that is economic plotting.

Ah, yes! Let us have economic planning. But let us plan for all and not for the few. For the farmer as well as the banker. For the home-owner as well as the holder of the mortgage. For the clerk as well as the business executive. For the mill operative as well as the mill owner. For the workingman as well as the capitalist. For the man at the machine as well as the man who installed the machinery. For the great numbers of our people who own no property as well as for the few who own it all.

We do indeed need economic planning, but we need social planning far more. A new era is dawning. It is vitally important for the Nation that its foundations be laid in sound principles of social justice. The welfare of the Nation, its peace and prosperity, demand a fair deal for all parties at interest. Our business men, our Chambers of Commerce, our captains of industry are now busy with plans for the business and industry of the future. How much depends upon a true perspective of all the factors involved! Selfish plans can only work untold harm. The guiding principle, the patriotic attitude, should be the welfare of all.

One thing that the present depression has taught is that the capitalistic system, to survive, must recognize and take effective account of its social responsibilities. Such dislocations of human suffering and misery caused by widespread unemployment, old age destitution, the obsoleting of middle-aged men and women, and the general lowering of the standard of living of the working class, developing and recurring in any such degree as at present, spell the inevitable overthrow, by government action, if not by violent upheaval, of a system which supinely permits them, or short-sightedly fails to prevent them. Evolution, not revolution, is the hope of recovery and the promise of the new era; but let it be an evolution that improves the lot of all.

The era of "rugged individualism" is definitely over. Its selfish abuses, ending in the horrors of the present depression, have hastened its downfall. In the evolution of the new era now dawning, the "social objective" will be the guiding star, instead of the so-called "benevolently selfish" motive hitherto characteristic of American ambition and activity. Already forward-looking business leaders see that the only alternative to government control of industry is for industry itself to provide for the workers greater security, greater self-respect and greater leisure. Industry's readiness and ability to do this will be the test and measure of its enduring control.

The new trend towards industrial stabilization as a preventive of these recurrent depressions is the most promising measure that has been proposed in a generation. But it must include stabilization for labor as well as for capital, for the worker as well as for business, if it is to meet the demands of the new "social-minded" era of American industry. The de-

pression will not have been in vain if such stabilization emerges from it.

Success will depend upon a new statesmanship in business, industry and commerce, a business statesmanship, an economic leadership that must demonstrate that industry is the servant of the people and not its master; that the interests of the public come first, and not the selfish interests and private welfare of the few; a leadership that neither fears the future nor seeks refuge in fatuous optimistic predictions; a leadership that demonstrates its superiority, not by verbal proclamations, but by providing work and wages; a leadership which recognizes its social responsibilities to the man behind the machine as well as to the man behind the ticker; a leadership, in a word, that will shift the emphasis from salesmanship in business to statesmanship in industry, a new type of leadership enlisted in the service, not merely of dividends, but of humanity as well.

Dear friends of the radio audience, American business is fundamentally sound. Purged of its greed and its selfishness, and conducted along the lines of Christ's justice and His charity, it can lead the Nation to new heights of prosperity blessed by a larger measure of social justice for all. This is the Christian solution, this is the Church's solution, this is the patriotic solution to which every lover of our country will subscribe. Why have industrial unrest, strikes and widespread suffering, when the charity of Christ and His justice will bring peace, happiness, and contentment to all?

UNEMPLOYMENT

Address delivered on October 9, 1932

No problem of modern times has focussed the national attention like the problem of unemployment. During the past year we have seen millions of men and women tramping the streets looking for jobs, seeking help in churches and police stations, standing in bread lines, waiting in the vestibules of relief societies, and even storming the locked doors of the Capitol in Washington itself.

Investigators, who are in a position to know, declare that the current depression has produced greater distress than they have ever observed before; that there has been a general reduction in standards of living all along the line of moderate and low income groups; that families accustomed to living at the margin have dropped below; that families who have never before been dependent are today calling upon the agencies for help, and that foreign-born families, who, by years of industry and effort, had raised themselves to a much better position, have been obliged to drop back to the level at which they started, or even lower.

Actual destitution is found in many homes—families in cold rooms, with literally no food or fuel, little or no bedding, insufficient clothing, and absolutely no money or credit left. As we approach the coming winter, the fourth winter of the depression, all signs indicate a condition of need and suffering that will challenge every resource at the Nation's command. With their little savings gone, many families are nearer to actual destitution than ever before—with more debts, they have fewer re-

sources; relatives and friends are in much the same circumstances; and many are suffering from a long period of trying to live on an inadequate income. Through no fault of their own, millions, literally, are in dire want. For them I plead. The country rose nobly for Belgian relief. Shall we do less for American relief? Shall we do less for our own?

Surely the plight of the unemployed will awaken such a response of generous help this winter as the Nation has never seen. Give for humanity's sake; give for Christ's sweet charity. If you have much, give much; if little, give little, remembering that even the cup of cold water given in His Name will receive amazing reward. Let the rallying cry be: "They shall not starve!"

The present business depression, terrible and disastrous though it has been, has accomplished at least one good thing—it has served to awaken thinking people to the realization that unemployment remains as the greatest unsolved problem of our economic life. Its extent at the present time shocks and appalls us. In August, the figures reached eleven millions and a half. From January to June of this year, the average increase in the ranks of the unemployed was 267,000 a month. If unemployment continues to increase at this rate we shall have well over 13,000,000 out of work by January, three months hence. To maintain such an army, together with their dependents, is the huge task of relief this coming winter. It is no part of wisdom to underestimate it; to evade it means collapse.

But apart from the present emergency there is another aspect of the subject of unemployment which merits far more attention than it has been getting. This is the so-called "technological unemployment"

situation—the elimination of skillful workers from their jobs by new machine processes. The rate of this permanent displacement of skilled labor is about 150,000 a year. In four years the total is easily 600,000 men completely displaced by machine absorption of their work.

The most striking fact is that, while population in the United States has steadily increased, and while production in industry up to the crash continued to soar, the number of those employed kept falling—and still continues to fall. The professional musicians are a current illustration of the process. Here is a group of highly specialized men who face extinction of their jobs because of mechanical music in the theatres. In the clothing industry cutting machines have had a similar effect upon another skilled craft.

Instances of this machine displacement abound. From 1923 to 1927, a period of admittedly vigorous prosperity, production in the oil industry rose 89 per cent, while hand workers declined 5 per cent; in the tobacco industry, production rose 66 per cent, while employment dropped 13 per cent; in coal, production rose 19 per cent, while employment fell 15 per cent; in steel, production rose 17 per cent while jobs shrank 9 per cent; in cotton production, a 16 per cent rise was matched by a labor decline of 13 per cent. These declines were all in times of vigorous prosperity. The depression has sharply increased the number of skilled workers eliminated from their jobs by the new machine processes.

Today, giant pneumatic tubes do the work of 300 messenger boys; the printer-telegraph accounts for 8,500 fewer employment opportunities in the telegraph offices alone; cigar-making machines have

displaced 21,000 men; one hundred boot and shoe machines do the work of 25,000 men; dial telephones already installed have displaced 70,000 operators; a new bottle machine, entirely automatic, gathers the glass and molds and blows quarter-ounce bottles at the rate of 240 per minute. Because of this one invention somewhere between thirty and forty thousand men, highly skilled glass-blowers, have become technologically unemployed. But perhaps one of the most startling new mechanisms ever assembled is the new electric-bulb-blowing machine, capable of turning out, in the smaller sizes, as many as 442 electric light bulbs a minute, or 7 a second. When one machine in a bottle-works today replaces 9,000 men who would have been required in 1905, we have a graphic picture of the losing battle which the worker is waging against the machine.

Some, of course, of these skilled workmen, thus forced from their chosen occupation, are absorbed into other industries, but it is an increasingly difficult path and usually represents a drop in wages, lowered living standards and lessened consuming power. The machine does not eat, wear clothes or patronize the store; the workman and his family do. From this angle, unemployment caused by the machine is quite as much industry's problem as it is the workman's.

Viewed from any angle, unemployment is a scourge that must be faced and wiped out if the Nation is to prosper. In the economic field, the loss of working time amounting to millions of man-hours is a terrific waste of vast economic resources. But beyond the economic distress is the human cost which it entails, the destruction of the workers' standard of life, the loss of self-respect—which

comes from a sense of being useless, outside the economic system and dependent on charity—the undermining of his capacity for good work in the future, and the breeding of resentment against society itself. When hands that want work, cannot find work, men begin to think. Enforced idleness makes men discontented; hunger makes them angry; starving wives and children make them frantic. Thus unemployment makes for demoralization, lawlessness and anarchy, and becomes a matter of deep concern for the social, moral, and religious forces of the Nation. The challenge of unemployment must be met. The problem touches the deepest interests of the Nation, social and economic, as well as spiritual, moral and religious. But how meet it?

Emergency relief will be the immediate need the coming winter. Creating jobs and spreading work will absorb some of the idle, but if unemployment is not to become a permanent problem, aggravated more and more as machine processes are multiplied, industry must face the dilemma of shorter hours to employ all, or heavier taxes to support the workless. The five day week in industry is coming for the simple reason that the machine has made it not only feasible, but inevitable. No manifestation of so-called economic law can blink the cold, hard fact of idleness and starvation.

If a nation, according to Lincoln's happy phrase, cannot exist half free, half slave, neither can it exist half employed, half idle. With machine-power displacing man-power, production has outstripped all previous records, even those before the depression set in. So great is the potential production capacity of the country because of the vast use of power and new machinery that if the manufacturing

establishments of the Nation were to operate five hours a day at full capacity, the total volume of production would be even greater than it is at present.

Overhead costs operate twenty-four hours a day every day in the year. The enormous investment in plants and machinery makes it necessary that they should operate as many hours per day as possible, so that overhead expenses and the amount of capital may be reduced.

It would be more profitable to investors, more beneficial to wage-earners, and of greater advantage to the public generally, if many of our manufacturing plants operated two five-hour shifts per day, for, as modern industry is managed, little if any confusion and lost effort would take place by having one shift of workmen employed in the forenoon and another shift in the afternoon.

The two or three short-shift plan of operation during daytime is coming as certainly as the three eight-hour shifts displaced the two 12-hour shifts in continuous production. Where that adjustment has been made, companies report increased output, and enhanced profits, without reduction in wages.

There is the nub of the whole matter. Shorter hours and sustained wage scales, with more employed, and purchasing power among the mass of the workers increased, is the only feasible way, indeed the only sensible way, to meet the challenge of the machine, and break the strangle hold of unemployment on the country. Have we the statesmanship, political and economic, to meet the situation?

Happily a new spirit is making its appearance in industry. The era of rugged selfishness, culminating in the abysmal wretchedness and misery of the past three years, has brought an awakening. In the

ranks of the industrialists themselves new leaders are appearing who see that the welfare of the entire Nation must be looked to in the adjustments to come, rather than the narrow, selfish interests of those who seek unlimited profits even at the cost of widespread human suffering.

But despite the efforts of these few forward-looking, far-sighted leaders, the necessary adjustments will not be made, the serious problems of the new epoch will not be solved, without the intervention of Government. Industry itself has short-sightedly made such intervention imperative. By adding to the enormous totals of the unemployed instead of spreading work, industry itself has created the demand for compulsory unemployment insurance; by adopting the indefensible, uncivilized practice of fixing the limit of human service at 40 or 45 years of age, with all the dire consequences which such retirement means to society, industry has forced Government to consider retirement annuities, which will adequately meet such situations, through the enactment of a practical and comprehensive plan of retirement legislation. By paying the workers a mere subsistence wage instead of a security wage, industry itself has started the clamor for old-age pension legislation to care for those who are incapacitated because of age and infirmity.

How far Government will go in taking over the control of industry for the common weal, will depend on how far industry itself far-sightedly incorporates "human planning" into the economic planning now so prominently discussed. Economic planning is vital to the new era, to avoid the overproduction and waste of the hit-and-miss policy of the past, but "human planning" must receive far

more attention in the new day if industry is to measure up to the new responsibilities set by an aroused public opinion. The present unemployment has started a ground swell that may sweep all before it unless the human responsibilities of industrial relations are speedily recognized and measures taken to meet them. The machine has made the problem acute.

A just and rational solution is possible. May it be found without resort to strife, bitterness and industrial warfare! The famous old adage is peculiarly pertinent to the present situation: "A stitch in time, saves nine!"

PEACE AND WAR

Address delivered on October 16, 1932

On the top of the Andes Mountains in South America, on the boundary line between Argentina and Chile, stands a colossal statue of Christ the Redeemer. It is known as the Christ of the Andes. The figure of the Saviour is twenty-six feet high and stands on a tall, granite pillar, surmounted by a globe on which a map of the world is outlined. A tablet at the base bears these inspiring words:

“Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace to which they have pledged themselves at the feet of Christ the Redeemer.”

Here is a Peace Monument for all the world to contemplate and ponder. In 1902 Chile and Argentina were making great preparations to go to war over a boundary dispute. Chiefly through the efforts of the women and the clergy, they were persuaded to settle the dispute by arbitration instead of war, and to use the money thus saved for better roads and harbors. Part of the money built the great trans-Andean Railway between Santiago and Buenos Ayres. Instead of stocking the mountain heights with howitzers and machine-gun posts, they disarmed a thousand miles of their mutual frontier, adopted universal arbitration, and sealed their peace at the feet of Christ the Redeemer, the Prince of Peace.

What a lesson for a war-torn world! What a hope for the war-weary peace forces of all nations! What an inspiration for the flagging efforts of those who are seeking the key to universal peace despite

the baffling discouragements of a seemingly futile quest! The Christ of the Andes proclaims to the world that lasting peace there will never be until the agreements are signed and sealed at the feet of Christ the Redeemer, the Prince of Peace. If bellicose nationalism is to be held in leash, if national fears are to be allayed, if treaties are to be more than "mere scraps of paper", then the power of Christ must be invoked, the guidance of Christ must be sought, the spirit of Christ must pervade national minds and international conferences far more than it has since the war. Here is the key to universal peace! There is no other!

The Peace Movement must not fail! Have we forgotten the last war's awful holocaust? The 10,000,000 known dead soldiers; the 3,000,000 presumed dead in addition; the 13,000,000 dead civilians; the 20,000,000 wounded; the 3,000,000 prisoners; the 9,000,000 war orphans; the 5,000,000 war widows; the 10,000,000 refugees? No! The Peace Movement must not fail! The Moloch of War has devoured too many lives, brought grief and bereavement to too many homes, set back the progress of civilization too many years, ever again to receive the homage of the intelligent and enlightened peoples of the world.

What madness possessed the world during the World War to squander 237 billions of dollars, a sum equal to more than half the entire national wealth of the United States, upon the destruction of war! Children yet unborn, aye, unto the third generation, will live and die the innocent victims of that wild financial folly!

What a price the nations of the world pay for the senseless indulgence of national fears, and na-

tional rivalries, and national greed! For these are the things that breed wars, and wars drain national treasuries and deplete the wealth of peoples. Peace now reigns, yet nearly 30,000,000 men stand at arms in the various Nations throughout the world. Human society everywhere is floundering in the bogs of social and financial and industrial difficulties and bewilderment, yet the governments of the world are pouring \$4,500,000,000 annually into preparations for the next war. Peoples everywhere are groaning under the burden of the mounting costs of government, yet between 50 and 85 cents of every revenue dollar goes to foot the bill of the most recent international adventure in slaughter. When will the war-frenzy pass? When will sanity return? How long will it take the peoples of the world to realize that war, instead of being the glorious thing that militarists depict, is in reality only another name for slow but inevitable national suicide?

One doesn't have to be a pacifist to hate war, and seek to avert its awful consequences and frightful results among the peoples of the earth. Every Pope in the last fifty years has warned the Nations and their peoples against the menace of war in national rivalries and national armaments and national greed.

On February 11, 1889, twenty-five years before the Great War, Leo XIII issued this solemn warning: "Nothing is more important than to avert from Europe the danger of war, and thus all that can be done towards this end must be considered as a work of public safety. . . The menacing multiplication of armies is calculated rather to excite rivalry and suspicion than to repress them. It troubles men's minds by a restless expectation of coming disasters, and meanwhile it weighs down the citizens with ex-

penses so heavy that one may doubt whether they are not even more intolerable than war itself."

Again, on June 20, 1894, twenty years before the war broke out, the same great Pontiff foretold the coming cataclysm in these solemn words of warning to Europe: "We behold the condition of Europe. For many years past peace has been rather an appearance than a reality. Possessed with mutual suspicions, almost all the nations are vying with one another in equipping themselves with military armaments. Inexperienced youths are removed from parental direction and control to be thrown amid the dangers of the soldier's life; robust young men are taken from agriculture, or ennobling studies or trade, or the arts, to be put under arms. Hence the treasuries of the States are exhausted by the enormous expenditure, the national resources are frittered away, and private fortunes impaired, and thus, as it were, armed peace which now prevails cannot last much longer."

This was the Pope's prophecy of the Great War, and now only fourteen years after all the battles and horrors of that frightful conflict, after all the welter of blood, and wasted treasure, and ghastly cruelties, the Pope's words are a true picture of the world again today with the nations vying with one another in armies and armaments and military equipment on a larger scale than ever before, rushing on to the next great war—and oblivion!

We are living on a hair-trigger peace right now. The Dogs of War may be unleashed at any moment. A spark may cause the explosion again as it did in 1914. Every international conference since the war has disclosed the ominous fact that the lessons of the World War have not been learned. The old anti-

pathies survive; belligerent nationalism has increased, national fears predominate. The world is full of high-placed operators of national policies, loud in their professions of peace before the world; but at home, politics dictates the preparations for war. Between promise and performance a large discrepancy exists. Fortunate it is for the world that the ground swell of mass opinion the world over has become so formidable for peace that diplomats and politicians dare not run counter to it.

The recent Disarmament Conference at Geneva is a clear case in point. In the East, Japan gave the death blow to internationalism, after the politicians at Geneva had doomed the hopes of disarmament by pursuing selfish national ends. The three major disarmament proposals—the French, German and Anglo-Saxon—were attempts to solve and re-enforce domestic situations rather than to meet the world problem of reduced armaments. The political sore spots of Europe have not been healed by the lapse of time since the World War. Security based on “force” still rules the European mind.

The French formula, “security before disarmament,” presents an irreconcilable difference with the Anglo-Saxon formula, “security through disarmament.” The two points of view are hopelessly opposed, and, in effect, the Geneva Conference ended with Tardieu’s opening speech for France.

The purpose of France is to maintain the results of the World War and the Allied victory by the overwhelming power of arms. Germany wants to produce general revision of the peace treaties to re-establish herself among the Nations of the World. Italy seeks to exploit Franco-German disputes to her own profit. These three National policies are

utterly irreconcilable, and disarmament at Geneva actually became only a side issue supplying a pretext for battle. The hopes of the world for disarmament have been dashed primarily by the French demand for "security before disarmament." The new security through cooperation and understanding makes no appeal to the French mind. Bombs and guns and bayonets still rule French mentality. Japanese practice is French theory. The diplomats and politicians assembled at Geneva once more have bedevilled world peace. At the Conference, all the statesmen clearly pronounced for a reduction of armaments, and at the same time all attached impossible conditions for any actual decrease in the costs and numbers of their armed forces. Political considerations were allowed to dominate and defeat the common sense of mankind. Selfish nationalism still rules international relations.

The hope of world peace depends not upon Governments, but upon the mass opinion of mankind. That opinion marshalled for disarmament, arbitration and keeping faith, will bring the long deferred dawn of a better day for all the peoples of the earth. As for disarmament, is not the present economic condition of the world compelling reason for its adoption? Why keep up the utterly useless burden of expense for the engines of war in a world staggering under intolerable economic burdens? All the nations of the world are weighted down under the load of excessive taxation. Rich and poor alike pay the excessive costs of government. Why pour five thousand millions of treasure annually into competitive armaments which are almost certain to lead to war, when, if put to constructive purposes, only benefit could accrue to the respective nations?

How about spending some of this wasted money in building up education, so that through a wider knowledge, human life may be made happier and sweeter? How about opening up the forests and making the health-giving countryside available to the little children who now wither in our cities? How about building churches in which, with the help of an inspired clergy, the spiritual side of the Nation's life may be developed? When the mass opinion of mankind calls a halt upon gigantic military expenditures, the first step towards the blessings of world peace will have been taken.

But disarmament is not enough. There remains the affirmative program of building up the instrumentalities of peace, notably treaties of non-aggression, arbitration and conciliation. Why appeal once more to the bloody arbitrament of the sword, when the means of peaceful accord are within our grasp? Why resort to war and violence and brutality and organized slaughter when reasonableness and cooperation clearly point the way to peace? To the mass opinion of the world it is becoming ever more clear, thank God, that violence defeats itself. Violence is no way to achieve either family life, or education, or religion, or stable government. Those who rely on violence as their mainstay and effective instrument are sure to miss what they are seeking to achieve. Progress has always consisted in carrying over human life from violence to cooperation. The Lord Himself has said it: "All that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

Dear friends of the radio audience, the promotion of World Peace is a cause that should enlist the enthusiastic support of all sensible men. The Popes urge it; the leading statesmen in all nations endorse

it; the common sense of mankind approves it. The road to peace is now crystal clear. It is marked by three signposts, pointing the way: Disarm! Arbitrate! Keep faith! As the mass opinion of the world assimilates more and more the meaning of those words and the blessings they assure, the ruthless god of war will tremble for his power and surrender at last his long sway and reign over mankind into the hands of Christ the Redeemer, the Prince of Peace! The Christ of the Andes is the sign and symbol of World Peace.

THE CITIZEN'S PUBLIC DUTY

Address delivered on October 23, 1932

Two weeks from next Tuesday will be Election Day. On that day the Nation will go to the polls. A great people, pledged to the representative democratic form of government, will express its will through the ballot on issues and candidates. The vote of the electorate of the United States of America will be cast. Where other nations settle their problems of government by revolution and the arbitrament of the sword, we settle ours, thank God, by the more satisfactory process of the vote.

When the destiny of 120,000,000 people hangs on the result, what wonder that Election Day has been called "the great assize" of the American People! To vote is the citizen's first public duty. Neglect of that duty imperils the Nation. For the ballot in the hands of the Nation's electorate, not only assures the perpetuity of our free institutions, but it determines as well how far those institutions shall remain free both from the blighting influence of "invisible government" on the one hand, and from the tyranny of the mob led by the demagogue on the other.

Through the ballot, dear friends, let us never forget, the people have it in their power to cut off those who have proved unworthy of the public trust reposed in them. Through the ballot the people can exclude from public office those who are unfit either by training or outlook for the people's service. Through the ballot the people can cure every disorder and heal every abuse in government whether it arise from incompetence, or from inefficiency, or

from downright dishonesty and knavery. Along with the ordinary and orderly processes of education, organization, and legislation, the ballot is a sovereign people's defense. Through these all social wrongs can be righted.

Just now, democracy as a form of government, through the world and right here in our own country, is under fire. Foreign dictators ridicule and jeer at democracy as an inefficient and bungling system of government; domestic critics, with short-sighted vision, misled by current grave abuses in government, federal, state and municipal, have lost faith in our Republic, would jettison democracy, and launch the Ship of State anew under "the benign tyranny of a dictator"! What folly! What nonsense! What madness! Let other nations keep their foreign dictators if they will. For me, American democracy, with all its faults, still stands without a peer amid the governments of the world!

But let us not blind ourselves to our faults. It is no part of wisdom to shut our eyes to grave perils. The rumblings, the dissatisfaction, the discontent with government in our midst undoubtedly has a strong basis in fact. Whence come the complaints and misgivings about government at the present time? They may be traced to three outstanding sources of abuse: official corruption, public graft, and selfish interests in the holding of public office. One of the most prominent men in public life to-day recently asserted that "never before in the history of our country have so many public officials been faithless to their trust as at the present time. There has been in recent years a striking change in the attitude of men elected or appointed to office toward the duties and obligations of that office." "This is

my belief," he said, "from observation of conditions in every part of the country". "This lowering of standards", he continued, "appears to pervade all branches of the public service. It has made its influence felt on the most sacred of obligations. Even our judges have been faithless to their trust."

What an era of betrayal those words depict! Can it be that democracy breeds such conditions? Is the exploitation of public office for private gain to be the end of government? Is a sovereign people to be shackled and despoiled by the minions of its own creation? That there has been such betrayal of public trust, that thievery and rascality have smirched the cloak of authority, is a fact so obvious to all that graft in public office has become a byword among us.

Have we here an explanation of the crime wave in the country at large? To-day we are harassed by an orgy of lawlessness unparalleled in the history of our Nation. Crime, in all its hideous deformity, boldly and brazenly stalks the streets of our cities, openly flaunting authority, and endangering the lives and the property of the people. Truly it has been said that the cheapest thing in the Nation to-day is human life. Whence this wave of crime in our land? What is at the root of this widespread lawlessness? To my mind, one of the most prolific sources is corruption in public office. Right here, I think, we find a tap-root of our lawlessness, a well-spring of our crime.

I am convinced, and many are convinced with me, that in many cases those who wield the sceptre of authority are guilty of serious crime. Dear friends, it is a terrible thing for the people to lose confidence in those who rule them. When public officials forget their sacred oaths, and stoop to the

level of common thieves, and by fraud, and deceit and injustice, infringe on the rights of the citizens, then authority becomes a travesty, and the flood-gates of crime are opened wide. When a man higher up and holding a position of public trust can steal \$1,000,000 with impunity, what is there, I ask, to stay the hand of the petty thief who would chance \$1,000?

When the robes of justice are stained with the unspeakable crime of bribery, tattered and torn by avarice and selfishness, then public confidence is dashed to pieces, and the majesty and sanctity of the law in the courtroom are irretrievably undermined. Never will you curb crime, as long as purse-bound plutocrats buy legislatures! Never will you curb crime as long as frenzied fanatics brow-beat lawmakers! Never will you curb crime as long as the criminal can buy protection at the price of a ballot! Never will you curb crime as long as decisions of judge and jury are auctioned off to the highest bidder! Never will you curb crime as long as appointments to teaching staffs come only after the payment of bribe-money to grafting, bribe-seeking, school committeemen! Never will you curb crime as long as the pleadings of policy and political expediency are substituted for the principles of justice!

For as long as grovelling graft usurps the place of unimpeachable integrity, honor, and character, in high stations of life, the orgy of lawlessness will go on, and the dance of the devil will hold high revelry. Political poltroonery, unmitigated rascality, and contemptible bribery in public office, have done more, far more, to breed crime in the masses, than have ignorance, or indigence, or squalor, or the slums.

When honor sits in the chair of authority, when justice reigns in the tribunals of the people, when honesty and integrity rule in public office, then, and not till then, can you hope to stem the tide of lawlessness, and curb the madness of crime.

And how can this be done? By the people rising at last everywhere against corruption in public office; by the citizen fulfilling the citizen's public duty, and voting; by the electorate using the ballot to drive from public office the bribe-taker, the corrupt politician, the dishonest public servant, who look upon election to public office as a commission from the people to despoil them, and pursue their own illegitimate, personal, selfish ends. The ballot, the vote, is democracy's way of purifying public life, and putting an end to corruption in public office. An aroused public opinion is democracy's safeguard.

Dear friends, why does corruption in public office flourish? Because for some years now public apathy has kept the people away from the polls. The figures tell the story with a clarity that is tragic. They make one almost despair of democracy. During the long period when the United States was primarily agricultural, interest in balloting during Presidential contests was tremendous. More than 80 per cent of all voters qualified to mark ballots swarmed to the polls at every election held during the first half of the nineteenth century. During that time, only 20 per cent stayed away from the polls. In 1880, 84 per cent of the electorate voted; in 1884, 81 per cent; in 1888, 82.3 per cent; in 1896, 82.8 per cent.

That year marked the high tide. In almost every Presidential year since 1896, the figure fell with astonishing rapidity. In 1900, only 77 per cent

voted; in 1904 even greater indifference carried the percentage down to 67.6; by 1908, it had dropped to 67 per cent; by 1912, to 62.8 per cent. 1920 marked the record low of all time. That year but 48 per cent of those entitled to vote deposited ballots on election day. Even in 1928, 48 per cent of the electorate were stay-at-homes.

During the past three decades, a silent boycott on the ballot has been in evidence among the people. Is it a mere coincidence that the era of corruption in public office, now attaining brazen and perilous proportions, is exactly coterminous with this era of public apathy toward the ballot? In a democracy, what protection have the people against political exploitation other than the ballot? Shall the citizen, by shirking his public duty of voting, give silent approval to the debauching of public office now going on? If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, how can the liberty of the people survive when their vigilance grows slack?

Dear friends of the radio audience, our American heritage of freedom is the greatest political treasure possessed by any people on earth. From the first, the Founders of our Nation swept away all lines of class distinction and interdicted all old-world ranks and titles. In America there would be no class aristocracy and no commons; the people, the whole people, would be sovereign. The unalterable purpose that inspired and sustained Washington and the patriots and statesmen who launched our democracy was the high resolve to secure for every man on American soil the inalienable rights with which he had been endowed by the Creator. They made the fundamental principle of democracy—the right of the people to govern themselves—the corner-stone

of their new creation. On it rested the liberties, privileges and prerogatives of the American citizen. Manhood was to be the only condition of citizenship and universal suffrage the medium through which the people should authoritatively make known their will. Equality of rights and equality of opportunity before the law should be the appanage of every American by birth and adoption. Liberty in unstinted measure was guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen; for the preservation of order the Government would depend not on bayonets, but on the intelligence and loyalty of the people.

This is our heritage of freedom. Its preservation is in our hands. That heritage can be dissipated by corruption in public office; it can be squandered by official graft; it can be lost by continued public apathy toward the ballot. Democracy is a self-healing and self-purifying form of government; but the process, to be successful, depends upon an intelligent electorate, an interested public, and an alert people.

The Founders of our Nation, the men to whom we owe our freedom, knew that moral consciousness underlies that organized life which we call to-day the State. The nation that forgets it, or neglects it, or spurns it, is fore-ordained to final ruin and failure. For, just as inevitably as, under God, the sun will rise to-morrow morning, the sole foundation of the permanence of a State is the moral consciousness, the quickening sense of righteousness, which abides in the heart of its people.

As we approach "the great assize", of the American people on Election Day, may every citizen of the Nation be mindful of his public duty, and cast his vote with courage, discipline, and loftiness of purpose, to the end that, purged of corruption in

public office, this Nation, under God, shall not perish from the earth!

CHRIST OR CHAOS

Addressed delivered on October 30, 1932

Dear friends of the radio audience, in this, my last address, let me ask you a searching question. What is the greatest need in America to-day? Is it not honesty in business? Is it not freedom from political corruption? Is it not integrity in finance? Business, politics, finance! These three hold the key to America's future. Corruption in all three is the dangling sword which threatens democracy's life. In a word, America's outstanding need to-day, as I see it, is CONSCIENCE! Conscience in business; conscience in politics; conscience in finance! Can it be denied that the troubles from which we suffer are due in very large part to the fact that in the recent past, abandoning conscience, as the guide of life we made 'gold our god', and allowed the passion of Midas to usurp the place in the conduct of life which rightly belongs, both by reason and Revelation, under the gentle sway of the reign of Christ?

Like the Church of Laodicea in the Apocalypse, we have been guilty of practical apostasy from Jesus Christ. We, too, said: I am rich, and made wealthy, and have need of nothing; and knew not that we were wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. We, too, need to buy of Christ gold fire-tried, that we may be made rich; we, too, need to anoint our eyes with eyesalve, that we may see.

Dear friends, to-day is the Feastday of Christ, the King. To-day in the whole Christian world, the Kingship of Christ over life is extolled; the reign of Christ over the hearts and consciences of men is

acknowledged anew; the sway of Christ in the affairs of life and living is devoutly honored and reverently adored. Wherever the Christian Name is held in honor, wherever the Christian missionary has carried the good tidings of Christ's blessed Gospel, wherever the Christian standard of Christ's holy Cross has been raised on high, to-day, the prophet Daniel's prophetic words are recalled and repeated with shouts of joy and great rejoicing:

"And He gave Him power, and glory, and a Kingdom: and all peoples, tribes and tongues shall serve Him. His power is an everlasting power that shall not be taken away, and His Kingdom that shall not be destroyed."

Ah, yes! Christ is King by every title; King by nature, and King by purchase—for at a "great price" He bought us back when we were lost and hopeless. The ransom paid was no less than His own Precious Blood. "You were not redeemed," says St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, "You were not redeemed with corruptible things, as gold and silver, but with the Precious Blood of Christ, as of a lamb unspotted and undefiled." Yes! King Christ is—King in all truth and reality; King of each individual soul; King of the family circle; King of society in its every phase. And kinglike He came that we might have life and have it more abundantly, "by bringing into captivity," as St. Paul so wonderfully words it, "by bringing into captivity every understanding unto the obedience of Christ."

Dear friends, there is our salvation as a Nation in the spiritual sense and in the temporal sense: conscience! Christian conscience, brought into captivity unto the obedience of Christ! "He must reign," says Saint Paul. Aye! If we would emerge

from the darkness of our present despondency, His Kingly Light must enlighten the conscience of the Nation—He must reign! If we would banish fear and rise with renewed hope to face the future with courage undaunted, His Kingly guidance must be sought—He must reign! If we would build enduring prosperity upon the ruin and desolation about us, His Kingly Spirit must inspire our hearts and our deeds—He must reign!

Christ or chaos! Conscience or ruin! That is the alternative that confronts American democracy today. Never was time more ripe for a flaming crusade for Christian conscience and Christian morality in business, politics and finance, than it is in America at the present time. The soul-searchings of the present, precipitated by the dark days of the depression, have made it as clear as the noon-day sun that the trials and tribulations through which the Nation is passing are due to, at bottom, the fact that the Christian conscience of the Nation has gone into eclipse. No Nation, least of all a democracy, can lose its conscience and escape the sanctions which loss of conscience entails. The wild speculation and gambling of the recent past were without conscience. Hence the Nation suffers! The business racketeering in alliance with the criminal underworld is without conscience. Hence the Nation suffers! The financial debauch that brought banks crashing in every part of the country with the loss of billions to the American public was without conscience. Hence the Nation suffers! The widespread corruption in public office, with its miserable bribes and sordid graft, is without conscience. Hence, again, the Nation suffers! Christ or chaos! Conscience or ruin! That is the choice which con-

fronts us. Christ the King! He must reign if the Nation is not to die!

Dear friends, each one of us should ask, and ask in deepest anxiety, what is it that will give vigor to democracy, that will secure to it the promise of undying life? And in each one's soul, the answer will ring out: It is conscience—conscience animating and inspiring the souls of the people who have chosen democracy to be the guardian of the destinies of their country.

For conscience is that deep, abiding sense of righteousness, which is the basis of civic, as well as personal, morality. It is the inflexible determination to follow the voice of righteousness whithersoever it calls. It is the holiest, the noblest thing in man. It is conscience that differentiates man from lower orders of beings; it is conscience that nurtures within him a divine life; it is conscience that makes him a child of the skies walking upon earth. Conscience is God's direct creation, God's most precious gift to men. Milton, in his great poem has emblazoned this truth:

“And I will place within them as a guide,
My umpire, conscience, whom if they will hear,
Light, after light well used they shall attain,
And to the end persisting safe arrive.”

Yes! Conscience is the voice of the Lawgiver of the universe proclaiming the eternal law of righteousness and summoning men to obey it. It is the voice of the mighty Guardian and Avenger of the moral law, the voice of Him whose rewards and punishments are meted out as surely as His justice is never thwarted or defeated. Conscience is the

voice of the Living God, and "no witness is so terrible, no accuser so powerful as the conscience that dwells in the breast of every man." Reason proclaims it. Our own experience confirms it. Righteousness is the vital element in a successful democracy. Where righteousness decays and perishes, whether in the individual or in the social organism, human life decays and perishes. And, on account of the supreme need of righteousness, the sense of it is planted deep in the human soul. The mind perforce hears its mandates, the heart perforce thrills beneath the power and splendor of its beauty. Throned in the very soul of man is the spirit of righteousness, and before its authority, whether we will or not, we bow in homage.

On what then shall democracy rely for its strength and permanence if it be not conscience? Shall democracy place its reliance on physical force, and call to its support soldiers and police? Then it is no longer democracy. Democracy may have soldiers and police to repress passion, when passion dominates only the few. When passion sways the multitude, physical force is of no avail. Speak, if you will, of physical force to empires and to monarchies, where the supreme power is vested in one or in the few. Speak, if you will, of physical force to a Napoleon or to a Mussolini. Dictators make use of physical force. They put no trust in the ability of the people to govern themselves. But democracy can have nothing to do with a Napoleon or a Mussolini.

Shall democracy place its reliance upon laws and lawgivers? "What purpose do laws serve which morals do not vivify?" What was true in Rome ages ago is true in America today. If the lawgivers are corrupt, good laws will not be made; evil laws will

be enacted. The power of framing laws will be only an instrument of corruption and anarchy.

Shall democracy place its reliance on education? Is not education the panacea for all our ills? Is not democracy safe in America where the school-house beds every vale and every hill-top? Ah! Even education will not save democracy if education means only the training of the intellect. Intelligence is, assuredly, an essential element of good citizenship, and not for a moment should we dream of relaxing our efforts in fostering it. But, by itself, the training of the intellect merely develops power while leaving it without direction. Mighty is the power of the mind when virtue guides it. More disastrous is it, more harmful far than simple ignorance, when it is controlled and swayed by evil appetites.

Ah, no! Not physical force, not laws and law-givers, not even education will suffice. Naught else but conscience, Christian conscience, can save democracy. For conscience alone can subjugate passion, conscience alone can eliminate dishonesty in business, conscience alone can remove corruption from public office. Always and everywhere civilization has flourished with virtue; it has decayed with vice. For democracy there is no salvation except through the moral law deeply engraved in the souls of the people. Our greatest need in America today is fortified by the principles, teachings and example of Christ the King.

Dear friends of the radio audience, for nine successive Sundays it has been my privilege, highly-esteemed, to discuss with you some of the pressing problems of the day. All of them had to do with the welfare of our country, whose interests and progress are very dear and precious to all of us. Whether it

be the problem of youth, or divorce, or crime, or business, politics and finance, the inescapable conclusion is forced upon us that the time is ripe for a healthy revival of genuine American citizenship. If we would escape ruin, we must cultivate conscience. If we would avoid chaos, we must follow Christ. As Washington, the first and greatest American, declared in his Farewell Address to the American People: "National Morality cannot prevail in exclusion of religious principle." It is the lesson most needed in America today.

Ah, yes! Dear friends, Washington was right, eternally right! If national life is at a very low ebb among us to-day, the remedy for it all is Christ and religion; Christ and religion in high stations of life; Christ and religion in the lives of legislators, of judges, of jurors; Christ and religion in the classroom and lecture hall, in the hearts of students and instructors alike; Christ and religion in the home, in the souls of parent and child.

Do you want to save our heritage of freedom? Do you want to stem the raging tide of lawlessness? Then get Christ and religion into our halls of learning. Get the knowledge of God and Christ into the mind of youth. Get the love of God and Christ into the heart of youth. Get the law of God and Christ into the life of youth. And then, but not till then, will our democracy be safe from the perils that beset her. Make no mistake, dear friends, Christian conscience is our need! Practical loyalty to Christ the King is the Nation's road to recovery and enduring prosperity, temporal as well as spiritual. He must reign! He must reign!

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