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# Our Faith And Our Public Problems

by

Mr. Jerome Kerwin



THE CATHOLIC HOUR



**OUR FAITH AND OUR  
PUBLIC PROBLEMS**



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Five addresses delivered in the nationwide Catholic Hour, produced by the National Council of Catholic Men, in cooperation with the National Broadcasting Company, from June 1, 1947 through June 29, 1947.

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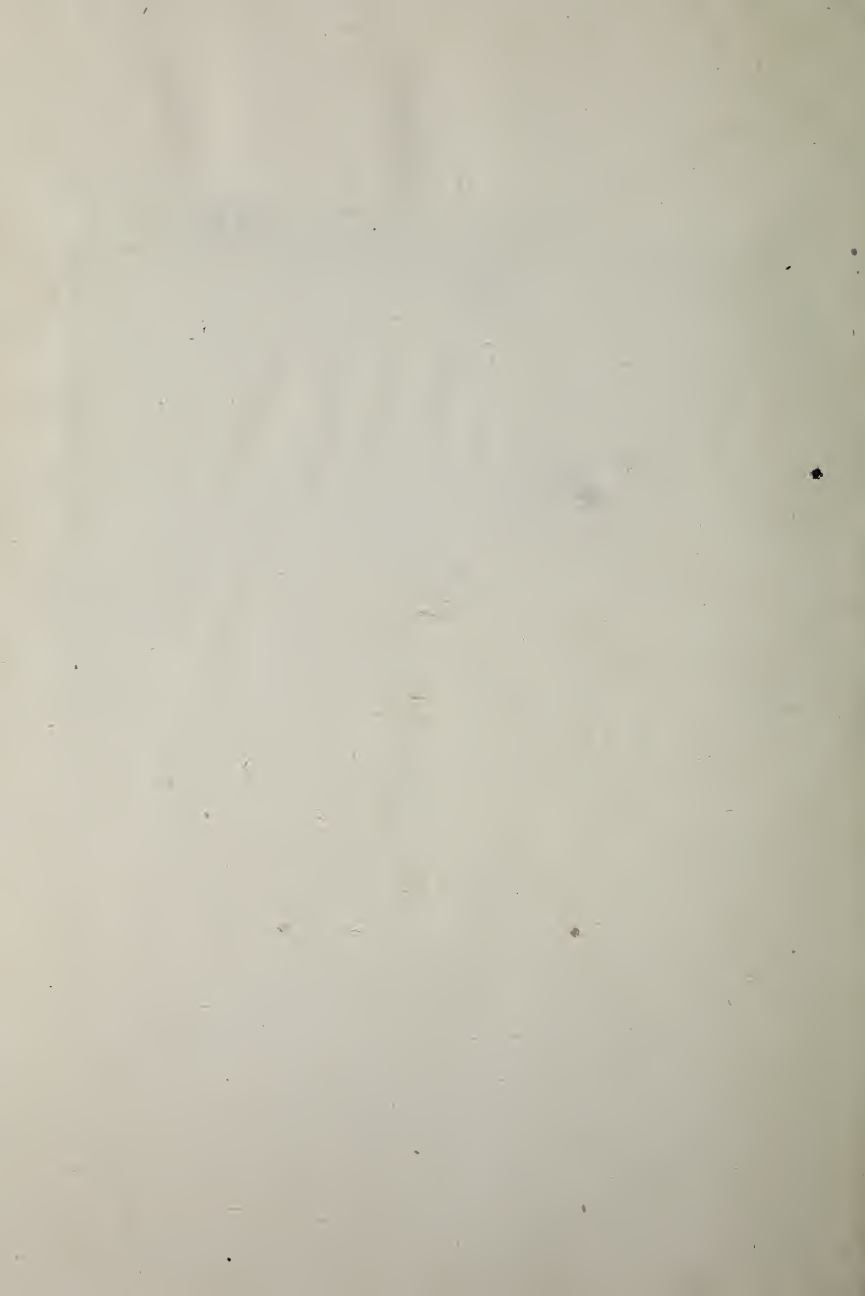
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# THE CATHOLIC AND DEMOCRACY

Address given on June 1, 1947

The struggle against tyranny, oppression, and arbitrary power is never-ending. The centuries of man have been marked by ceaseless struggle to realize and maintain freedom from irresponsible authority. Men have fought the power of kings, of selfish oligarchs, of exploiting empires, and of Dukes and Fiercers seeking to dominate the earth. Men still fight the power of economic autocracies that would seek to crush the independence of soul and body. Men come to realize the blessings of freedom in their own states, only to find those blessings menaced by foes outside the national borders. Power is a heady position that must need be watched and checked. Freedom is easily lost, and the price of its recapture comes high.

The foes of freedom have numbered perhaps as many among good men as among the evil. Men who love order, men who love peace, men who abhor violence have been among its foes. Men who cherish freedom but who reject the irresponsible, lunatic fringe, who associate

themselves with great causes, have fought against the cause of freedom. Men who espouse the cause of the oppressed but who renounce attendant errors that arise among those who struggle in desperation against entrenched power, have fought the forces of freedom. Many good men have opposed the continuing struggle for emancipation, for few crusades in its behalf have appeared as unmixed blessings for mankind. Caution and the very much misunderstood virtue of prudence have often thrown the weight of the good men to the evil cause.

Men being what they are, and human nature being what it is, few, if any, great causes come before the judgment of the people as pure, unalloyed gold, free from all dross. Particularly is this true of revolutions which are born under stress, moving forward with intense rapidity, picking up every malcontent and every cause for discontent, real or imagined, as they go their wild and often leaderless way.

The history of man's struggle for freedom has not escaped the

blight of error that has marked good causes from time immemorial. The persecuting anti-clericalism and the fantastic, idolatrous worship of the Goddess of Reason in the French Revolution, turned many a Churchman against the wholesome purging of a decadent nobility. The rampant secularism of the revolution of 1848 drove many a good Catholic into the camp of the conservative opposition. It is not easy to separate the permanently good from the transiently evil in the confusion of the moment. Nor can men always assure themselves that in the success of any great movement the evil will not become paramount over the good.

The history of the western world has been a revolutionary history. In no other part of the world has revolution been so frequent. The reason for this lies in our Hebraic-Christian culture. No more revolutionary doctrine has been given to man than that which came out of Palestine two thousand years ago. Found in the teachings of Christianity was a standard of judgment for rulers and ruled—a message of hope and liberation for the oppressed. The divine charter of Christian liberties set in motion the centuries-

long struggle for political and evil freedom which continues throughout time. I do not mean to say that Christian teachings constituted primarily a political philosophy—they are for our guidance in a spiritual and supernatural sense. Yet they affected all the thoughts and activities of ensuing generations. Consider the far-reaching effects of such teachings as the equality and brotherhood of men under God; man as destined for eternal union with God; man as the image of his Creator; man as rational and responsible; man directed to the perfection of his soul and talents—man another Christ. Clothed with such dignity, man could no longer content himself with the slavery of oppression. The struggle for recognition in the political order of the true nature of man has been waged ceaselessly from the first centuries of Christianity; but two years ago the nations concluded the bloodiest war in history in the same cause.

The justification and sanction of free government rest in the teachings of Christianity. This remains true despite those leaders in Christianity both of yesterday and today who have supported oppressors and tyrants. Too frequently critics of the

Church have judged her by the actions of erring men, overlooking the golden thread of doctrine laid down and preserved through the centuries by the heroes, saints, and scholars of Christendom. Incorporated lastingly in this doctrine is the sublime truth: the supreme creation of God Almighty is man, for whom all other created things exist. In addition to the villains of history, there were great souls who, never losing sight of this sublime truth, developed political doctrines that form the foundation theories of all responsible government.

Let us note some of these theories. There is the theory of natural law and natural rights appealed to in every struggle against tyranny since the conversion of the western nations to Christianity. That there exists a law above all governments, and human rights which no government gives and no government may repeal has been consistent Catholic teaching since the birth of the Church. Only in the nineteenth century was this doctrine undermined, preparing the way for the totalitarianism of our own day. And churchmen did not undermine the doctrine. It was largely the work of men who sought free-

dom on secular foundations alone and who saw in the Church only the enemy of progress.

There is the theory which flows from the conception of natural law that no state and no government can be absolute. Through the Ages of Christian Faith it was held that no ruler was above the law, but was bound by divine, natural, and customary law. His coronation oath included a solemn promise to rule according to these grades of law.

There is the theory that the political order exists for man and his happiness, not man for the political order, as taught by the idealist philosophers of the last century. The political order exists to make life possible and to make it good. The Christian conception is not a negative conception. The functions of the political order are positive—to correct injustices and to rectify abuses by direct government action. Men must have the opportunity to work; to live in peace with their families, friends, and fellow men; to live without fear of poverty and starvation—primarily that they may seek their true end—eternal happiness with God.

There is the theory that man is not simply a part of a mass,

but a person with a soul and a distinct character. Each man is a special creation of God, with specific functions in life to perform and with definite ends to pursue beyond time. To pursue these ends, he has a free will and consequent responsibility to his Creator, to himself, and to his fellowmen. No over-all political authority can assume these responsibilities for him. The political order but provides the means whereby he may the better assume the responsibilities. The individualism of Christianity stands in definite contrast to all totalitarianism.

There is the theory that governments serve the purpose of men and that when they cease to serve these purposes they may be altered in form or personnel. The right of revolution against unjust rulers and systems of government has ever been inherent in Catholic teaching.

There is the theory that all political authority descends from God to the people and is a grant from them to their rulers.

There are the theories of jurisprudence and legal practice which come down to us from the Ages of Faith for the maintenance of justice among men.

There is finally the great in-

stitution of representative government, cherished among freedom-loving people and coming to us from those days when the Church held sway over the hearts and minds of men in the western world.

Much of the philosophy, therefore, that underlies free, responsible government today comes to us from Christian, yea, Catholic teaching. Yet how many are aware of this? Is it not charged that being a faithful Catholic inclines one to absolutism, even to totalitarianism? Is it not said that the loyalty to Church and the loyalty to the democratic state are incompatible? Why are these charges made?

First, critics point to the position of churchmen in the French Revolution and in the various nineteenth century liberal movements in Europe. We grant that it was indeed unfortunate that a close tie-up existed between the Bourbon monarchy and the Church in France—a tie-up that resulted from the accidents of history. Yet it should never be forgotten that many of the lower clergy joined with the revolutionaries in the early days of the Revolution. Aside from these facts, however, as the Revolution became san-

guinary and anti-religious, Churchmen very naturally turned against the movement; and it should be remembered that many non-Catholics in other parts of the world did the same thing. We cannot expect churchmen any more than other people to look benignly on the movement that deteriorates into wild anarchy—despite the deep-seated causes for the revolt which should have been remedied years before in orderly fashion. It is always so easy after the event to see what remedies might have been applied.

The misfortune of the French Revolution was its casting a shadow over all liberal movements for a century. Churchmen had been driven into a position of caution and opposition with regard to all revolutionary movements, particularly since all of them carried a virus of anti-clericalism regardless of the abuses that legitimately called for reform. Most people live in their time and social situation—the daring prophets and leaders of a new age are ever few. The Church had, in proportion to its size, no fewer such prophets in the nineteenth century than any other group. It had its Pope Leo XIII, its Lord Acton, its Count de Mun, and its Bishop Von Ket-

ler. The vast majority of its higher clergy, however, followed the dominant social pattern of the age in which they lived, and they endorsed by silent consent or public statement the political system in which they had to carry on their spiritual missions. From a long-run point of view, this position may not have been wise, but it is understandable. Thousands were lost to the Church in the anti-clerical movement and in the new Marxism who might otherwise have been saved had Catholic leaders manifested more sympathetic understanding of the deep-seated causes of revolt.

The association of Catholics with non-democratic regimes in Europe and especially in Latin America has been frequently used as an indication of a necessary compatibility between Catholicism and the absolutism of certain civil regimes. The opposition of many South American churchmen to liberal movements is not necessarily an opposition to democracy as such. North American Catholics frequently question the wisdom of this opposition, but they know that it has a long history. In the minds of many South American leaders, the term *democracy* has been associated in past years

with Yankee imperialism; it has been associated with an anti-clericalism aimed at emptying churches and establishing a soulless secularism. Not that these movements have not often been led by able and sincere leaders seeking some measure of political freedom and honesty, and a just economic order for oppressed people, but like so many movements in history, a clear black-and-white case is not presented to the minds of sincere men. North Americans, both Catholic and non-Catholic, believe that they could solve South American problems with great ease and rapidity, but before attempting it, they should spend a few years in the study of South American history.

The Catholics of these United States are not bound by custom, tradition, or faith to support any undemocratic political principles of their co-religionists in Europe or South America. They cherish the freedom that is theirs in America. They are descendants of men and women who have suffered political and religious persecution. They do not forget this. They are perfectly satisfied with established American institutions; they are deeply loyal to them. They have

prospered under them and their Church has flourished.

One thing they and their non-Catholic fellow citizens should ever keep in mind: in the philosophy which their Church has fought for and maintained for centuries are some of the main philosophic concepts of democracy without which no democracy may exist. To maintain this philosophy in those ages when Europe was not far removed from barbarism was a herculean task. To be sure, democratic institutions as we understand them were long in evolution—in fact only within the last hundred years have they come into full operation. Let us not forget, however, that the theories of natural law and natural rights, the equality of men, the purpose of the political order and limitations on the political order, the dignity of man and his important position in society—all these the Catholic Church has taught. This is not to minimize the contributions of other groups—religious or secular—to the theory and practice of responsible government. I simply call attention to a great heritage for all men which owes so much to Catholicism and of which not only non-Catholics but in some cases Catholics them-

selves are so little aware.

“Considering the extent and nature of the sacrifices demanded of all citizens,” says Pope Pius XII, “the democratic form of government appears to many a postulate of nature imposed by reason itself.” So it appears to

American Catholics. On principles derived from their Faith and their philosophy, they adhere to it. They will never be found wanting in their loyal defense and maintenance of the institutions built upon such firm foundations.

## THE CATHOLIC AND COMMUNISTS

Address given on June 8, 1947

Democracy places a burden of restraint on all of us. It is indeed a burden, for to hold oneself in check when a fellow citizen is advocating measures with which one disagrees runs contrary to the desires of most of us. However much we praise tolerance, there are some people that we at times feel we would willingly liquidate — or, to use Woodrow Wilson's famous phrase, "Knock into a cocked hat." There are, of course, things which the consensus of American belief does not permit either by word or action or any means of communication. In matters political, economic, or social, we prize the freedom that is ours, however inconvenient it may become.

The Catholic accepts the guaranteed freedoms of the Federal and State constitutions. To him these freedoms are not ends in themselves; they are the means to ends. Every freedom used must satisfy the answer: "For what purpose and to what end?" This has been the doctrine of the United States Supreme Court. In addition, we judge the legal-

ity of the use of any freedom by attendant circumstances. A man may mount a soap-box and advocate the abolition of our republic and the substitution of a monarchy, but except in some super-patriotic areas no one would pay much attention to him because there would not be much likelihood that any sizeable number of people would take to the barricades to defend monarchical ideas. In the words of the late Mr. Justice Holmes, no clear and present danger to peace and order exists in such a case. A man may go into an open public square and shout, "Fire," but except for the general curiosity aroused, he creates no danger even if there be no fire. If, however, he cries, "Fire!" in a crowded theater, he may create panic, and his foolish trick, an abuse against freedom of speech, may be justly punished. We know that despite the fact that in this land, fortunately, there is no such practice as the suspension of constitutional guarantees, during wartime many restrictions operate which unquestionably restrict and abridge our



guaranteed freedoms. Very often these restrictions border on the ludicrous, as in the case of a state law of 1919 which forbade the display of any red flag, making no allowance even for a danger signal.

It is wiser very often to tolerate even when the end aimed at by a speaker is to some degree inflammatory. The dangers of creating martyrs, of giving in to our prejudices, of misjudging the words spoken, of creating bad precedents of suppression, cause the true democrat to hesitate before applying the law. The policy of leaning over backwards in applying restrictions is not the universal tendency it should be. There are many of us who enjoy the witch-hunt. In a great fervor of emotional patriotism, such people mount their spirited steeds for the hunt with no clear idea of what it is they are hunting. They resemble hunters who are out after foxes knowing nothing about foxes except that they have fur coats. On the hunt, therefore, they pick up squirrels, rabbits, pole-cats, and even a few stray pedestrians wearing fur coats. Such has been the nature of most American witch-hunts, legislative and otherwise. Investigations start out after subversive elements

and gather in (without regard to reputations involved) anyone who has accidentally rubbed elbows with these elements. Or they may start out after Communists, and before they are finished, they will take in for investigation even the good American who advocates the public ownership of the local electric light plant.

This brings us to the important consideration of the relationship of Catholics to Communists. It is not my intention to tell why Catholics oppose Communism. That has already been done on this program. There are, however, questions of practical tactics within the framework of the American order that must be considered. No Communists have left the Communist fold because of over-heated denunciations. Nor do Communists change their ideals or methods because of threats of jail or other punitive measures. This constitutes the easy and futile way of dealing with a menace. It is not unusual for this method to be advocated by the insincere to turn the minds of the people from more pressing problems. No one likes to grant to any group the protection of the Bill of Rights which that same group would

use now to its advantage and destroy later if it came to power. Yet we have to consider the dangers of setting afoot patriotic crusades which readily get out of hand.

The memory of the 1920's should be a lesson to all of us—the period when duly elected representatives of the people were thrown out of legislative halls, when frequently the judicial process became a farce, when the guaranteed rights of eminent citizens were subverted, and wholesale and indiscriminate arrests by government agents made a mockery of American freedom. The hysteria of such movements blinds even good Americans to those wholesome remedies which alone can render ineffective the secret machinations of misguided men or traitors. Hysteria is a symptom of a lack of faith in our institutions.

At present such terms as "communist" or "fellow-traveler" or "radical" have an emotional connection with great numbers of our people and officials. Little of the rational goes into the determination of what these terms mean. One member of Congress from the Middle West was asked if he considered

advocates of social security, minimum wage legislation, and the Wagner Act to be communitistic; and he replied with an emphatic, "Yes." Extreme as this case may seem to be, it may be multiplied by the thousands. The term has come to be used as a substitute for all rational consideration of public politics and public men. One has only to drag forth the terms "red," "radical," "fellow-traveler," and all argument ceases.

We very often determine a man's leaning toward or belonging to Communism according to the group of which he is a member. This is a dangerous and mischievous method. Collective guilt is difficult to assess. Every Catholic resents being judged a villain because there undoubtedly are imprudent, unwise, and unworthy Catholics, and the same is true of Protestants and Jews. There are labor unions and other organizations to which Communists belong. If a laboring man finds that he must belong to no union or one in which Communists happen to be members, I do not believe that there is any obligation for him to resign and leave the field for the Communists. His determination to remain and fight the Communist influence or to keep the

goals of the organization clear is both understandable and very laudable. The same is true of members of other organizations where Communist influence has crept in. Are we to condemn such people because they belong to these organizations, even if momentarily the left-wing element has gained the upper hand? We often do. Yet these people do more effectively to stem Communism than all the loud and noisy patriots who declaim and do little else.

The Communist tactic should be obvious to the average intelligence. They work their way into good American progressive and liberal movements simply for the purpose of discrediting them. It is to their advantage to show that ordered change by political action is out of the question. The greater the number of such organizations which they can ruin, the stronger becomes their plea for violent changes. Conservatives unwittingly play the Communist game every time they bring these organizations into disrepute. Perhaps this gives us one of the reasons why progressives and liberals are more cordially disliked by Communists than are the conservatives.

Men and women seek extreme

remedies for their ills, for the most part, when they are desperate. Communism is born of desperation. When governments heedlessly follow policies which upset the economic order, fearing to harness the unbridled greed of selfish vested interests and inviting economic depression with all its tragedy for the lives of millions of people—then are the gates thrown wide open for Communists and all rebellious elements, and no amount of denunciation or repression will undo the ensuing mischief. If the American economy fails as it did in 1929, nothing less than total collapse and disaster will overcome the economy of the world and nothing will halt the onward march of the victorious hosts of Communism. Despite all laws, all denunciations, and injudicious legislative investigations.

At present we are in grave danger of losing those social gains so long advocated by Papal Encyclicals: protections for the little fellow which have been won after years of struggle; protections for the laboring man whom some would penalize for demanding a just wage, while those who control the economic life of the country demand what they wish, without threat or

penalty. If economic collapse comes, down to the depths of misery and starvation go the working classes. Who then is responsible for the making of Communists out of desperate men and women?—very often the very people who cry loudest for punitive measures against Communists. It is as if they would salve their conscience for their own lack of patriotism by making loud but empty, false protestations. The first practical cure for Communism is an earnest and constructive effort to remedy the defects in a social and economic system in which economic injustice is turned into an inexorable economic law and the common good of all gives place to special good.

Not so many years ago, a book circulated freely in this land calling the attention of people to the alleged Reds operating in our midst. Among the Reds were listed the late Msgr. John A. Ryan and the present bishop of Grand Rapids, Most Reverend Francis Haas. What care was used in compiling the list is demonstrated by the fact that one man was named because his wife was a director of the Y.W. C.A., which in turn was catalogued as a Red institution. No distinction was made between

the quick and the dead, for on the list were to be found Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. From the character of the people named and the ridiculous methods used in compiling the list, one could judge the useless and silly nature of the book; yet thousands of Americans adopted it as their official list of Red Americans. Such is the indiscriminate way in which the red-baiter works. Such is the usual lack of sense shown by professional patriots.

At the present moment we have suggestions for legislation banning the Communist party. This is like using a sledge hammer to open a peanut. Of some sixty million potential voters in the United States, a maximum of 30,000 vote the Communist ticket. Most times the number is less. Would such legislation aid our nervous citizens in sleeping more peacefully? Does experience not show the folly of driving opposition underground. Will this provide a guarantee against the growth of subversive radicalism? Will this protect the great American commonwealth against destruction?

How shall we define the Communist party? Quite likely we shall prescribe all parties advocating the violent overthrow of

the government. Perhaps we shall ban any party named Communist. What will prevent the Communists from organizing under a different name? It is always easy to say: "There ought to be a law . . ." and quite another matter to write an effective law.

Sound American common sense should govern our actions. Popes have warned Catholics that they may lose the masses from failure to understand their problems. Communism exists because good people have refused to face their social and religious responsibilities. Communism exists because of the broad hiatus existing in Catholic and non-Catholic circles between theory and practice—between a theory of brotherly love and racial oppression; between a theory of equality and an overbearing class-consciousness; between a theory of justice for all and the payment of starvation wages; between a theory of the high dignity of man and the main-

tenance of loathsome, crime-breeding slums; between a theory of honesty, and tolerance of political thieves and racketeers; between a theory of the common good and the support of a system which makes the ordinary medical needs and safeguards of health impossible to the poor.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Toronto has branded the prevalent approach of some Catholics to the problem of Communism as stupid. We have contented ourselves with wholesale, violent, and frequently ignorant denunciations of the manifestations of an underlying social and spiritual maladjustment, but we have failed to strike at the causes. Paradoxically enough, to strike at the causes of Communism leaves one open to the charge of being "Communist." Witch-hunts, fiery denunciations, and repressive legislation are no substitutes for the practice of justice. There will be fewer Communists when there are more and better Christians.

# THE CATHOLIC AND MINORITIES

Address given on June 15, 1947

What debt of gratitude do we not owe to the men and women in our midst who daily labor among those whom man's perversity has condemned to sub-human standards of living! The noble work of men and women, clergy and laity alike, who sacrifice themselves that better living may be realized by our Negro population— despite the discouraging obstacle of deep-seated prejudice manifested by those who know not the spirit of Christ—will one day stand out as one of the striking evidences of Christian love in an age of war and bloodshed. Against the work of these great souls, what a catalogue of sins against charity and justice could be registered were we but able to list the sentiments, the outspoken prejudices, and the individual deeds of injustice of people who follow the Nazi doctrine of racial supremacy.

It is humiliating and terrifying to good Catholics and good Americans to realize that millions of our fellow-citizens, because of the accidents of color, live exploited lives and suffer

the denial of those fundamental rights which a dynamic Christianity has given to the world. It is terrifying not alone because of the essential evil of it and the grave offense to God it is, but also because of the potential danger to the peace of society which is involved. Today it is as true as when Lincoln said it: no nation can exist half-slave and half free. This is true of chattel slavery as well as the flagrant inequality which is imposed today upon Negro citizens. Men endowed with the dignity that comes to all as sons of God will not in peace endure the injustices which run counter to the will of God Himself.

All of us need to realize that this is not a question that can be passed off easily with comforting and lazy defenses and excuses. The hard kernel of Catholic truth which affirms the essential equality of men and which emphatically denies the right of exploitation and the regarding of any man as inferior because of his color must be considered. This constitutes a doctrine among all who acknowledge

the Fatherhood of God. We simply cannot escape it; we cannot deny it; we cannot violate it without sin. If tradition and long years of malpractice have made a solution to this problem more difficult, then with greater labor, greater effort and greater courage must we attack it.

The great truths of Christian revelation must be tirelessly and vigorously driven home by the written and spoken word. The parallel teachings of democracy and all that is implied in them must be emphatically taught. The error of discrimination on racial bases reveals the gross stupidity and ignorance of the prejudiced, many of whom consider themselves among the social elite, little realizing that intellectually they are fools. The danger to all our political, economic, and social institutions and to the peace of the land must be taught with uncompromising honesty.

How many of our racially-prejudiced fellow-citizens have seen the fruits of their prejudices in all sections of the country?—squalid tenements where ten to fifteen people live in a single room; hovels without heat, light, and sanitation, maintained by exploiting landlords who wax wealthy on the misery of their

Negro tenants; the economic system which pays inadequate wages to the Negro, whatever his talents, and which drops him from the payroll at the first sign of a depression; the crowded class-room facilities; the unaccredited schools; the bans raised against Negroes in hotels, restaurants, and places of amusement; the ill-kept, disease-ridden, segregated areas, breeding crime, juvenile delinquency, and bitterness. Can any sane person deny that all this constitutes a plague in this fine land, that it is an invitation to social upheaval? Is there anyone so naive as to believe that this situation can be permanently maintained?

Patience, it is true, is to be urged in the solution of this problem. But in the minds of many people, patience has lost its virtue, because frequently it is but an excuse for no action at all, or for ineffective palliatives put forth with disgusting unctuousness so readily by the insincere.

Forces of the left take ready advantage of the evils which the prejudices of democratic citizens breed. Unfortunately for all of us, there is no gap between their preaching and their practices on this question. Fortu-

nately, however, the great majority of the Negro population remains steadfastly loyal to American institutions—a great tribute to its perseverance and general common sense. Let us not, however, presume too far on the forbearance of any group of human beings. Americans are justifiably incensed at the intrigues of Communists to undermine the principles and structure of our form of government.

Yet are there not many of these same Americans who consistently violate and undermine both the principles and structure of democratic society in cruelties and injustices towards Negro citizens? The Communist, on the one hand, rejects American principles and goes on his way of destruction; the race-conscious American accepts the principles and proceeds at lower speed toward the same goal.

In the history of nations, crucial problems are solved through the calm, reasoned, and far-sighted judgment of the people sensing the need for reform; or they are solved by revolutionary demagogues with all the attendant crime, violence, and hatred which destroy one evil and produce a dozen more. We prefer our changes to come by orderly

means. If we would realize this method, the change effected must be genuine—a change of heart and action.

Our second great minority problem is anti-semitism. One would normally have concluded that confronted with all the horrors and butcheries visited upon the Jewish people in recent years, any person of sound mind would have busied himself to eradicate anti-semitism once and for all—both in himself and, as far as possible, in others. The tragedy of Israel is not alone bound up with the subject of natural rights. Sincere Christians realize the Jews are playing a part in God's plans and that one day they will return to that destiny—not necessarily a political, but a spiritual destiny—which an All-Wise Providence has ordained. Chosen by God as the channel through which the knowledge of the One Supreme Being came to mankind, as the race which gave the world its Redeemer, it is a holy people.

True, it rejected that Redeemer and the teachings of his Prophets, but as Leon Bloy has so well asked, how great are the untold numbers of Christians who have turned their backs on the Redeemer and His Saints? And



among these Christians are found so many of the violent anti-semitics.

How often have we heard the words, which are supposed to reveal the objectivity and fairness of the speaker's judgment: "Understand, I am not opposed to Jews; it is only the bad Jews that I oppose." There is such a familiar ring about this. It has so much in common with "Some of my best friends are Catholics." We should pray and work for the correction of evil everywhere, but if I do not mistake the law of charity, it teaches us that we should begin in our own household. Or do some people believe that we have done a complete job in that sphere? No there are bad Jews, and there are bad Protestants, and bad non-believers, and bad Catholics. The most effective attacks upon bad Jews that I have ever heard have come from Jews. That's as it should be. When non-Jews, however, go forth on a special crusade to reform evil Jews, I suspect that they are overlooking a great many evil-doers in their own midst.

Some will complain that Jews are materialistic, that they are aggressive, that they are loud, that in the field of the arts they

are immoral. The complaints take many forms. Not a little envy can be detected in the complaint that in the business and professional spheres Jews are so successful. If they are successful, if they are aggressive, even if they are loud—did they get that way by chance? In our society, a Jew must at times be twice as good as a non-Jew to get very far. If Christians insist upon raising all kinds of bars and impediments to a Jew's success, he will work twice as hard, twice as long, and twice as aggressively as any non-Jew to get on in the world. In the face of the discouragement he faces, he should, in the normal nature of things, be praised. Too many of us Christians, when faced with similar prejudices, are too willing to cry discrimination and to explain for the rest of our lives our lack of success to this one cause. We do not always show the added perseverance which the Jew seems to have. It would seem to be, then, that the bigot in our own midst envies the success of Jews, although sociologically speaking, the idea of universal Jewish success is exceedingly exaggerated. There are unsuccessful Jews; and in the material sense, there are poor Jews.

Some of my fellow-Christians tell me that Jews in the business world engage in all manner of sharp practices and double-dealing. I have known of many violations of the moral code in business and in the professions in my time. Sometimes I have been the victim. I cannot say how many of these violations involved Jews, but I have a fairly clear impression that as far as my own experience goes, the larger number involved Christians. Maybe the number was in mathematical ratio to the number of each group in the country. There is no special consolation for the victims of malpractices when the exploiters are Christian. Loss of hard-earned reserves and disillusionment are just as difficult to bear when suffered at the hands of Christian or Jew.

A great deal of unbalanced judgment forms the foundation of this anti-semitic prejudice. One can always find reasons for bolstering his preconceived notions by citing individual and isolated instances. When we were trying to prevent run-away inflation under the OPA, every critic of the measure knew this man or that woman who was get-

ting away with every conceivable infraction of the law. A common argument was that chiselers are breaking the law: therefore, let us do away with the law. So it is often with the person prejudiced against the Jews; he can always cite the case of Jews who have violated the canons of morality. He may know of any number of cases in which non-Jews were guilty of the same misdeeds, but to him that is a different matter.

I have known no people more generous in their benefactions than the Jewish people. Nor are the objects of their benefactions the Jewish people alone. They would be quite justified if this were frequently the case, but every one of us has in some way been benefited by their great charity. Whether it be in the field of medicine or education, the promotion of the sciences or the promotion of the arts—all of us are their debtors. As a people, they know only too well the burden of suffering and injustice—even in free, democratic America. America owes to their great men in all lines of endeavor more than it can ever recount. Spiritually, Catholics

must ever be aware of what they owe to them.

Are they too complaining about anti-semitism? Do they talk of it too much? What group does not talk about its troubles when it is aware of any injustice practiced toward itself? It is natural. A greater awareness of what the persecution of one group means to each and every one of us has still to be acquired by Jew and Christian alike. America will be a better, more democratic, more Christian land when all of us are quickly aroused by prejudice against any group—when we realize that justice is a universal concept applicable to all men and that any violation of it, no matter against whom practiced, is a common concern of the children of God.

No one has better expressed the Catholic attitude on this problem of anti-semitism than Fr. Gregory Feige in an excellent pamphlet entitled *Catholics and Jews*, published in 1945 by

the Catholic Association for International Peace.\* Father Feige says:

“Every sin must be confessed, repented of and atoned for, if its moral and material effects are to be wiped out. Anti-Semitism, as a sin, must receive the same treatment, we must acknowledge it before God and man as a transgression of God’s law, we must be of humble and contrite heart in the face of it, and we must firmly resolve to avoid it, combat it, and amend its injustices as far as we can, singly and collectively . . . Anti-Semitism is a sin which in its viciousness undermines the three fundamental pillars on which all social life among men is placed: truth, justice and charity. Its harm should therefore never be belittled or underestimated, and the need for its elimination should never be ignored. It offers a fertile field for Catholic action and can become a proving ground for good will.”

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\*1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.,  
Washington 5, D. C. Priced 30c a copy,

# THE CATHOLIC AND THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

Address given on June 22, 1947

The two propositions that government is a necessary evil or that that government is best which governs least do not come to us from any Catholic political theory. St. Thomas would say that government is a necessary good and that its functions are positive, making for the good life and happiness of the citizens.

Yet some people seem at times to subscribe quite whole-heartedly to these theories that have nothing of Catholic origin in them. A most dangerous school of thought has flourished in this country, particularly among some business men; it ascribes to government the character of an evil Leviathan grasping control of the lives and affairs of citizens and administering them tyrannically and inefficiently. This democratic government of ours which untold numbers have given their lives to establish and maintain, is pictured in terms that have usually been applied in the past to absolute and irresponsible tyrannies. Some people believe, too, that unless they or their class own the government

outright with only such strings attached as remain in their hands, that the government is an over-powering, rapacious giant.

No allowance is ever made by such people for the day-to-day services which they all receive from governmental sources. The preservation of peace and order, the water supply systems, the schools, the postal communications, the extended systems of highways, the parks, the maintenance of hospitals, the stupendous work of research, the judicial processes, the laws that govern our relations with other people, which we owe to the government—all of these are forgotten. Were it not for the inconvenience that would be caused to those who have faith in the operation of government, it would be salutary if the government were to cease operating for twenty-four hours in order that some of these malcontents could learn what value the government has in their lives.

What a horrible example in patriotism these people give to

the generation growing up! On the one hand, the schools try to show what a debt we owe to the great leaders of government in the past and what beneficial things are being performed by the government every day. The teachers seek to instill respect and admiration for the governmental process. After school, the students return home and hear all about this evil thing, the government, that is crushing all our freedom.

It is trite to say, but it must be said: our living these days is very complex. For the past seventy-five years, our social and economic life has been growing more complex. I do not need to prove this. Bigness and complexity have seized upon everything. In our day-to-day living, we do more, we have more, and we expect more. I am not saying that this is good or bad—it has aspects of both. I simply state the situation as a fact that must be faced. While I have great admiration for some of my sociologist friends who would send us all back to the land where we could weave our own clothes, cobble our own shoes, mill our own flour, and quite likely die from taking our own home-made remedies for illness—I believe that, for the most part, they are not

all facing our modern problems with intelligent realism. There is nothing inherently bad in our mechanical civilization; it is here, but it is necessary to humanize it.

If all life has become more complex, so has the greatest of our social institutions which deals so intimately with life—the government. It has grown, not despite our needs, but because of our needs. That the good things of the earth belong to all men is good Catholic doctrine; but for weal or woe most men won't have enough of these goods even to maintain existence unless the government helps them. The government cannot take its hands off our great economic and social system without danger to the health and lives and property of every citizen. When I say every citizen, I mean the rich industrialist as well as the poor laborer, for the free enterprise that the former so frequently craves could be free to the point of bringing disaster to him as well as anyone else.

It is nonsense to say that if you give enterprise free rein all will be well. If any people on earth have tried and found false this doctrine, it is the American people. In the last thirty years,

economic enterprise has been freer in the United States than anywhere else in the world. Enterprise is freest of all after World War I—the consequent effects need not be retraced. Enterprise was free again after World War II, and the rest of the world watches with amazement and apprehension, and wonders if once again our idolatry of the slogan “free enterprise” will bring economic disaster to every corner of the globe.

The trouble with those people who may be classed among the greedy and selfish in our business life is that they do not realize that the second half of the nineteenth century has passed. They would wish the special conditions of that era to be perpetual. It was an era when all the energies and activities of government were bent towards developing the country and building industry. The government gave generously of its land; it gave bonuses to business in the form of high tariffs; it dealt gently with the barons of industry and their numerous malefactions. In the same period, it laid a heavy hand on labor; and through the courts and legislation it beat down ruthlessly the

attempts of the workingman to improve his lot. According to the theory of the day, the workingman was on the way to bigger things; he would be a capitalist himself in time; and if he remained a workingman, it was due to his own lack of initiative and due to his own laziness. The words of a great Pontiff of that era, Leo XIII, concerning the lot of the workingman, did not penetrate far in America.

Reform does not come gradually in America. It comes with a rush and a start. It lies neglected until conditions can no longer go on as they have. The crying need for reform does not strike home until a tragic depression occurs. Were leaders of business wise in the days of their control of power, they would have foreseen the inevitable, as the leaders of some industries in England saw it as far back as 1890, when they recognized and dealt wisely with organized labor. Not wishing to deal with labor in peaceful and rational fashion in earlier days, business leaders in this country had to take their remedial medicine in very large doses after 1932. It was like applying radical surgery to a condition that might have been cured at an earlier

stage by a mild dosage of two pink pills per day for a week. In any case, government had to take on and compel what private business refused to do. In the history of government action, it will be found again and again that the government acts when private groups through negligence and inaction are throwing the whole social system out of joint. Whatever consolation any group may find in the postponement of reform of abuses, they must know that reform will come under a democratic system, and may be harder to take at a later stage than earlier.

Wiser heads have come to realize it is better to try to foresee our social needs and to meet them gradually than to move by fits and starts in a manner that invites confusion and error. They have recommended that we plan. I realize that the word chills some people to the marrow of their bones. Yet the individual if he is prudent plans; and big business plans; but the government, in the minds of some people, must never plan. The state, according to Catholic teaching, is a perfect society, yet there are those who would do their best to keep it at all times in a condition of imperfection by denying it the means to perfect itself.

Planning is an American product. It had its origin in our cities when we made up our minds that urban areas should be places in which to live and not merely to exist. We first planned for the physical development of the cities. Yes, some freedom was lost to individuals. One could not use his property as he desired in all cases. One could not build a factory on a site zoned for a residence. One could not operate a plant for manufacturing explosives next to a church. One could not build a forty-story building in the face of building height restrictions. Generally, however, we found the idea very good.

We decided to apply the idea to government finances. The day was passing when governments could spend without limit and after the spree try to find out where the money was coming from. As a result of our determination to bring order out of chaos, in this field we adopted government budgets. Some cities went in for long-range financial planning covering periods of ten years and more. Only since 1921 have we been operating on a planned budget in our national government.

The greatest need for planning

was seen, and still remains to be seen in connection with our natural resources. The names of Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot will long be remembered for their prolonged struggle to get consideration for the policy of conservation. We have been a most profligate people in the handling of our natural riches. Lumber, coal, oil, gas, minerals, and other forms of natural wealth we have wasted without thought of future needs. The story is now familiar. These God-given riches have become necessary for the very lives of all our people. They may be held by private citizens, but the regulation of their use is a concern for all of us. Yet, for such regulations as we have, we have had to fight every inch of the way against interests who by the standards of positive and natural law have sinned grievously against the common good.

In recent years, we have striven to bring decent standards of health and living to thousands of people by planning for the most beneficial use of our great river valleys. I doubt if any intelligent citizen would question the magnificent accomplishments under government initiation of the Tennessee Valley Authority—a *plan* for a vast area and its

inhabitants. Has freedom been lost by that?

Plans have been devised, but not adopted, to avoid economic depressions. Plans have been devised, but not adopted, to meet these depressions. Plans have been formulated for the best use of our great land areas. All of these plans allow for the greatest measure of local control and a minimum of federal supervision. They have been devised with all the safeguards that any friend of democracy could sanction. But why must we go crazily down the road of the future without guide or compass? Because Russia also has a plan? Is it true that only totalitarian states can protect themselves against future errors and disasters while a free people in a democracy cannot? Perhaps we shouldn't fool ourselves. Back of this Russian argument are combined all those interests that would have to submit their lawless ways to social control.

Are we so lacking in ingenuity and practical wisdom in America that we cannot devise and operate plans against destructive economic and social forces?

We fool ourselves if we think we can operate a nineteenth century economic, social, or political system today. We may try it



once again as we tried it in the twenties with the same results. I do not mean that we have to go over to a system of complete planning and socialization. There are mid-points between capitalism and socialism. It is not the case of choosing one or the other. It is a case of the application of wise, temperate, far-sighted thinking to our present and future social needs. Each proposition for government ownership is a separate problem to be judged and justified on the basis of the good of the people in a way which permits the application of rational analysis to public policy.

The majority of American citizens cannot be legitimately considered as wealthy. Therefore, they are the chief beneficiaries of social measures which the government takes—measures designed to strengthen their lack of economic security. At times some of the measures are turned down by pressure of selfish forces on the ground that they are Communistic. In some instances it may well be that the poor in time will be justified in the conclusion that only in Communism is there justice and like thousands of their brethren in Europe will throw their support to the Communist party. This would

be extremely unfortunate for all of us. Courage and foresight are needed in solving our foreign and domestic concerns as never before.

In closing, let me quote the words of Pope Pius XII in his address of June 2:

“Fear, which is a shameful thing in itself, excels in its many disguises. At times it puts on the misleading garb of a declared Christian love for the oppressed; as if suffering people could derive advantage from falsehood and injustice, from mob-tactics and from promises that can never be fulfilled.

“At other times it hides under the appearance of Christian prudence and under this pretext remains silent when duty should require it to utter a fearless ‘non licet’ to the rich and powerful, and to caution them thus: it is not lawful for you, in following a greed for gain and dominion, to stray from the inflexible lines of Christian principles which are the bases of political and social life which the Church has repeatedly and with great clarity expounded to the men of our times. To you especially the invitation is addressed to collaborate without reserve in forming a public order which will realize, in the highest pos-

sible degree, a healthy economic life and social justice.

"Thus the exploiters of class warfare will be deprived of the possibility of ensnaring the disappointed and the despoiled people of the world, by telling them that the Christian Faith and the Catholic Church are not their allies, but their enemies.

"By disposition of the Divine

Providence the Catholic Church has formulated and promulgated its social doctrine. She points the path to be followed, and no fear of losing possessions or of temporal gains, of appearing less in harmony with modern civilization or less national or social, could authorize true Christians to deviate even a hair's breadth from this path."

## CATHOLICS AND NON-CATHOLICS

Address given on June 29, 1947

The American Republic is dedicated to the proposition that men of varying creeds can live together in peace and understanding and good-will. It is not a secular state in the sense France or Russia are secular states; for in all its official acts, God is recognized and honor is paid to Him. It respects religion and solemnly guarantees its free exercise.

Religious convictions are deep-seated in men who sincerely adhere to their creeds. Lest these convictions become the source of strife, the law of charity must be fully understood and applied. It means particularly that we must try to understand differences while we do not accept the creeds of those who differ. This is not the same thing as an indifferent attitude which proclaims that one religion is as good as another. In most cases, this doctrine is not believed, for men accept the faith they follow because they believe it to be true. We are called upon to respect the sincere religious convictions that men hold, while at the same time we may disagree.

This fortunate land has been freer from religious strife than many other lands. Periods of brief persecution and bigotry have marred our history, but generally some sort of good-will has been maintained. All good Americans heartily desire that it continue. Men and women who dedicate themselves to this fundamental American proposition of understanding among men of varying faiths perform one of the greatest possible services to the Republic. It is not an easy task for one to undertake, for there is in every group a loud, lunatic fringe that in our day can undo the work of years. They do not speak for the group, despite the fact that they often pretend to speak with authority.

At times it is a Catholic who emerges and adopts the tone of a herald of the Church Universal. Then it is a non-Catholic who gets excited, particularly if he happens to be the victim of another's verbal shafts. He too may then assume an authority to which he is in no way entitled.

Freedom of speech and communication is guaranteed, how-

ever, since Americans believe that citizens by and large are people of discrimination and common sense and that they will take upon themselves the civic burden of coming to rational conclusions after a study of the facts. In ordinary political questions it is not easy for people to perform this function with judicious calm; but when questions pertaining to religious groups are raised, all the dormant prejudices of centuries are apt to be aroused, and reason departs. It is of fundamental importance to the peace of this land that we all realize this. I do not mean to say that a general hush-hush policy must forever characterize our discussions of vital public questions touching religious belief. Such a general self-imposed censorship is neither healthy nor wise. It is necessary for all of us, however, to keep certain important modes of procedure in mind. First, public questions involving inter-credal relations should be raised only with the greatest moderation and restraint. Secondly, an equal moderation and restraint must be exercised by those affected by the questions raised. All parties must assume the good faith of contestants, despite occasional evidence to the contrary. It goes

without saying that we ought to keep these things in mind even in matters wherein public policy is not involved.

It is not necessary for me to emphasize the grave crisis that now confronts not only Americans but all people throughout the world. It is especially a time when all people holding to the fundamental belief in the Supreme Being and His law are called upon to minister to spiritual and material needs in the spirit of the tradition that underlies our Western heritage. The promotion of religious strife at such a period distracts from the greater task and undermines the religious faith of men. The divisions that separate peoples into warring, hostile camps are numerous enough without one giving emphasis to the tragic differences that characterize the religious world.

The Catholic citizen vigorously denies that he seeks openly or covertly, through plan or through plot, to subvert any guaranteed right or established institution of this free democracy. He asks first that his fellow-citizens accept this attitude and he offers as his guarantee the lives and services of the many intelligent and sincere Catholic Americans who are not, nor could not be,

duped by the clever machinations of sinister forces. Catholics, as other people, may be in error on questions of public policy, but they will never be convinced of that error by charges of disloyalty or aspersions cast upon their creed or their religious leaders. It is the fairly frequent reference to these matters that has made so difficult the urgent need for cooperation of Catholics and non-Catholics on the vital problems of a broken world.

Those of us familiar with the modes of organizing public opinion are not unfamiliar with the uses of various techniques frequently applied to stimulate the crusading spirit. We know how every presidential campaign in its final irrational stages invariably reaches the crucial issue of saving America. America may not be in the slightest danger; but we can all act and even get ourselves to feel that if our candidate does not win, the doom of the Republic is sealed. In any movement organized as a crusade, particularly as a religious crusade, no matter how prosaic the issue at the start (taxation for the private schools, etc.), bitter recriminations and charges of disloyalty are certain to arise; and reason takes flight. Before raising the cry: "To your tents,

O Israel!" about any issue regarding inter-creedal disputes, it is well for any religious group to consider well in advance whether the losses will not offset any gains. Despite the fact that almost twenty years have passed since the presidential campaign of 1928, we have not, as a country, completely recovered from the ignominy and shame with which we covered ourselves in that year.

Nor should one neglect to mention the grave dangers which all clergymen face in allowing themselves to be taken into camp by politicians for political purposes. No one religious group has a corner on virtue in matters of this kind. No political campaign has ever been waged without the use of what are commonly known as gum-shoe tactics. This approach should be well known. The Protestant political leader, supposedly a good Christian and a member of his church, approaches his minister and tells him ever so confidently and confidentially that Catholic forces are at work in the opposition camp and will surely undermine the Protestant position. At the same time, a Catholic leader, sometimes from the same party, may be relating to his pastor and his Catholic friends that the

same opponent represents bigotry, intolerance, and that he possesses a determination to wipe out all Catholic influence in political life. So the good clergymen and their followers may take to the political conflict in sincere and serious manner; and the campaign that might have been fought on honest issues develops into an ignoble religious war—either open or underground; and the political leaders may sit back and enjoy a holiday. They have not made their choice on the basis of whether a man refuses to eat pork, or any meat on Friday, or whether he abstains from liquor; they seek to capture the offices and the jobs that go with them.

Some years ago when William Hale Thompson of international fame, not unschooled in the wisdom of politics, ran for mayor of Chicago for the first time—and against a Catholic opponent—his political assistants had worked so successfully on the religious issue that before the campaign was over, parades of good Protestant men and women holding Bibles aloft marched somberly and with great determination through the streets of Chicago, warning all and sundry that America's second city must be saved from the hosts of Rome

through the election of Thompson. A few years later, the same Thompson, faced again by a Catholic opponent, regaled the Irish Catholics with the iniquities of King George of England—George III or George V, of the numeral he was not certain—while the next night he would tell the Protestant Swedish population he had never kissed a cardinal's ring as his opponent had. It all seems amusing now, but it carries a sober lesson to religious leaders and followers of all creeds. The religious issue is always a potent red-herring in any political campaign. It always saves a candidate the trouble of talking on real issues, and as a technique it never wears out. Good people continue to be caught in its toils.

All of us seem to love the mysterious. Any public occurrence which we do not readily understand is easily worked up into a plot or a conspiracy. Due to the large numbers of Catholics living in urban communities, many Catholics are found in the metropolitan school systems, therefore according to some non-Catholics there is a Catholic plot, led by that mysterious force the hierarchy, to capture the school system. When a fair sprinkling of Jews comes into position of

prominence in any field, then there is a Jewish plot. Our educational institutions in the minds of some people are either hatching plots or serving as henchmen of the plotters. Perennially the plot to put the Pope in the White House rears its silly head, while millions of Catholics wonder why they have not been consulted on "Operation Vatican". In times of social stress, the public is plot-minded. If a semblance of order ever comes to this distressful world, we shall all have time to sit down and have a good hearty laugh about these horrifying conspiracies.

Before all of us lies a world—over half of its wealth destroyed by war, half of its population starving and maimed. This is the time for mercy; this above all times is the time for the alleviation of hatred and suffering. If men holding a belief in a common natural and moral law and in a Supreme Being waste their time in creating and furthering inter-credal ill-will and suspicion, a crusading, rampant paganism will know how to use the opportunity for conquest. Each day of prolonged uncertainty increases the despair, the bitterness, and the hopelessness of men. No short cut to reconstruction lies before us. The struggle for the

salvation of men's souls and the healing of their bodies has never in all history been more urgent.

I do not wish to minimize the problem that religious strife constitutes. It is a problem, and not easy of solution. Despite the secular nature of our age, religious convictions are firmly and deeply held by millions of the American people. Strife comes only when men care about the truth but do not agree upon it. We can be thankful that they care. Our problem is to prevent the misunderstanding of motives and to establish the law of charity among people who differ on basic religious truths. Self-restraint and respect for the dignity and personality of all men will, of course, help. A Catholic may never accept, nor could any practical realist accept, an amalgamation of all creeds into a common nondescript deism. Nor may a Catholic believe that it makes no difference what creed one follows. Indifferentism most certainly leads to the destruction not only of creeds but of faith itself. All men of good-will must sooner or later turn their serious consideration to the solution of this problem for the avoidance of scandal among the non-believing, for the releasing of positive forces for good, for promotion of

cooperation where that is permissible, and for stabilizing domestic peace.

Recent Popes have said repeatedly that the struggle of the present day is between believers in God and the moral law on the one hand, and those who reject both God and the law on the other. They have urged parallel action on socio-economic problems by religious bodies. In certain European countries this is already being realized.

Most Catholics have numerous Protestant and Jewish friends who have enriched their lives, who have given excellent example in charity, unselfishness, and unflinching integrity. Thanks to the

spirit of America, we live on terms of friendship, understanding, and neighborliness with them. This spirit we are determined to preserve.

It is related that on a certain public occasion a procession of dignitaries was forming before proceeding to the hall for the ceremonies. Among the dignitaries was the late Cardinal Gibbons and a prominent bishop of the Episcopal Church. The bishop, turning to the cardinal, said: "I believe, Your Eminence, that according to the rule of precedence the place of honor at the end of the procession should be yours." The Cardinal, taking the bishop's arm, replied: "Let us go forward together, brother."



## THE PURPOSE OF THE CATHOLIC HOUR

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

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

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

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

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

# 106 CATHOLIC HOUR STATIONS

In 40 States, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii

Alabama	Birmingham	WBRC*	960 kc
	Mobile	WALA	1410 kc
	Montgomery	WSFA	1440 kc
Arizona	Globe	KWJR	1240 kc
	Phoenix	KTAR	620 kc
	Safford	KGLU	1450 kc
	Tucson	KVOA	1290 kc
	Yuma	KYUM	1240 kc
California	Fresno	KMJ	580 kc
	Los Angeles	KFI	640 kc
	Sacramento	KCRA	1340 kc
	San Francisco	KPO	680 kc
Colorado	Denver	KOA	850 kc
Connecticut	Hartford	WTIC*	1090 kc
District of Columbia	Washington	WRC	980 kc
Florida	Jacksonville	WJAX	930 kc
	Miami	WIOD	610 kc
	Pensacola	WCOA	1370 kc
	Tampa	WFLA	970-620 kc
Georgia	Atlanta	WSB	750 kc
	Savannah	WSAV	1340 kc
Idaho	Boise	KIDO	1380 kc
Illinois	Chicago	WMAQ	670 kc
Indiana	Elkhart	WTRC	1340 kc
	Fort Wayne	WGL	1450 kc
	Terre Haute	WBOW	1230 kc
Kansas	Hutchinson	KWBW	1450 kc
	Wichita	KANS	1240 kc
Kentucky	Louisville	WAVE*	970 kc
Louisiana	Lafayette	KVOL	1340 kc
	Lake Charles	KPLC	1490 kc
	Monroe	KNOE	1230 kc
	New Orleans	WSMB	1350 kc
	Shreveport	KTBS	1480 kc
Maine	Augusta	WRDO	1400 kc
Maryland	Baltimore	WBAL	1090 kc
	Cumberland	WTBO	1450 kc
Massachusetts	Boston	WBZ	1030 kc
	Springfield	WBZA	1030 kc
Michigan	Detroit	WWJ	950 kc
	Saginaw	WSAM	1400 kc
Minnesota	Duluth-Superior	WEBC	1320 kc
	Hibbing	WMFG	1300 kc
	Mankato	KYSM	1230 kc
	Minneapolis-St. Paul	KSTP	1500 kc
	Rochester	KROC	1340 kc
	St. Cloud	KFAM	1450 kc
	Virginia	WHLB	1400 kc
Mississippi	Jackson	WJDX	1300 kc
Missouri	Kansas City	WDAF	610 kc
	Springfield	KGBX	1260 kc
	Saint Louis	KSD*	550 kc
Montana	Billings	KGHL	790 kc
	Bozeman	KRBM	1450 kc
	Butte	KGIR	1370 kc
	Helena	KPFA	1240 kc

# 106 CATHOLIC HOUR STATIONS

In 40 States, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii

Nebraska	North Platte	KODY	1240 kc
	Omaha	WOW	590 kc
Nevada	Reno	KOH	630 kc
New Mexico	Albuquerque	KOB	1030 kc
New York	Buffalo	WBEN	930 kc
	New York	WNBC	660 kc
	Schenectady	WGY	810 kc
North Carolina	Charlotte	WSOC	1240 kc
	Raleigh	WPTF	680 kc
	Winston-Salem	WSJS	600 kc
North Dakota	Bismark	KFYR	550 kc
	Fargo	WDAY	970 kc
Ohio	Cleveland	WTAM	1100 kc
	Lima	WLOK	1240 kc
	Toledo	WSPD	1340 kc
Oklahoma	Oklahoma City	WKY	930 kc
	Tulsa	KVOO	1170 kc
Oregon	Medford	KMED	1440 kc
	Portland	KGW*	620 kc
Pennsylvania	Allentown	WSAN	1470 kc
	Altoona	WFBG	1340 kc
	Erie	WERC	1230 kc
	Johnstown	WJAC	1400 kc
	Lewistown	WMRF	1490 kc
	Philadelphia	KYW	1060 kc
	Pittsburgh	KDKA	1020 kc
	Reading	WRAW	1340 kc
	Wilkes-Barre	WBRE	1340 kc
	Williamsport	WRAK	1400 kc
Rhode Island	Providence	WJAR	920 kc
South Carolina	Charleston	WTMA	1250 kc
	Columbia	WIS	560 kc
	Greenville	WFBC	1330 kc
South Dakota	Sioux Falls	KSOO-KELO	1140-1230 kc
Tennessee	Kingsport	WKPT	1400 kc
	Memphis	WMC*	790 kc
	Nashville	WSM*	650 kc
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