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TOWARDS THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORDER

by
John P. Monaghan, Ph. D.

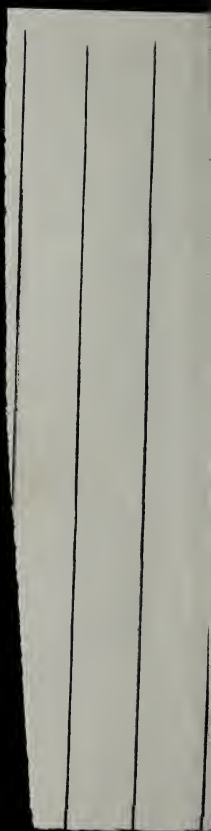


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Towards The Reconstruction Of A Christian Social Order

by

Rev. John P. Monaghan, Ph. D.,
Founder of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

Four addresses delivered in the nationwide Catholic Hour
produced by the National Council of Catholic Men, in
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(On Sundays from June 4 to 25, 1939)

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THE MAN GOD MADE

Address delivered on May 28, 1939

All is not well in this America of ours. A recent thoughtful book presents this picture of the contemporary scene in our heavy industry. We quote: "I saw! there it was—the whole of the smoky semi-circle of Gary and South Chicago. It was a battle zone, with wire fences and search-lights and private policemen and machine guns, and spies nosing around in what should be people's most private affairs, and employers who declare that they are ready to trust their employees just as far as they would trust a rattlesnake, and working men who have the same kind of hatred for the company they must work for." Such a local condition would menace the social security of our Nation at any time, but today it is not a local situation; it is symptomatic of our whole national life. There is almost a state of civil war between workers and employers; violent in the industries, latent everywhere. Over what are we battling? What are the issues involved? The author of this study answers us emphatically and definitely. He says: "The issue is not wages or an open shop or the details of working conditions; the issue is the *rightful ends of human life*." And he continues: "Unless this fact is recognized, and somebody goes to work to solve the problem on this basis; the war will go on until one side or another is annihilated—or both, and the social structure of the entire Country is strained dangerously or wrecked." That the issue between labor and capital is not wages, or hours, or working conditions, may be a surprise to many, including economists and sociolo-

gists; but the conclusion of Professor Rollo Walter Brown, that the issue is the rightful ends of human life is no surprise to the spiritual leaders of Christendom. Most emphatically for over forty years Leo the XIII and Pius XI in their letters on Labor have insisted that the social problem growing out of our economic life is basically a religious problem. The late Pontiff, in his encyclical on *Reconstructing the Social Order*, says: "Though economic science and moral discipline are guided each by its own principles in its own sphere, it is false that the two orders are so distinct and alien that the former in no way depends on the latter . . . reason itself clearly deduces from the nature of things and from the individual and social character of man, what is the end and object of the whole economic order assigned by God the Creator". The Pontiff continues: "The moral law alone which commands us to seek in all our conduct our supreme and final end, and to strive directly in our specific actions for those ends which nature, or rather, the Author of nature, has established for them, duly subordinating the particular to the general." There can be no peace in our economic life until it conforms to the nature of man, and the purpose God had in creating him. In this economic warfare, it is as clear to the Professor, as to the Pontiff, "That the issue is the rightful ends of human life."

The present economic order does not operate *favorably* to the destiny of man. Pius XI observed, "It violates right order whenever capital so employs the working or wage earning classes as to divert business and economic activity entirely to its own arbitrary will and advantage without any regard to the human dignity of the workers, the social char-

acter of economic life, social justice and the common good."

To reconstruct a social order fit and safe for man to live in, we must know what a man is and what he is made for. Let us tell the ancient story of his creation as we read it in the book of Genesis. And God said: "Let us make man to our image and likeness: and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and the beasts, and the whole earth, and every creeping creature that moveth upon the earth. And God created man to his own image: to the image of God he created him: male and female he created them. And God blessed them, saying: Increase and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and all living creatures that move upon the earth. . . And God saw all the things that he had made, and they were very good."

What then is man? He is part of all living things, and needs what all living things need, security, food, and shelter; but he needs more than that, for a man is more than plant and animal. Man is a person. Man has a spiritual soul that is made in the image of God; and from that soul comes the power to understand, the power to control his actions, the power to determine and shape his existence. "Thou has made him a little less than the angels", the Psalmist wrote. "What a piece of work is a man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! In form and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel! In apprehension how like a God!" God-like man knows and can determine himself. What does he know? He knows that a life on the lowest level—that of production and repro-

duction, the plant life so many persons are constrained to live—is not good enough for him; he knows that the life even of a well-cared-for active animal that the great majority of workers can only dream about, that that life is not good enough for him. He knows in his heart's core that nothing in all this world is good enough for him. He knows that that final hunger, still unsatisfied when he has all he needs, is the hunger of his soul for God. "Thou has made us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless till they rest in Thee."

Man must follow his destiny or perish, and his destiny is God. Man knows and is free to choose. He is able to act intelligently and freely in deciding between right and wrong, and thereby merit everlasting happiness. Obviously he couldn't merit anything unless he knew what he was doing, and was free to do it. Thus the powers of thinking and willing are means to an end, namely, happiness after death. Accordingly, the ultimate basis of human dignity is man's eternal destiny. Man is worthwhile because he is worth God's Love, and because he is worth God's Love he is worth a living wage; worth a social and economic order that will ennoble him and never degrade him. God-like man knows and is free, so he is a person. His worth proceeds from himself; no state, no corporation, no other man gives him his value. His worth proceeds from his own personality. We say, the person is inviolable. These gifts which God has given to man put him above all created things, and it is these gifts of intelligence and free will that are the basis of human dignity. The power to know and will is given to man to merit his destiny, everlasting life with God. Since these powers are powers of the human soul, the ultimate basis of

human dignity is the spiritual uniqueness of the human soul.

In the plant and animal world of which man is a part, he is preeminent because of his higher destiny; he has dominion over them. The earth has been given to man to serve his purpose. But in his own world of men, all men are equal; every man is made to the image of God; every man shares the Divine Life; every man has a title to the respect of his brethren. Certainly no man or corporation of men may submerge him to the gross existence of mere animal security. It would be a sin crying for vengeance if he were deprived of that sufficiency of material goods which St. Thomas Aquinas holds to be "Necessary for a virtuous life". Plants without nourishment corrupt. Animals without food are dangerous. Men that have not a sufficiency of material goods are restrained from living a normal human life, so they are corrupting; they are menacing; they are corrosives in the social body.

This principle of the intrinsic dignity of man is one of far-reaching importance. On it rests the order and happiness of America. For "The Social Question" is the sum total of the problems produced in a society by men who refuse to grant each man his rights as a person.

The dignity of man is in proportion to the purpose of his creation. Almost from the beginning, man asked the question: Why did God make me? An almost universal tradition replied, one way or another, the familiar catechism answer: "God made you to know Him, to love Him, to serve Him here, and to be happy with Him hereafter." God revealed the purpose He had in making man in the Old Tes-

tament, but most emphatically through His Son Jesus Christ.

There is no reason whatever for man's existence apart from this revealed purpose. Any lesser reason would violate the traditional consciousness of the human race which holds that man, the noblest of God's creatures, was made for the noblest of all ends. Design and purpose are manifest in every existing thing. All scientific progress is postulated on the order and purposefulness of every atom. Man is no exception. Man's purpose is to know and love and worship God; because this is the loftiest of purposes, man is the loftiest, the noblest of created things.

It is well for us here to recall the truth affirmed in the second paragraph of our Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." This truth, so basic to our democracy, assumes that we believe that every man, woman, and child possesses intrinsic value and is sacred; and that each carries within himself the purpose of his being. "Everybody must count for one and nobody for more than one."

The only guarantee of order and happiness in our society is the unqualified acceptance of the principle that every human being is a person, that he possesses human dignity and has a noble end. When we violate the ends of human life we sin, and the harvest of sin is death—death indeed of our own life in God but death, too, to the economic and social life that ministers to the life of man in God. We speak of an economic war. "Every war is basically a

religious war." Our pit heads, shops, factories, and fields have become, as they were described in Gary and South Chicago, war zones in which the basic issue is indeed 'the ends of human life'. The moral issue is, shall profits determine the value of the person, or shall the common good determine the value of the profits? Hardly anyone would maintain that profits are more important than people. Yet nearly every business enterprise assumes that principle, though it has almost ruined business.

To restore harmony to our society, to give security to invested money and, what is more important, to invested labor, we must restore the unit of society, we must restore man to his natural human dignity, repossess him of human personality. He can only be restored in Christ of whose Mystical Body we are all members. Christ alone is the Way and the Life—the only way, the fullest life. Man's personality has been debased by sin. It has been corroded by the social hates generated by competition for his daily bread. Pius XI in his Encyclical *Reconstructing the Social Order* said: "The conditions of social and economic life are such that vast multitudes of men can only with great difficulty pay attention to that one thing necessary, namely their eternal salvation." Again in the same Encyclical he says: "How universally has the true Christian spirit become impaired. . . In its stead, man's one solicitude is to obtain his daily bread in any way he can. And so bodily labor, which was decreed by Providence for the good of man's body and soul even after original sin, has everywhere been changed into an instrument of strange perversion; for dead matter leaves the factory ennobled and transformed where men are corrupted and degraded."

Will the world of tomorrow continue to measure progress only by diminished time and matter increased at man's expense? The man God made and gave dominion to is crowded in slums, degraded and dehumanized by labor that God intended to ennoble and personalize him. Aged more by worry than work, his mind rises no higher than his day's need. The American Worker is still the "man with the hoe".

Is this the Thing the Lord God made and gave
 To have dominion over sea and land?
 To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;
 To feel the passion for Eternity?
 There is no shape more terrible than this—
 More tongued with censure of the world's blind
 greed
 More filled with signs and portents for the soul—
 More fraught with menace to the Universe.

Pope Pius XI declared: "This longed for social reconstruction must be preceded by a profound renewal of the Christian spirit, from which multitudes engaged in industry in every country have unhappily departed. Otherwise, all our endeavors will be futile . . ." To restore the Christian Social Order in conformity with the dignity of man, the ends of human life, we must be Christian. To be a Christian is to accept Christ literally as your brother and His brethren with Him. His brethren—there's the rub. It's easy enough to accept Christ. Time has made the Carpenter of Nazareth respectable, but His brethren we know: carpenters, miners, factory workers, domestic servants, office workers. They are often crude, often vulgar, very, very common, just as

common as the man who kept a shop on a side street of Nazareth. These are His brethren—and He is most jealous of them. “As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me”. “Behold the man” said Pilate, as he showed Him to the multitude. He wasn’t much of a Man to look at; bloody and hungry and belittled. Yet we would like to think had we been there, we would have done all we could for Him. Certainly we wouldn’t think anyone had done much for Him if, in the hour of His great need, Christ was offered a pamphlet, or a theory, or advice. And His brethren, the 11,000,000 American unemployed, who are as belittled now as Christ was then, they think so too!

THE WORLD MAN MADE

Address delivered on June 4, 1939

The first chapter of Genesis concludes this way: "And God saw all the things that he had made, and they were very good." Why were they very good? They were very good because God was the creative, integrating principle behind everything, nothing remained out of relation to Him and nothing remained out of relation to everything else. God's world was one. Literally His world was wholesome because it was a whole, entire like a healthy body, in which the life of every cell is alive with the life of the whole body. When man sinned he introduced into the wholesome world of God a principle of disintegration. "Every one for himself." Sin was, and is, a wilful and deliberate act of separatism in which a part asserts its supremacy against the whole. The present corroding national misery which we speak of under the very pleasant name "Social Problem" is man made. It is the harvest of sin. It is the world man made for himself. The world of me and mine. God made the world good, what is bad in it is man made. It is well for us to keep this in our mind, for we tend to think of unemployment and want as phenomena like the seasons of the year, continually recurring and inevitable to life. Man made misery, and our present economic misery man made according to a pattern called Capitalism.

The social problem of today is difficult to present simply. It touches as many sides of life that are unseen as those that are evident. That's why so many see so little wrong with poverty; they see so little of it. The cruelty of the social problem is felt

by the great majority of all our workers who even in the years of so-called prosperity did not receive a decent living wage. Who can adequately express the loss of self-respect, the loss of self-reliance, the corroding sense of uselessness, which eleven millions of our unemployed fellow-citizens feel this evening in this, the richest country in the world? Its ruthlessness is felt by the hundreds of thousands who have lost home or business, or even both, in the tragedy of this great depression. The hardness of Capitalism is felt by those who manage industry, business, or finance because they can only maintain themselves by a competition in which there is no ethic and hardly even a sporting chance.

The present modern system of economy is almost entirely dominated by the profit motive and so it caters more to man's wants than to his needs, because wants are always more profitable to cater to. At the present time the world has more power than any previous age, but it has used its new power for destruction as much as for life. It has more wealth, yet we are in the throes of a vast economic crisis. It has more knowledge, yet all our knowledge seems powerless to help us.

The modern form of this social question of ours is the result of the industrial revolution which occurred during the eighteenth century. Machine industry needed workers and the poorer population of the land crowded into urban industrial centers and changed that population from a condition of comparative economic independence into a propertyless wage earning proletariat. The condition of these workers in mines and factories became one of abject misery in many instances. Women, and even little children, were compelled to share the burden of

family maintenance. Gradually this condition aroused the interest of right minded men. Forty-eight years ago, Pope Leo XIII issued his famous encyclical which bore the significant title: *On the Condition of Labor*. The purpose of this document was to lay down rules for the solution of the difficult problem between capital and labor, known as the "Social Question."

The Pontiff in that famous letter counselled legislation to safeguard the rights of workmen, to regulate hours and conditions of work, the labor of women and children, and to assure the laborer of a just wage, to enable him not only to get food and clothing and shelter for himself and his dependents, but also to acquire that minimum of property necessary for a reasonably secure existence. The Pope defended and urged the promotion of workmen's associations and especially of organizations such as the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, so that the rights of labor might be defended by concerted action and so that the laborer might be educated for leadership through a knowledge of the right principles and ideals proper to the solution of the social problem. This encyclical *On the Condition of Labor* condemned the separatism, or, as we would call it, the rugged individualism which had brought about the social question, and, at the same time, condemned the Marxian Socialists who demanded that the social problem be solved by the abolition of private property and the public ownership of the means of production.

Had the advice given by Pope Leo XIII been heeded forty-eight years ago we would not now be suffering from the world-wide economic misery that lies like a blight upon our contemporary civiliza-

tion. We must not forget that there were some employers, pitiably few, who did what they could through social legislation to remedy the inhuman conditions of labor; some too gave a splendid example of understanding and cooperating with organized labor. But in spite of this good will towards the worker by a few enlightened groups we may say that the same causes which had brought about the miserable lot of the laboring classes in the last century continued to work on into the present century until almost the whole machinery of rugged individualistic capitalism is brought to a standstill in our own time.

The ruthless competition of the past was replaced, step by step, in the interests of the self-preservation of business by an even more fatal concentration, centralization of economic and financial control in the hands of the directors of joint stock corporations.

The most important of these corporations, numbering in this country about two hundred, are virtual monopolies which influence the daily press, run strong governmental lobbies, determine certain commodity prices to their advantage, close down factories, change the purchasing power of money to some extent, block the free exchange of money and credit, and actually own eighty percent of any productive industrial property.

Pope Pius XI says: "Not alone is wealth accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few." Moreover, he continues, those few who hold the despotic economic domination "are frequently not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of

invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure." They are directors and officers who need own but little of what they dominate. These industrial corporations are said to be run by their executives who somehow have taken power without ownership. The executives know differently; for they rule usually at the sufferance of the banks. It is reported on good authority, for example, that eight New York banks have 287 insurance directorships; 301 other banking directorships; 521 public utility directorships; 526 railroad, steamship and airplane transportation directorships, and 846 manufacturing directorships.

In 1929, before the depression, seventy percent of our American families had incomes ranging from next to nothing to a maximum of \$2,500 a year. Let us see how matters stand today. According to a distinguished authority in the New York Department of Welfare: "Approximately 1,300,000 men, women and children are dependent upon some form of public relief in New York City;" that is, one out of every six residents of this, the wealthiest city in the world, are dangerously impoverished. The future seems no brighter, for according to the same authority: "We must face the fact that public aid is not temporary, but a permanent responsibility of government, for it is evident to all by this time that we haven't the economic possibilities of providing jobs for all who need work." With greater pity than in the olden days Christ says: "I have compassion on the multitude," for in the midst of His plenty, still, they have not enough to eat.

A leather medal should go to the gentleman who told a learned society in Washington the other day: "Mercy killings of the aged, criminally insane and

other hopeless misfits, young and old, might provide the answer to the question: 'How shall we cut the cost of relief?' " Probably he represents the state of mind of a large number of well placed people who feel that the social problem could be eliminated by the elimination of people. Indeed, the advocates of birth control do say that, but, being well-mannered people, they don't say it that way.

Economic insecurity, which was formerly confined to the industrial wage earner, the man without property, menaces now every other group in our society: The white collar class, the office worker, the great majority of the farm population, and even the professions. Consequently the whole social order has become unstable. The trend is running towards the formation of an American proletariat, a property-less wage earning class. Way must be found to give the ordinary industrious American a real stake in America. This means more than a living wage. It means an opportunity for the worker to secure ownership proportionate to his ability and willingness to acquire in a fair way. One does not have to be very wise to appreciate this observation of a contemporary writer: "Political freedom without economic freedom is almost worthless; it is because the modern proletariat has the one kind of freedom without the other that its rebellion is now threatening the very structure of the modern world."

To remedy the situation merely by social legislation has now become clearly insufficient. We must look to further means. Americans in increasing numbers have lost their rugged individualistic belief that social and economic laws, if left to themselves, will regulate harmoniously the interests of workers, capitalists, and consumers. We are coming

to the conviction that a social and economic order can be established in which the common good and individual enterprise can function without conflict. The question now is in what direction and by what means can this organization be brought about. One thing seems certain. The old notion—no interference by the State in private business—no longer holds good. On this subject Pope Pius XI, in *Reconstructing the Social Order*, had this to say: “Provided that the natural and divine law be observed, the public authority, in view of the common good, may specify more accurately what is licit and what is illicit for property owners in the use of their possessions. . . . The State may not discharge this duty in an arbitrary manner However, when civil authority adjusts ownership to meet the needs of the public good it acts not as an enemy, but as the friend of private owners; for thus it effectively prevents the possession of private property, intended by Nature’s Author in His Wisdom for the sustaining of human life, from creating intolerable burdens and so rushing to its own destruction.” “Free competition and still more economic domination must be kept within just and definite limits under the effective control of the public authority in matters appertaining to this latter’s competence.” The State must assume a nobler function than that of being a mere policeman in the traffic ways of business. Nevertheless we cannot assume that the State alone is in a position to set in motion the wheels of economic life again. This idea of government planning and government direction of industry dominates the life of Soviet Russia, Italy, and Germany. While big business men are heard very thoughtlessly and recklessly calling for a strong hand in Government, I am

sure they realize that any strong hand in Government would not be a glad hand for business, for a strong government hand is far more inimical to invested capital than to invested labor. As Americans, and particularly as Christian Americans, if we wish to preserve and maintain our traditions, we must stop, look, and listen; we must examine this social question in the light of basic moral principles to determine the area and extent of the errors in it. We must determine then, concretely and practically, where the reformation and reorganization must begin. As Archbishop Mooney says: "We must either talk out our difficulties or fight them out. Who can doubt which of these two is the American way to settle differences. Who that loves America, and all that America stands for, can fail to be deeply disturbed at the sight of preparations to fight our differences, rather than to talk them, out. Who can fail to see that the outlook in America today would be far more hopeful if the amount of thought and money which is being expended on industrial strife were to be spent on developing agencies for industrial discussion and conciliation."

Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI characterized the present economic order as that in which capital is provided by one group and labor by another. Neither of the Popes has condemned outright this arrangement. Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* says: "This system itself is not to be condemned and surely it is not vicious of its very nature, but it violates right order whenever capital so employs the working or wage earning classes as to divert business and economic activity entirely to its own arbitrary will and advantage without any regard to the human dignity of the workers, the social character

of economic life, social justice and the common good."

As a means of realizing the law of social justice between those who provide capital and those who furnish labor necessary for production, the Supreme Pontiff (proposes) and (strongly urges) the formation of vocational groups which shall bind men together, not according to their position in the labor market, but according to the functions which they exercise in society. The encyclical further counsels the modification of the wage contract by a contract of partnership which shall permit wage earners to become sharers in the ownership, management, and profits of an enterprise. This pronouncement is directed against the current false assumption that exclusive control and the largest share of profits should belong to those who provide and administer capital. That form of capitalism is as basically anti-Christian as any communism. Indeed, it might be well for some of our highly specialized reformers to direct more of their attention to anti-Christian capitalism which they live under rather than to anti-Christian communism which they have only read about; then, perhaps it's safer to talk about communists who can't kick you than about capitalists who certainly can.

We mustn't forget that the worker in any business enterprise is an investor as well as the man who contributes his wealth. The worker invests in the enterprise *something* more precious than *anything*; namely, himself, and so even from the point of view of values, the man who has invested his personality in an enterprise is entitled proportionately to a greater consideration than the investor who has contributed only things. The plan of Pope Pius XI aims

at the decentralization and distribution not only of the ownership of capital but of the direction and control of capital. Neither our present rugged individualism with its sinful disregard for the common good, its separatism from the common life and its disregard of personal rights, nor communism with its de-humanized collectivist machinery of production and distribution of wealth provides an acceptable solution of the social question. Neither of these can end otherwise than in disaster, for neither of them *rightfully* regards the ends of human life.

The task of reconstructing the social order belongs to the occupational groups who make up the social body. As a matter of fact, we have passed out of an individualistic structure of society: We have corporations of finance and public utilities, guilds of the professions, industrial cartels, chambers of commerce, bankers and manufacturing associations. The trade union and labor union and consumer groups very ineffectively as yet represent the worker and the consumer, who are in the majority. All the existing groups must be made to realize the limits of their rights and the extent of their mutual duties within the social body. They must be made to see, if necessary by legislation and appropriate sanctions, that the common good of all is the highest norm of economic and social activity.

To do this we must begin now. It is later than we think. Each must begin with himself. A sick body begins its cure from a healthy cell. Each of us is a unit in the social body of our sick nation. Its cancerous selfishness shall be made healthy by health flowing out of healthy cells. Cells that live the Christ-life shall renew the sin-sick body of our beloved nation.

Wherever two or three shall be gathered together in Christ's name, He shall be in the midst of them. Two or three *to study, to pray, and to do* in His name. Three, two, even one, with Him, is a great majority.

WHEN LABOR DOES NOT ORGANIZE

Address delivered on June 11, 1939

In his book, *When Labor Organizes*, Professor Brooks says: "If political life is to express the needs, attitudes and aspirations of all the economic groups in the society, people must organize around their most important economic interests. Within this economic organization political life takes place and its product, in the form of policies or demands, may then be enforced directly on the economic front or raised to the level of the political life of the whole community." The national life is like a body. Like the body, it has many organs. Some of these organs have to do with mind-work, other organs produce the energy of Capital, while the workers, as muscle organs, are in the majority. That social body is most healthy in which "mind", capital, and labor are best organized; not alone for the health of each separate organ but for the body's common good. Labor is the second largest economic group in our country, but it is not organized. And so it can only feebly affect the political life of the nation. Labor's "needs, attitudes and aspirations" have no adequate political life, that is, no policy making power, because it is not organized around its most important economic interest; viz., wages or salaries and the conditions of work.

Then when Labor does not organize we can say that the political life of the nation is not much affected by Labor's needs and only the minimum governmental policies are concerned with Labor's attitudes and aspirations. In other words, when Labor is not organized it is without political power,

it is not functioning healthily for the national democratic life. Now what happens to a devitalized organ of the human body? When an organ of the human body is without its normal life-power it sickens and finally disease sets in. Unorganized labor in the body of an industrial society such as ours produces a pathology all too familiar under the various names of Communism, Fascism, Socialism. They are the social diseases of an economy in which the energy-giving organ called "Capital" has almost a monopoly of the body's resources.

There are from thirty to forty million people whose economic life blood is wages or salaries. In this group arises the social problem, for they are not organized. They have "needs, attitudes and aspirations," but only about seven million out of the possible forty million are organized into unions. Only about a mere fifteen to eighteen out of every hundred are organized to realize their own "needs, attitudes and aspirations."

Labor should be one of the most vital organs in a democratic social order, but it is not here; so that we may say when Labor does not organize in America you have that vicious paradox, political democracy for the benefit of a financial autocracy. Pius XI, speaking of this situation in his Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* says: "Free competition is dead. Economic dictatorship has taken its place."

We have compared Capital with energy-giving organs in the body. In our American social body Capital is well organized into unions called Trade Associations. The directory of the United States Department of Commerce, *Selected Trade Associations of the United States*, lists the names and addresses of 2,400 Associations of Employers. These

Associations are efficiently organized for the mutual aid and protection of their members; besides many of them are linked together to "fight labor."

Now, if invested wealth realizes how necessary organization is for its self-preservation in the economic life of the nation, we must ask ourselves why it is that workers do not join unions, since unions are presumed to be dedicated to the interests of the workers?

The chief reason why America lags behind all other industrial nations in trade unionism is because of the opposition of employers, especially some of the larger corporations. While there is, unquestionably, hostility to trade unionism in the small establishments, the greatest opposition to unionism in the United States comes from the powerful organizations employing the largest proportion of workers. These great corporations see in the organization of workers a check to their own power. Only with difficulty has American business been made to realize the natural right of the worker to collective bargaining. Other nations have accepted this right as natural, reasonable, and just. American businessmen still believe that it violates their right to do with their own business as they please. The company-dominated union, the so-called independent union, labor spies, the discharge and the black-list, are still too frequently the American industrialist's answer to man's fundamental right to organize. To offset this bias against Labor, the National Labor Relations Act (The Wagner Act) made this moral right to organize, a legal right. The National Labor Relations Act forbids unfair labor practices on the part of the employers. This is the only purpose of the Act; namely, to give labor an opportunity to or-

ganize. Very few of the objections against this Act have any validity because they accuse it of failing to do what it was never intended to do. It may be said to the credit of a large and increasing number of employers that they are observing the spirit and letter of the Wagner Act in dealing frankly with the chosen representatives of the employees; nevertheless many powerful employers still persist in their opposition to the law. The Wagner Act is, of course, one-sided, as indeed every social law is that seeks to better a group deficient in some need. Since the law is designed to protect the natural right to organize and since, as Leo XIII insists, "The government must protect natural rights, not destroy them," Catholics should rise to the defense of the law as an essential use of the government power.

This brings us to the important question: "Has labor a moral right to organize?" Leo XIII calls the innate impulse urging men to organize for their common good a natural propensity. Leo XIII maintains that to form voluntary associations is the natural right of man. Consequently to deprive him of it renders him something less than a man. It deprives him of a personal right. Pius XI repeated the teaching of Leo XIII and added that to deny or frustrate the natural right to form unions is "criminal injustice."

In the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XI has fourteen references to workingmen's associations or unions. This, for example, makes sufficiently clear the attitude of the Catholic Church to labor unions: "Just as the citizens of the same municipality are wont to form associations with diverse aims, which various individuals are free to join or not, similarly, those who are engaged in the same trade

or profession will form free associations among themselves, for purposes connected with their occupations. Our Predecessor has explained clearly and lucidly the nature of these free associations. We are content, therefore, to emphasize this one point: Not only is man free to institute these unions which are of a private character, but he has the right 'further to adopt such organization and such rules as may best conduce to the attainment of their respective objects.' The same liberty must be claimed for the founding of associations which extend beyond the limits of a single trade." This stand of the Church is determined on the basic premise that all men are children of a common Father and brothers one to another in Jesus Christ. The Church recognizes that the function of society is to enable man to attain his ultimate end. And to attain that ultimate end in this way of life he needs a minimum economic security. And to attain that economic security he has a right to organize with his fellow workers for their common good. The Church well knows that in modern industry the individual worker and the employer, usually a corporation, cannot bargain freely. The individual worker is bargaining not only with the employer, he is bargaining against his own need. Youth bargains against old age. The young unmarried man bargains against the married man with more responsibility. Invested wealth certainly has the right to bargain collectively through corporations with Labor. For equally good reasons Labor has the same right.

The Catholic wage earner, and the salary worker in the United States, should not hesitate to join any of the A. F. of L., C. I. O., or Railroad Brotherhoods, for in spite of much propaganda to the contrary,

these three organizations have a splendid record for justice and equity. It is the duty of all wage earners to join the one of these organizations which will best meet his needs, and he must also share the responsibility for the development of the honor and healthy functioning of his union.

There is another important reason why wage and salary workers should organize. It is the obligation of social justice. Pius XI in his Encyclical *Atheistic Communism* affirms: "Now it is the very essence of social justice to demand from each individual all that is necessary for the common good." The most urgent need of our times is the distribution of the goods and services which our present equipment and resources can produce. If all industry in 1929 had operated to capacity, at least one-third more goods than were consumed in that year would have been available for the average family; and by 1937 more than an additional one-half would have been available. How to enable America to consume what America produces is the greatest economic problem facing the Nation.

To help establish national welfare, the worker has a responsibility in the community, and the best means he has to discharge that responsibility is to affiliate with a union of his occupation, whether craft or industrial, for unorganized labor means low wages; and low wages means under-buying; and under-buying produces unemployment—and out of unemployment we have our present national depression. On the other hand, through organization he can obtain higher wages. High wages increase his buying power; and increased buying power means employment—and the national well-being is derived from general employment of the worker. It is hard

for us to realize what a small percentage of the national wealth is accessible to unorganized Labor. According to the National Resources Committee, in 1935 and 1936, fourteen percent of the twenty-nine million families in the Country received less than \$500 per year; forty-two percent less than \$1,000; sixty-five percent less than \$1,500; and eighty-seven percent less than \$2,500. The workers of the Nation can expect no fairer share of the products of our national resources and services, other than by organizing into unions. By unionism we obtained in the past political security and independence. Only through trade unionism will economic security come to the worker.

The question is frequently asked: "Do men who receive fairly good incomes have any obligation to join a union?" We might answer either in justice or in charity, "Yes." They are required to associate themselves with their weaker brethren for the common good and, indeed, for their own continued security; for if they work in an industry which is partly organized, it is more than likely that the good conditions which they enjoy came to them as an effort made by their non-union employer "To keep the union out." Such non-union employees are therefore enjoying the fruit of others' sacrifices. The workers in the union shops probably risked their jobs to have the union recognized and they contribute monthly to keep it efficient. In justice then, the non-union employees are bound to carry their share of the common burden of their fellow-workers.

Now, a word about company-unionism. Company unions today are usually called "Independent" unions because they are not affiliated with recognized bodies such as the A. F. of L. or the C. I. O. Actually, the

so-called independent union is the most dependent of unions and corresponds to the type of unionism that exists in the totalitarian states where government appoints the workers' representatives. Of course, the company does not appoint the workers' representatives, but it essentially and actually controls them. This control is evident when you recall that under all company or "Independent" union arrangements the employee is obliged to confine his choice of representatives to fellow-employees on the company's payroll and the company is able to discharge these representatives if they find them to be too vigorous in representation. It is almost correct to say that under the company union plan the company makes a contract with itself. Company unionism is in direct opposition both to the letter and the spirit of the encyclical programs. The encyclicals repeat again and again the principle of freedom that, as in political, so in economic life, the right to self-organization is to be jealously guarded: "Not only is man free to institute these unions which are of a private character, but he has the right 'further to adopt such organization and such rules as may best conduce to the attainment of their respective objects.' The same liberty must be claimed for the founding of associations which extend beyond the limits of a single trade." No matter by what pleasant name a company's union is called, it is still a company's union.

There is a constant and subtle defamation of unionism and all it stands for in the movements that seem to have as their object the "Elimination of racketeers" and a "Greater responsibility in trade unions." These ends are certainly desirable, but they are hardly the motives that actuate the reforms

organized by associations of businessmen. Professor Harris of Yale University is responsible for these observations about these "Reforms": "In the first place, with the exception of the Trucking and Building Trades, Cleaning and Dyeing Services and Wholesale and Retail Food Supply, all of which by their peculiar marketing methods and competitive conditions lend themselves to racketeering, virtually none exists among American unions, or, if it exists, has been so microscopic as to avoid the diligent researches of many competent and interested investigators. In the second place, existing State and Federal statutes; namely, Criminal Laws and the Federal Anti-Trust Acts, when racketeering has an effect upon inter-State commerce, are more than adequate to safeguard the employer, the public and labor unions against this evil (racketeering). Finally, the financial integrity and business sense of the union officials may be favorably compared with their counterparts among business executives. Now, as far as responsibility is concerned, unions which have been able to exist over a few years' time observe their contracts. *In fact, less than one-half of one percent of the contracts between American Unions and their employers have been violated over a period of thirty-six years.* With courts constantly crowded with suits between business firms arising from breach of contract, this record of American unionism's ninety-nine and one-half percent of fidelity to its pledges is, perhaps, a point to be pondered."

It is useless and hopeless for Capital in the United States to fight collective bargaining and at the same time expect loyalty from the workers. No workers will show appreciation for the needs of an industry or be convinced of the integrity of their

employers if they have to fight for the existence of unions. If unions are treated as outlaw organizations by a large part of American industry it cannot expect that the laborer will meet its demands for confidence with any assurance of conviction.

The Papal program for the reconstruction of the social order does not regard unionization relying solely on collective bargaining as adequate machinery to effect social justice. It looks forward to a completely organized social and economic life, a life in which there would be a partnership between worker and employer with the government acting as Chairman. All the people, workers and employers in all establishments, in all industries and callings, would be organized, not only for their individual good but for the good of the whole social body. The outlook for this desired end is not too hopeful this evening, since only about one in six of the non-agricultural labor force of the country has won the freedom to organize; and resistance to their further organization is, if anything, increasing. Nevertheless, men of good will must take heart to follow the less dramatic way to solve the social problem that is de-vitalizing an increasing number of our fellow-citizens. Fascism and Communism present to the worker and, indeed, to many capitalists, blueprints of the world of tomorrow. It is certainly a dramatic solution and it certainly is not a Christian or an American solution. The first step in the Christian democratic American way towards social peace is by the way of trade unionism. Our present trade unions need a Christian philosophy to ennoble them and direct them. Christian men will not do much for a trade union by talking at it or down to it. They must come into it and make it move Christ-ways. Chris-

tian philosophy will enable the trade union to take its first steps towards what our late Holy Father, Pius XI, envisioned in his labor encyclicals, as a corporate life of all workers—"mind," capital, and labor—for the common good and the greater glory of God, our common Father.

INDUSTRY INCORPORATED

Address delivered on June 18, 1939

Perhaps the most accurate indictment of our present situation has been set forth in the following words: "How universally has the true Christian spirit become impaired In its stead, man's one solicitude is to obtain his daily bread in any way he can. And so bodily labor, which was decreed by Providence for the good of man's body and soul even after original sin, has everywhere been changed into an instrument of strange perversion: for dead matter leaves the factory ennobled and transformed, where men are corrupted and degraded." These burning words are not the volcanic eruption of an embittered liberal, but the clear judgment of the late Pope Pius XI made eight years ago in his famous encyclical, *Reconstructing the Social Order*. They present to us vividly and dramatically what has happened to the common man in modern industry. Work, which was decreed by God to ennoble man, has in our modern industrial economy corrupted and degraded him. Now the most important instrument of our modern industrial economy is the *corporation*. What is a corporation?

The modern corporation is the product of the policies that flowed out of individualism and the demands for mass production. A greater amount of wealth than any one or a small group of individuals could supply was necessary to manufacture and quickly transport goods to rapidly enlarging markets. So the wealth of thousands of individuals was made available for this enterprise by the creation of the industrial corporation. By the authority of the

sovereign state the corporation became a "person". Among other privileges, it has a right to sue and be sued, it enjoys perpetuity and a limited liability. Its great advantage is that it can easily accumulate capital, and its stockholders are not personally liable for the debts of their firm, usually they can lose no more than they invested.

This corporate kind of business dominates our modern world and, accepting its obvious value to business enterprise, it must accept the responsibility too for the effects produced by its industry in the life of the American worker. About 2-3 of the field of business activity is under the control of corporations. About 90% of mining, manufacturing, transportation, and communication and public utilities is corporation owned and directed. But even out of all proportion to this wealth, the corporations exercise an influence upon the political and social life of the people, for these industries in which corporations control about 90% of the field are the *key industries of the Nation*. Individual producers, like the farmers, and the retail merchant, must buy and sell according to their terms. The millions who are in their service and the millions who consume their products are affected by the slightest change in their policy. It is not an exaggeration to say that the policy of the great corporations has become our national business policy. Indeed we are told again and again that what we need is more business in government and less government in business. Corporate business has become an economic state alongside the political state with which it negotiates on terms of equality and sometimes with condescension.

The power of these giant corporations is increasing rapidly and the depression has probably speeded

up the process, for thousands of small corporation units have been eliminated or absorbed in the last five years. We must take stock of this power, for it threatens the National Body. Like an uncontrolled cell in the human body, this organism, good in itself, threatens to become cancerous to the National Body. Its size challenges the power of the sovereign state and its influence reaches into every legislative assembly geographically associated with it. When the textile industry moved South, where taxes were low and wages almost as low, all New England suffered most seriously. A utility magnate boasted of "owning" the Assembly of one of the largest states in the Union. The most generous contributors to political campaigns, often contributing to both sides to show their impartiality, are the directors of these great corporations. The public utility industry has a particularly bad reputation in this respect. Is it merely political apathy, or is it by interested indolence that we still have twenty-three states without minimum wage legislation; thirty states without a legal limit of eight hours of labor, even for women; and twenty-six states with a legal weekly limit in excess of forty-eight hours (including eight states with none at all). Commenting on this situation an authority (Miss Perkins) observes: "We have to face the fact that most hours laws fall short of covering all workers and that the various exceptions and omissions are based not so much on the nature of the work as on *the pressure of special interest groups.*"

The great corporations have been the most effective opponents of collective bargaining. Even the federal government's strength behind the N.R.A. and the Wagner Act has not been strong enough to

meet the opposition of particularly powerful corporations. War-time equipment of some of the great plants to battle against labor is effective, and nationally scandalous. Capital's tear gas, riot guns, spies, hired racketeers, these are *clenched fists* that America needs to fear. "The Mohawk Valley Formula" is as insidious to American independence as the Communist Manifesto.

Not only is the unorganized worker helpless before these industrial giants, but the great consuming public is likewise their victim. Mr. and Mrs. Consumer must pay the high, inflexible prices set by the controlling groups, depression or no depression. They must pay a price that will include not only the manufacturer and the ordinary investor, but the promoter and the investment banker and the extravagantly salaried executive. Over this vast organization, enjoying all the privileges of a "person" with a minimum of personal responsibility, neither the average citizen nor the average stockholder nor, indeed, the average state has much control. *The great corporations are not incorporated into the national life.* Every health organ of the human body is controlled and regulated by the common good; the life of the lungs and the heart is a part of the common body's life. When they cease to respond to the body's common need they become dangerous, with the implication of death. In modern economic life corporations are probably necessary and their necessity is to be gauged by their value not to themselves but to the community, but they have the seeds of evil in them as long as they operate by the present separation of ownership and control. What does a stockholder own in a corporation and what does he control? Modern Capitalism has many ways and

particularly many *legal devices* by which the stockholder may be deprived of all actual control of his corporation, although continuing to possess his nominal claim to ownership. Dr. Cronin in his excellent recent book, *Economics and Society*, points out how today "it frequently happens that large corporations are controlled not by their legal owners but rather by some inner group, with the result that the vast majority of stockholders are virtually disfranchised." So you see that the dear widows and orphans and school teachers who are the presumed greatest beneficiaries of corporate trusts play a more dramatic part in corporation literature than in the corporation's life. Of the various *legal devices* employed to gain control of the corporation, perhaps the best known is the holding company. Through this and other *legal devices* 22% of the 200 largest corporations were controlled in 1931. Unfortunately for us, the state legislatures and the courts have established a legal basis for corporate irresponsibility. States compete to give corporation charters so that they may gain the incorporation fees and corporation taxes. The courts of these states have very consistently favored the directors of the corporations against the stockholders, so that totaling the result of the legal battles between directors and stockholders we have now "a sharp increase in the power of boards of directors and a more thorough disfranchisement of the stockholders." Not only are the laborers denied or curtailed the right of collective bargaining by the corporations, but so are the stockholders. Like the laborers, they take what they get and say nothing, lest they should get less.

Pius XI did not say all he might have said when he wrote: "The regulations legally enacted for cor-

porations, with their divided responsibility and limited liability, have given occasion to abominable abuses. Their greatly weakened accountability makes little impression, as is evident, upon the conscience. The worst injustices and frauds take place beneath the obscurity of the common name of a corporate firm. Boards of directors proceed in their unconscionable methods even to the violation of their trust in regard to those whose savings they administer." (*On Reconstructing the Social Order*).

What can be done with this great stomach that seems to be swallowing the National Body? Now there are two obvious solutions: Reform it surgically, or slowly. Communism, Fascism, and Nazism are surgical. Democracy is slow. If we wish to retain the good of the corporations then they must submit their unhealthy growth to the discipline of laws that will regulate them to the good of all the people. *Corporations now live on the National Body, they must be incorporated into it.* They have a place in our modern economy; they must, like lung or heart or any organ, keep their place, which is to function profitably to the good of the laborer, the consumer, and the investor. In that subsidiary place they are less wealthy, but healthier and happier.

How is this desirable end to be attained in a democracy? Let us not underestimate the difficulty. The dominant financial power is an oligarchy that possesses illimitable power. Pope Pius XI describes that power accurately and emphatically when he says: "It is patent that in our days not alone is wealth accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few, and that those few are frequently not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of

invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure.

“This power becomes particularly irresistible when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are able also to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying so to speak, the life-blood to the entire economic body, and grasping, as it were, in their hands the very soul of production, so that no one dare breathe against their will.

“This accumulation of power, the characteristic note of the modern economic order, is a natural result of limitless free competition which permits the survival of those only who are the strongest, which often means those who fight most relentlessly, who pay least heed to the dictates of conscience . . . Free competition is dead; economic dictatorship has taken its place.

“Unbridled ambition for domination has succeeded the desire for gain; the whole economic life has become hard, cruel, and relentless in a ghastly measure . . . The State . . . has become . . . a slave, bound over to the service of human passion and greed” (*On Reconstructing the Social Order*). Pius XI is not content merely to diagnose the pathology of corporations, he presents to us a plan. *Corporations must be balanced by co-operations*. Organizations such as labor unions, consumers' leagues, tax payers' associations, and property owners' leagues, should be encouraged to function constructively and serve as active agents associated with the government in the regulation of abuses. *The ideal state itself would be democratic co-operative*. In it industry would be largely autonomous governed by capitalists and labor, by representatives of the consumer, by the re-

lated industries, and finally by government. Clearly no basic reform such as this can be brought about without the collaboration of the state. In our modern life the influence of the state extends throughout society and the practice and enforcement of social justice depend to a very great extent upon the state. "Indeed in present day conditions the state should be regarded as by far the most important agent and instrument of social justice."

But good institutions alone are not sufficient ; it is men that must make the institutions work. The institutions will not be created, nor will man be able to use these institutions, unless he be renovated from within. Institutions are the sum total of men. And only Christian men can reconstruct a Christian social order. Therefore, before a man can hope to contribute constructively to the establishment of a Christian society, he must be first of all Christian. The Pontiff observes: "However, if We examine matters diligently and thoroughly We shall perceive clearly that this longed-for social reconstruction must be preceded by a profound renewal of the Christian spirit, from which multitudes engaged in industry in every country have unhappily departed. Otherwise, all our endeavors will be futile, and our social edifice will be built, not upon a rock, but upon shifting sand." We can not legislate into existence the Christian corporative society, we must live it. In this age of petty revolutions there is no more revolutionary idea than to propose to men as their first law that they must love one another. Perhaps more revolutionary and more unusual would be to live that law. Only through such an incorporation can industry be renewed and our hate-scarred social body become a living lovely thing, the very body on Earth

of Christ Himself. To this end, with hands joined not on our breasts but joined co-operatively to every fellow worker, let us pray:

LORD JESUS, Carpenter of Nazareth,
You were a worker as I am, give to me and
all the workers of the world the privilege to
work as You did, so that everything we do may
be to the benefit of our fellowmen and the
greater glory of God the Father.
Thy Kingdom come into the factories and
into the shops, into our homes, and into our
streets. Give us this day our daily bread.
May we receive it without envy or injustice.
To us who labor and are heavily burdened, send
speedily the refreshment of Thy love.
May we never sin against Thee. Show us
Thy way to work, and when it is done, may we
with all our fellow-workers rest in peace.
Amen.

CARDINAL HAYES STATES AIMS OF THE CATHOLIC HOUR

(Extract from his address at the inaugural program 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.

CATHOLIC HOUR STATIONS

Alabama	Mobile	WALA	1380	kc	
Arizona	Phoenix	KTAR	620	kc	
	Tucson	KVOA			
	Little Rock	KARK	890	kc	
Arkansas	Bakersfield	KERN	1370	kc	
	Fresno	KMJ	580	kc	
California	Los Angeles	KECA	1430	kc	
	San Francisco	KPO	680	kc	
	Stockton	KWG	1200	kc	
	Denver	KOA	830	kc	
	Pueblo	KGHF	1320	kc	
	Hartford	WTIC	1040	kc	
	Washington	WRC	950	kc	
	Florida	Jacksonville	WJAX	900	kc
		Miami	WIOD	610	kc
		Pensacola	WCOA		
	Tampa	WFLA-WSUN	620	kc	
	Lakeland	WLAK	1310	kc	
Georgia	Atlanta	WSB	740	kc	
	Boise	KIDO	1350	kc	
Idaho	Pocatello	KSEL	900	kc	
Illinois	Chicago	WMAQ-WCFL	670	kc	
Indiana	Fort Wayne	WGL	1370	kc	
	Terre Haute	WBOW	1310	kc	
	Indianapolis	WIRE	1400	kc	
Iowa	Des Moines	WHO			
Kentucky	Louisville	WAVE	940	kc	
Louisiana	New Orleans	WSMB	1320	kc	
	Shreveport	KTBS	1450	kc	
Maine	Portland	WCSH	940	kc	
Maryland	Baltimore	WFBR	1270	kc	
Massachusetts	Boston	WBZ	990	kc	
	Springfield	WBZA	990	kc	
	Worcester	WTAG	580	kc	
	Mankota	KYSM			
Minnesota	Minneapolis-St. Paul	KSTP	1460	kc	
	St. Cloud	KFAM			
	Duluth-Superior	WEBC	1290	kc	
Mississippi	Jackson	WJDX	1270	kc	
Missouri	Kansas City	WDAF	610	kc	
	Springfield	KGBX	1230	kc	
	Saint Louis	KSD	550	kc	
Montana	Billings	KGHL	780	kc	
	Butte	KGIR	1340	kc	
	Helena	KPFA	1210	kc	
	Omaha	WOW	590	kc	
Nebraska	Albuquerque	KOB	1180	kc	
New Mexico	Buffalo	WBEN	900	kc	
	New York	WEAF	660	kc	
New York	Schenectady	WGY	790	kc	
	Charlotte	WSOC	1210	kc	
	Raleigh	WPTF	680	kc	
North Carolina	Bismarck	KFYR	550	kc	
	Fargo	WDAY	940	kc	
North Dakota	Cincinnati	WSAI	1330	kc	
	Cleveland	WTAM	1070	kc	
	Columbus	WCOL	1210	kc	
Ohio	Oklahoma City	WKY			
	Tulsa	KVOO	1140	kc	
Oklahoma	Medford	KMED			
Oregon	Allentown	WSAN	1440	kc	
	Philadelphia	KYW	1020	kc	
	Pittsburgh	WCAE	1220	kc	
Pennsylvania	Providence	WJAR	890	kc	
	Charleston	WCSC	1360	kc	
Rhode Island	Columbia	WIS	560	kc	
South Carolina	Greenville	WFBC	1300	kc	
	Nashville	WSM	650	kc	
Tennessee	Amarillo	KGNC	1410	kc	
Texas	Beaumont	KFDM			
	El Paso	KTSM	1310	kc	
	Houston	KPRC	920	kc	
	San Antonio	WOAI	1190	kc	
	Salt Lake City	KDYL	1290	kc	
Utah	Norfolk	WTAR			
Virginia	Richmond	WMBG	1350	kc	
	Seattle	KOMO	920	kc	
	Spokane	KHQ	590	kc	
Washington	Madison	WIBA	1280	kc	
Wisconsin	Honolulu	KGU	750	kc	
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