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Capital & Labour

A Plain Statement.

BY

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PRICE - ONE PENNY.

THE IRISH ROSARY OFFICE,

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Capital and Labour.

I.—“The Pressing Question.”

THE events of the past months in Dublin and elsewhere have been lining and underlining the sage words of Leo XIII. that “the condition of the working people is the pressing question of the hour; and nothing can be of higher interest to all classes of the State than that it should be rightly and reasonably adjusted.” “All agree, and there can be no question whatever that some remedy must be found, and found quickly, for the misery and wretchedness pressing so heavily and so unjustly on the vast majority of the working classes.” But, as is not wonderful considering the inflammable nature of human passion and its blinding effect on the mind and judgment, consideration of the real problems and living issues has largely given place to the bandying of words, fierce personal invective, and passionate courses of action which have had harrowing consequences without bringing us nearer to the remedy so much desired. It is well, therefore, to review some of the principles at stake in the light of commonsense and of Christianity as expounded by the Catholic Church.

II.—“The Primary Thing,”

It must be remembered that this is a matter which brings a certain amount of responsibility to every individual's own door. No organisation or leader can relieve our conscientious obligations; many persons in these days of unions and federations of one kind or another seem to think they can so shift the burden. But it is not so; and, in fact, if every man did his own part in carrying out the eternal laws of justice and

NOTE: This Pamphlet contains the substance of two articles which appeared in *The Irish Rosary* in August, 1911, and October, 1913. They are reprinted, with some alterations, at the request of many readers. Pope Leo is quoted chiefly from C.T.S.E. versions.

F. R.

Permissu Superiorum.

charity society would move easily on its way. In the case of the struggle between Capital and Labour it has first of all to be recognised that the whole problem is one of right and wrong ; and that its solution is dependent on the application, by representatives of both sides equally, of the principles : Thou shalt not steal ; and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. " Let everyone, therefore, put his hand to the work that falls to his share. . . . The rulers of the State must use the laws and institutions of the country ; masters and rich men must remember their duty ; the poor, whose interests are at stake, must make every lawful and proper effort ; and, because religion alone can destroy the evil at its root, all men must be persuaded that the primary thing needful is a return to Christianity in the absence of which all the plans and devices of the wisest will be of little avail." So has Leo XIII. pointed out.

III.—Two Camps.

There are four propositions worthy of continual remembrance in discussing the relation of Capital and Labour. The first is this : *Two such classes, by whatever name we choose to call them, must always exist.* The course of the world's progress demonstrates that it has always been so. Nor considering the inequality of men's equipment in mind and body by Providence could it be otherwise. The state of mutual dependance and hope of progress makes it necessary. Even if some Gilbert gifted with omnipotence were able to make effective his famous line " They all shall equal be," the equality would not long exist. In truth, as it is immoral to disseminate doctrines that attack, for example, the sanctity of marriage, or that countenance debauchery or injustice ; so too it is wicked to delude the ignorant with false ideas about equality. For these ideas run counter to the divinely constituted plan of society. By that plan " just as the symmetry of the human frame is the resultant of the disposition of the bodily members, so in a State it is ordained by nature that these two classes should dwell in harmony." It is, indeed, adds Leo XIII., " no easy matter to define

the relative rights and mutual duties of the rich and poor, of Capital and Labour. And the danger lies in this, that crafty agitators are intent on making use of these differences of opinion to pervert men's judgments and to stir up the people to revolt." All men are equal in the sense that they come from the hand of their Creator ; that they have been redeemed by Jesus Christ ; and that they will be judged and rewarded or punished by God according to the exact measure of their merits and of their demerits. There the equality ends. But God, made man, chose to be poor ; and one of the beatitudes is that of the poor in spirit.

IV.—Abnormal Armies.

The second proposition : *The two classes are at present abnormally constituted.* Vast changes have come over the industrial world. Business has become centralized in great cities, and industries, formerly controlled by individual masters, have passed into the hands of financial corporations. Personal relationship between employer and employe tends to grow less and less ; the very notion of their relationship has largely changed. As G. K. Chesterton wrote recently :—" In the time of the old workmen, the word Master meant Master-Workman. That is, Master of Arts. If you were apprenticed to a brassworker, let us say, your master might come like any Turk and bang you most severely. But he banged brass as well : the capitalist only professes to bang you. He is not a master at all, but an employer. It is not merely a frequent fault in Capitalism, it is the whole point of Capitalism that *the capitalist is not the man who can do the thing. The capitalist is the man who can afford the thing.* If a coal owner knows anything about coal it is accidental, as his knowing about Catullus. If a capitalist, financing a building scheme, is interested in architecture it is as private a taste as if it were archery. It is no part of the theory or practice of Capitalism,"—as the word has now come to be used.

And, again, to use the authoritative words of Leo XIII., the " result of such change and revolution has been to divide society into two widely differing castes. . . .

On the one side there is the party which holds power because it holds wealth ; which has in its grasp the whole of labour and trade ; which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is even represented in the councils of the the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude ; broken down and suffering."

And he puts his finger with an almost inspired precision on the causes of the evil when he says :—" It has come to pass that working men have been surrendered all isolated and helpless, to the *hardheartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition*. The mischief has been increased by *rapacious usury*, which, although more than once condemned by the Church, is nevertheless under a different guise, but with the like injustice, still practised by covetous and grasping men. To this must be added the custom of working by contract and the *concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals*, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the labouring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself." The workers' isolation and the greed of unchecked competition : here indeed are the roots of the trouble.

And all—all who like Jesus Christ have compassion on the multitude—" all are agreed that some remedy must be found and found quickly." Strong words ! And yet some are found to say and to think that the Church is unsympathetic with the worker and opposed to his emancipation ! She who alone " insists on those teachings whereby the conflict can be brought to an end," who " improves and betters the conditions of the workingman by means of numerous useful organizations " ; who " does her best to enlist the services of all ranks in discussing and endeavouring to meet, in the most practical way, the claims of the working classes " ! Unsympathetic she is with impossible ideals ; opposed she is to the abandonment of the Ten Commandments, and to leaders who recklessly inculcate false principles of action, and exploit the ignorance and trust of their unconscious dupes.

V.—Not Socialism

Proposition three : *The remedy is not to be found on Socialistic lines*. Socialistic leaders talk largely when speaking and writing, of revolution as necessary. Such things sound well to their impassioned hearers. Well, we have had time to test the value of the method. After all the French Revolution was an effort towards making the relations of rich and poor more equitable. It started with the watchwords : Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. How have things fared since ? Fraternity ! Has ever class hatred been more intense ? Equality ! Have the extremes of wealth and poverty ever been greater ? Liberty ! What of the " yoke little better than slavery itself " ? Then consider the many practical attempts at founding Socialistic communities. They have all failed one after another. Or consider the instruction to be derived from cases like that of the much-boomed Bebel. Perhaps the strongest leader the Socialistic party ever developed, he was born poor. He died rich—to the tune of up to thirty or forty thousand pounds ! No, Socialistic effort may change names, but it will change nothing else. The classes will remain ; and the abnormalities will remain ; and many of the altruistic leaders will continue to prove but capitalistic wolves in the labour sheep's clothing. And the poor unfortunate workers as long as they allow themselves to be led like sheep will unthinkingly follow to their doom. These things will remain as long as Christian principles are not made the foundation of social reform.

VI.—The Only Way.

The fourth proposition is this : *On Catholic principles only can social equilibrium be maintained*. The social question, with the controversies arising out of it concerning the nature and duration of work, wages, workmen's strikes, is not merely an economic one ; " it is first of all moral and religious and for that reason its solution is to be expected mainly from the moral law and the pronouncements of religion." The problem, as has been remarked, is one of right and wrong, ultimately.

The State may make laws to safeguard its subjects, it is bound to do its share: but in the last resort the remedy is in the conscientious fulfilment of individual duty by the citizens. The Catholic Church fearlessly and without respect of persons points out this duty in detail; and alone she claims to press it authoritatively; to press it on prince and peasant, high and low, employer and employe, capitalist and workman if you prefer the terms; and to press it under threat of the same eternal sanctions. Thoughtless persons sometimes say the Church must be afraid of Socialism and its efforts. It is afraid—not that Socialism or any other ism can triumph over her; against her the gates of hell shall not prevail; but afraid lest in the meantime Socialism may cause the loss of a single soul committed to her care. And she ceases not to repeat the words of Christ as an antidote to the visionary promises made by godless and unscrupulous leaders: What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world if he lose his soul? While to the wealthy unmindful of their stewardship she speaks the awful words: It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. Some, both leaders and led, would fain hold with both sides: with the Church and with those who flout her principles. This is impossible. "He that is not with Me is against Me," said Christ. There can be no halting between two sides. Why will not the worker see that whatever good is in the Socialist programme is included in the teaching of the Church? Why will he not see that the Socialist dream of transferring "the possessions of individuals to the community at large strikes at the interest of every wage-earner . . . and deprives him of all hope and possibility of bettering his condition in life?" Why will he not see that the Syndicalist method, with all its professions of "highest love," strikes deeper still—at his very personal liberty and manhood. And why will he not see that in following Socialist leaders, whatever their talk of the compatibility of Catholicism with their views, he is going away from the Church in which are all his hopes of salvation? Great indeed is the price he is being asked for his whistle!

VII.—Syndicalism and Trusts.

We have become fairly familiar with these terms now. And, in a sense, they are correlative just as Labour and Capital are. Organisation is necessary. The want of it indeed has been, and is, one of the chief causes for the continuance of the workers' enslaved condition. The Church has ever blessed and promoted sound unions, just as she has ever condemned those vitiated by dangerous aims or principles. And in her support is the only true security for lasting effectiveness. But the operation of syndicalist or trust methods 'is equally to be dreaded. For if the former seems to involve, as Cardinal Bourne said at Leicester early this year, the ignoring of the right to private property, the denial of the individual to dispose of the labour of his hands as he wills, the countenancing of *sabotage* in all its degrees, as well as the indiscriminate use of the sympathetic strike; on the other hand, the trust system is dead against attaining of property by the humbler classes, it practically treats the workers as chattels, and clad in what Cardinal Manning called "the invulnerability of wealth" it can coerce them with all the machinery of constraint, and bend them by starvation to its will. Hence Leo XIII. scores both capitalist and labour combinations that work on these lines: alike the "small number of very rich men" laying a "yoke little better than that of slavery" on the labouring poor; and "associations that do their utmost to get within their grasp the whole field of labour, and force workmen either to join them or to starve." No man can give a blank cheque on his conscience to any leader; he is bound before endorsing any proposed measure to examine it in the light of morality and faith, or get *competent* advice thereon at others' hands; he must resist any dictation which filches away his liberty as a man. How important, therefore, it is that Catholics of both parties be inspired by the truths of Christianity, and that they learn the application of those truths from the lips of authority; lest they be led by blind guides on a path that will be the destruction of their eternal and perhaps of their temporal hopes. "But with desolation is the land made desolate because no man thinketh in his heart."

VIII.—Duties Summarized.

The practical acceptance of Christian principles, then, says Leo XIII., alone can bring about social equilibrium, and its influence may be brought to bear on the controverted points in many ways. And chiefly by stimulating the consciences of all to greater exactness and fidelity in performing their respective duties—especially those involving justice. These may be briefly summarized. Employers are bound to respect the personal dignity of their workers, and not to treat them as slaves or merely so much muscle and energy. They must see that they have opportunity to lead a rational and religious life, and that the work is not excessive or unsuited to the worker's age or sex. The employers' "great and principal duty," we read "is to give every one a fair wage," and they are warned lest they violate it in any way. And it is this precise point where justice enters into the wages question that we wish to emphasize here. For the non-payment of proper wages is at the very root of the workers' misery, and makes them ready to clutch at any remedy that seems likely to alleviate their sufferings. Workmen, on the other hand, must faithfully and fully carry out all equitable agreements which they have made; injure in no wise their employer's person or property; abstain from rioting or violence when defending their own interests. Chief among their duties is that corresponding to their right to a living wage, namely, that of giving fair and honest work in return. And they are specially warned not to give ear to foolish leaders who hold out immoderate hopes and make great, but empty, promises; for such agitations nearly always end in ruin and bootless regret. In another place the Pope reminds them that though it is quite lawful to assert their rights, they must, in doing so, hold the corresponding duties sacred: respect for property, non-interference with their fellows' liberty, abstention from violence, and reasonableness in demands.

IX.—A Radical Point.

In any contract of buying and selling—and such in essence is the agreement entered into by workmen

with employers—the general principle of price is that it should be fair. What a fair price is must be determined either by prescription of the law or by the general consent of the parties concerned,—a consent arrived at not so much on a basis of the intrinsic worth of the article as of its utility and of general sentiment. But in the particular matter of wages, in settling the fairness, one important point must be noticed: that human labour has a natural *minimum* value; and it may not be hired or bought, in general, at a rate below this without a violation of strict justice.

Some, indeed, say that the matter depends entirely on the agreement of employers and employed, and that justice is violated then only when either the workman fails to do the work or the employer fails to pay the wage agreed on. But the falsity of this position is easily shown. For, says Leo XIII.: "To labour is to exert oneself for the sake of procuring what is necessary for the purposes of life, and chief of all, for self-preservation. 'In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat thy bread.' Hence a man's labour bears two notes or characters. First of all it is *personal*, inasmuch as the exertion of individual strength belongs to the individual who puts it forth, employing such strength to procure that personal advantage on account of which it was bestowed. Secondly, man's labour is *necessary*; for without the result of labour a man cannot live; and self-preservation is a law of nature, which it is wrong to disobey. Now, were we to consider labour so far as it is *personal* merely, doubtless it would be within the workman's right to accept any rate of wages whatsoever; for in the same way as he is free to work or not, so is he free to accept a small remuneration or even none at all. But this is a mere abstract supposition; the labour of the working man is not only his personal attribute, but it is *necessary*; and this makes all the difference. The preservation of life is the bounden duty of one and all, and to be wanting therein is a crime. It follows that each one has a right to procure what is required in order to live; and the poor can procure it in no other way than through work and wages.

"Let it be then taken for granted that workman and

employer should, as a rule, make free agreements, and in particular should agree freely as to the wages; nevertheless, there underlies a dictate of natural justice more imperious and ancient than any bargain between man and man; namely, *that remuneration ought to be sufficient to support a frugal and well-behaved wage earner.* If through necessity or fear of a worse evil the workman accept harder conditions because an employer or contractor will afford him no better, *he is made the victim of force and injustice.*" From which is plain the fearful iniquity of "sweating"—making gain out of the poverty or weakness of others by starvation wages, fraud, or usurious charges. Such pressure "is condemned by all laws, human and divine. To defraud anyone of wages that are his due is a crime which cries to the avenging anger of Heaven. The rich must religiously refrain from cutting down the workmen's earnings and with all the greater reason because the labouring man is, as a rule, weak and unprotected, and because his slender means should, in proportion to their scantiness be accounted sacred." But, since the Reformation, so utterly estranged have ethics and economics become, so eaten up has the business world been with the "greed of unchecked competition," that the voice crying to Heaven is scarcely listened to on earth. And sweating still goes on!

X.—Some Explanations.

The general principle, then, so urgently stated by Leo XIII. is this, that the standard of wages must be such as to support the wage-earner in reasonable comfort—taking into account, of course, the varying circumstances of the work, and of the emoluments in kind which may be given to him—and to support him not merely as an animal, nor as an effective machine for work, but as a human being with a soul made to the image and likeness of God, and destined for eternal happiness in Heaven. But to prevent a wrong understanding of this principle there are some observations to be made.

We have, first of all, been speaking of the *minimum* wage, of the lowest standard possible without violation

of justice. But it is clear that equity, if not strict justice, will often demand a higher rate of payment as a set-off, say, to the worker's special skill or other circumstance which renders his work of greater importance or value to the employer. Then, again, we have assumed *normal conditions* as operative in the labour world. By 'worker' is meant an adult of average strength and ability. Obviously some variation of values would tally with the work of those, for one reason or another, beyond or below the average. By 'employer' we mean a person engaging in business in a strictly commercial way, not, for example, one giving work, merely from philanthropic motives. And some variation would occur on the employer's side, according to the general state and condition of trade. In time of *general* depression it might prove impossible to maintain a normal wage-standard; and one who kept on an industry, at his own loss, in hopes of its future prosperity, would not be on the same plane as another whose position was already assured. In demanding a standard wage the worker must consider whether, all things being taken into account—the state of industry, competition, markets,—the employer is able to give it. A third point is that, as the value of any class of wares is not fixed so much by its intrinsic worth as by the common estimation of those interested, so, in general (due regard having been given to the foregoing principles) it is in the matter of wages. In the settlement of these values, much help will be given by a proper system of Trades-unionism, as Pope Leo has shown in the Encyclical on the Condition of Workmen. However, it seems plain that the State should at least fix the minimum. But this secured just as a slight variation from the normal price is not ordinarily considered unjust, so, neither will a slight movement in the scale of wages necessarily lead within the confines of injustice. Fourthly: If it be enquired: By what law is one bound to give this fair wage? the answer is, by the law of commutative justice. For here is a question in which the parties to the act, employer and employed, are on equal terms and independent of each other in regard to the matters about which contract is to be

made, labour and wage; hence when the contract *has* been made a strict right is established which at once involves the principles of strict justice.

XI.—Is the Wage Individual?

So far we have been concerned with the *individual* living wage. Another question of greater intricacy arises when the worker's family has to be considered. Ought the wage to be struck with a view to it? All are agreed that it should; but whether or not it is an obligation of strict justice is not plain. Justice regards the equality of the wage with the labour given for it. But it is not the family that works, it is the worker only. Where, then, does an obligation of strict justice to provide for the family come in? There may indeed be a duty in charity to do so, but no more. So it is argued on one side. On the other it is answered: although the *personal* nature of the work done be insisted on, sight must not be lost of the fact that nature does not intend man, in general, to be celibate. It may be said, indeed, that the celibate is not really representative of the race, inasmuch as the individual alone is incapable of conserving the social body. "They shall be two in one flesh," says the Scripture; that is, father and mother, with potency to bring forth children. So that, in reality, the family is the racial unit; and any assertion of individual rights must be based on the 'family' claim. If, then, the married is the normal state, such wage as will secure its permanence is the normal wage; and so there must be a natural right to such a wage more radical than any convention depending on the will of contracting parties. Society, again, depends on the family; and the family on the working head; and he on his wage. So that if the wage be calculated strictly on the *individual* basis, the general good of society will seem to be jeopardised; and the whole question turn out in the end to be matter not of charity but strict justice, involving the duty of restitution, and so on.

Pope Leo did not touch this aspect of the general question definitely, though the general trend of his teaching on the family, taken in connection with the *Rerum Novarum* encyclical, would seem to show him

an upholder, indeed, of the family wage, though probably in a different camp from either of those just mentioned. For, between those who call the family wage a matter of mere charity, and those that would rashly impose it as an obligation of commutative justice, there are those who consider the famous Dominican, Cardinal Zigliara's opinion to contain the truest statement of the case. It moves the obligation into the domain of *distributive* justice, which "means that the workman who is paid enough for himself, but not enough for his family, is the victim not of *individual* injustice, but, in Cardinal Manning's phrase, of *social* injustice; and that it is the business of the State to intervene and do its best, the best often being done by indirect means, to secure for all the poorer classes the possibilities of a decent family life." So that the rulers of the State cannot hold back idly while capital and labour struggle: they have a grave duty to the common weal. A vast region still awaits the application of the Trade Board Act principles.

XII.—The more excellent way.

While speaking thus of the obligations of strict justice, it must be remembered that charity also has claims which may not be disregarded. In fact, these claims are more numerous than those of justice. Yet many persons make little practical account of them. They press as seriously however; and they will form the basis of the sentence at the judgment seat of God. So that in this matter all men, knowing themselves to be but stewards of their gifts whether these be of mind or body, have much reason for self examination. And Leo XIII. in bringing his wonderful encyclical to an end says that "the happy results we all long for must be chiefly brought about by the plenteous outpouring of charity; of that true Christian charity which is the fulfilling of the whole Gospel law, which is always ready to sacrifice itself for others' sake, and is man's surest antidote against worldly pride and immoderate love of self." But unless we start with the acceptance of the Gospel law, practically as well as in theory, there can be no real advance towards social reform.

XIII.—Some Useful Books.

The Catholic Truth Societies, especially that of England, have produced many penny pamphlets dealing in a practical and detailed manner with these questions. A well-known Nonconformist paper recently published a list of non-Catholic works on the same subject. It will be a service, therefore, to the cause of truth to give a partial list of the C.T.S. publications with an earnest appeal that all interested may promote their circulation. Full lists may be obtained from the Society's Depot: 69 Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E. In ordering any of the booklets only the reference letter and number need be quoted.

- S 3. Lists of Books for Catholic Social Students.
 „ 5. My Catholic Socialist. By the Rev. R. P. Garrold, S.J.
 „ 6. My Catholic Socialist Again. By the same.
 „ 8. A Catholic Social Catechism.
 „ 9. The Catholic Church and Socialism. By Hilaire Belloc.
 „ 11. Catholics and Social Study. By the Rev. C. Plater, S.J.
 „ 14. The Meaning and Aim of Christian Democracy. By C. S. Devas, M.A.
 „ 17. The Church and Social Reformers. By the Bishop of Northampton.
 „ 23. Practical Social Reform. By the Rev. T. Wright and G. Milligan.
 „ 25. Leo XIII. on Labour. By Cardinal Manning.
 „ 26. Christian Aspects of the Labour Question. By Abbot Snow.
 „ 36. The Catholic Doctrine of Property. By the Rev. J. B. M'Laughlin, O.S.B.
 „ 41. Pope Pius X. on Social Reform.
 „ 42. Catholic Principles of Social Reform. By A. P. Mooney, M.D.
 „ 46. Socialism. By C. S. Devas, M.A.
 „ 47. Socialism. By the Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J.
 „ 48. Socialism and Religion. By the Rev. John Ashton, S.J.
 „ 49. A Dialogue on Socialism. By the Rev. J. B. M'Laughlin, O.S.B.

- S 50. An Examination of Socialism. By Hilaire Belloc.
 „ 51. Plain Words on Socialism. By C. S. Devas, M.A.
 „ 52. Some Economic Criticisms of Socialism. By A. P. Mooney.
 „ 53. Some Ethical Criticisms of Socialism. By the same.
 „ 54. Three Socialist Fallacies. By the Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J.
 „ 55. The Socialist Movement. By Arthur J. O'Connor.
 „ 61. The Condition of the Working Classes. By Pope Leo XIII.
 „ 69. The Living Wage. By the Rev. J. A. Ryan, S.T.D.

The handbooks of the Catholic Social Guild also are excellent and up-to-date. They may be had for 7d. each post free from Messrs. P. S. King and Son, Orchard House, Westminster. Five pamphlets have been issued.

1. Destitution and Suggested Remedies. By Mgr. Parkinson.
2. Sweated Labour and the Trade Boards Act. By Rev. T. Wright.
3. The Housing Problem. By Leslie A. Toke.
4. The Church and Eugenics. Rev. T. J. Gerrard.
5. First Notions on Social Service. Mrs. Philip Gibbs.

To which should be added Mgr. Parkinson's truly admirable Primer of Social Science (2s.), a book no one interested in social-matters should be without.

XIV.—Practical Matters.

What then is the individual to do in face of these problems? First: let him examine his own conscience, and let him do it sincerely. If an employer, does he treat his workers fairly? If an employe, does he labour honestly? If an outsider, does he use his influence to secure proper conditions for the toilers who so largely supply his needs? Each of the foregoing paragraphs will suggest many questions. As for the actions and motives of others let him remember the rule: Judge not that you may not be judged. Second: let him inform himself thoroughly on the Catholic principles at stake. The list of publications given above will be a help towards doing this; and with such excellent and cheap pamphlets to hand let every

Catholic realize that there is no excuse for remaining in ignorance, and still less for seeking information at poisoned sources. Third : let him spread this knowledge. Those whose interests are on the other side lose no opportunity of disseminating their views. It is the duty of Catholics to do their part in circulating sound literature on theirs. Here is an excellent and fruitful work for the Vigilance Committees ! Fourth : as we have elaborated the one point of the " living wage " it may be of practical suggestiveness to quote the words of Mr. Thomas F. Burns, spoken this year, at the Plymouth Catholic Congress " It is a practice among the printing trades of this country to issue a ' fair list ' containing the names of those firms who pay the standard rate of wages. Probably the earliest example of the revival of corporate life among Catholics will be found in the formation of the Salford Federation. What happened ? One of the first things the Federation did was to decide that the Federation would refuse to give any order for printing to any firm that was not on the ' fair list.' The National Conference of Catholic Trade Unionists did the same thing. Their example was followed by the Permanent and Local Committees of these National Catholic Congresses, and, I believe, by this Catholic Social Guild. The standard set by these organisations was not binding upon their individual members, but in practice, it was adopted by them, and it is not an uncommon thing for Catholic individuals to inquire if a particular firm is on the ' fair list ' before placing their orders. That seems to me to be not merely an illustration of the Catholic demand for the living wage, but a practical contribution towards securing that wage." Last : let him pray. It is curious how people seems to forget or to discount the value of prayer at times of social crisis. Yet the continual prayer of the just, we are admonished by the Holy Ghost, availeth much. In the hands of God are the issues of peace. *Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris, quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi Tu Deus noster.* Give peace in our days, O Lord, for there is none other to fight for us but Thou, Our God.