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THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL YEAR BOOK

1932

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF ISSUE

The
Catholic Social Movement
in Germany

By PROFESSOR T. BRAUER, Ph.D.

Director of the Christian Trade Union College at Königswinter

THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL GUILD

OXFORD

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INTRODUCTION.

MANY who are acquainted with Professor Moon's *Labour Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France* and with Miss McEntee's *Social Catholic Movement in Great Britain* must have wished that the rich volume of material available for a similar study of modern Catholic social history in Germany had been presented to readers who must rely upon the use of the English language.

Already we can learn something from references to Germany in Professor Moon's book, from Fr. Plater's *Catholic Social Work in Germany*, now out of print, from Metlake's *Ketteler's Social Reform* and from review articles, biographies and pamphlets which have appeared from time to time. As a further contribution the Catholic Social Guild is able, through the kindness of Professor Brauer, to offer this little book and so present the main ideas and lines of development of Catholic social thought and action in Germany during the last hundred years.

We have every reason to be interested in Professor Brauer's subject. We have much to learn from the teaching of his heroes. On all sides it is acknowledged that their followers to-day are guiding Germany through times of unparalleled difficulty with wisdom, sacrifice and self-effacement. "The Lord has given us great leaders," says Dr. Brauer, and they are building on the inheritance of a great tradition. We may truly say, then, that Bishop Ketteler, and St. Peter Canisius whose labours three hundred years before him held the

Rhineland to the Faith, are saving Germany to-day from disruption and from Bolshevism, and in saving Germany are saving Western Europe.

None could be better qualified to enlighten us than Dr. Brauer. Those who heard his lectures at our Summer School in 1928 were impressed deeply by his fervent faith and by his eminently social outlook. But apart from personal and spiritual qualifications essential for a right appreciation of his subject, Dr. Brauer has an experience which must be nearly unique in Germany. If he tells us of Ketteler and of Koplring it is because he is the accepted biographer of both. He can speak of the Gesellenvereine because he was secretary of that organization, of the Christian Trade Unions because he was secretary to their leader, Adam Stegerwald. Dr. Brauer was Professor of Social Politics at Karlsruhe and is now Professor at Cologne. He is also Director of the institution which is in some respects the German counterpart of our Catholic Workers' College, the School for Christian Trade Union leaders at Königswinter.

Our readers will find in these pages a useful commentary on certain portions of the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, by the account of some of the forerunners and followers of Pope Leo and by the author's analysis of problems confronting the Catholic world of labour, an analysis which comes from one whose book on modern German Socialism is accepted on all sides as of first importance. If many of the grave problems which press upon Germany to-day are not dealt with in detail owing to lack of space and because these problems are ever changing and are in part political, Dr. Brauer's story will give us hope that salvation will be found

through the sterling faith and devotion of his Catholic fellow countrymen.

In regard to the organizations described there has been some difficulty in finding English equivalents of their titles which will avoid confusion. The word *verein* may be translated union, guild, league, association, etc., but it must be made clear that neither the *Gesellenvereine*, nor the *Volksverein*, nor the *Arbeitervereine* are trade unions in any sense. This explanation may be specially necessary in reference to the last named movement since its title is here rendered "Workers' Unions." It may be described as a vast group of Catholic working-class study clubs and it has a weekly paper with a circulation of 165,000. In *Quadragesimo Anno* (C.S.G. edition, p. 15) the Pope enjoins its methods for other countries where Catholics are permitted to join non-Catholic trade unions.

L. O'H.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGINS OF THE MOVEMENT.

A RENOWNED British author of German origin, Baron von Hügel, thoroughly conversant with both British and German mentality, has tried to illustrate some essential contrasts between the German character and the average British character. Theory, system, philosophy of life, abstract conceptions, are for the average Englishman, he says,* things that instantly put him ill at ease, or that at least he disbelieves and avoids; for the German, they are in his very blood. The writer gives an extreme example of the German thirst for theory by telling how, on turning over the pages of a German book on inn-keeping he found, sure enough, a first part on the theory of inn-keeping, and a second part on its practice. The innate need of system makes the German steady, but also obstinate; virile, but brutal; profound, but pedantic; comprehensive and rich in outlook, but rationalist and doctrinaire. By virtue of his character the German excels in all matters in which system, order, discipline, organization, are overwhelmingly more important than individual judgment and initiative, than a ready understanding of the mentality of the antagonist, capacity for the rapid modification of plans, and the like. In matters requiring chiefly the latter gifts Germans are, as a rule, singularly backward.

* *The German Soul in its attitude towards Ethics and Christianity, the State and War.*

This brief description may facilitate the understanding of some specific aspects of German social questions. Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, makes the following remarkable statement in the preface of his greatest work* : "Whereas in Great Britain and France, which were affected much earlier than Germany by the advance of modern industrialism, there has raged since that time a *practical* class war; in Germany with a population still chiefly engaged in agriculture and village-life, or in local trades, there existed a much more definite *theoretical* class-consciousness." Hence the acrimonious critique of political economy which led to scientific socialism in Germany at the very time when ideas of social utopianism were developing in Great Britain and France. German critics devised social theories on the basis of British and French social experience. Is it not quite characteristic that the first descriptive and theoretical publication dealing with the condition of the working-classes is due to a German author profiting by British experience, viz.—to Friedrich Engels, † friend and collaborator of Karl Marx? But it is not only on the lines of social criticism that we find the problems of a growing new world of facts being examined in order to formulate theories and social schemes: such a subtle philosopher as Hegel wrote on theoretical grounds, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, concerning the necessary effects of the mechanization of labour, the immense bearing of which we begin to realize only now in our own days.

* *Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.*

† *Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England.*

These remarks will suffice to illustrate why and how the German is dependent on theory and theoretical construction. Baron von Hügel is not at all wrong when he says that anything which is sufficiently theorized appears to a German to be worthy of a hearing or even of belief. "Not only because this or that piece of reasoning starts from, keeps close to, and leads securely to facts, all capable of being re-tested, but largely on no further ground than that it is reasoning of a closely-knit, or daring, or clear, or paradoxical kind, does it readily fascinate or dominate the German mind."

But, it might be said, with over-systematization are combined organization, discipline, order. It is obvious therefore that when the industrial invasion once got going and the manufacturing and mercantile forces were unchained, progress would be not only rapid and formidable, but quite unprecedented; and indeed so it has been. Industrial development, starting in the middle of the nineteenth century, proceeded with enormous speed. Everybody knows the tremendous results of German industrial organization which has been brought to a new pitch since the war. It is well-known that Mr. Keynes has recommended the German example as a means of overcoming the trouble and crisis in the British cotton trade, at the root of whose troubles is (I quote British journals) the traditional individualism of British employers. But it may be said that individualism is wholly impotent to deal with the present critical situation, which essentially demands a collective remedy. Such collective action, however, for the reorganization of industry seems to be regarded as an unwarrantable invasion of the rights of private

property. I quote these British views in order to show the difficulties raised by extreme individualism. In Germany, by virtue of the general tendency towards organization, collective action by the employers began early. Great employers in Germany have always been great organizers. Thus, that which has created the power of German industry is a fundamental characteristic of German life as a whole. However, this root cause has also had quite different effects. The rush of our industrial development has prevented the forming of a tradition amongst employers and amongst industrial leaders. Our industrial organizers became a heartless and humourless caste with a tendency to despotism. Nowhere was the term "bourgeoisie" in such bad odour as in Germany. Nowhere has the spirit of class caused such devastating social divisions as there. The lack of finer individualism makes of the German superior a corporal, whose prevalent tone is that of command and who often has the manners of a bully.

We may add to all this "the advance by leaps and bounds of mathematico-physical science in its direct and triumphantly successful application to human physical comfort," with the result that "a pedantic barbarism," "a coarsening of man's feeling, thinking, and theory—'philosophical' Materialism, Naturalism, Monism—became the vogue."* It is true that since Darwin's 'Origin of Species,' evolution has been pressed by Germans into the service of an aggressive Monism of a preponderantly materialistic kind—not only by Haeckel and the 'bourgeois' world, but also, in

* von Hügel.

a sort of exasperation, in the social critique of Marx and Engels.

From this we see what had to be the character of the social movement in its early stages in Germany. Industrial development on a larger scale and in the modern way had its starting-point chiefly in the Western parts of the Empire and especially in the Rhineland. Now these parts had suffered, first, and most severely, from the invasion of the great French Revolution, an event which a prominent Catholic French writer, de Bonald, has called "Satanic." The Rhineland with its overwhelmingly Catholic population saw its dioceses forced into political divisions without the least regard for the religious customs and habits of the people. No cross by the wayside, no images of local or craft veneration in front of houses were respected by the fanatics of the Revolution. Napoleon, it is true, effected some modifications; but the officials installed by his command had come with their ideas and plans already fixed. Countless parishes became deserted. Others fell into the hands of less worthy pastors. Material dependence on political authority readily produced political dependence also. Hence the apostasy of many priests. More and more, brute force won the upper hand, whilst the subtle growth of the inner life and the co-ordinating force of religion were neglected.

With the new masters came new morals. The closing-hour for public-houses was abolished. The Republic with its profuse festivals of all kinds cultivated an inordinate love of pleasure. And all this was not confined to cities and towns, but advanced deliberately into the country. Civil marriage became obligatory. Divorce was allowed.

Secularization was everywhere. The division of the large Church estates might have brought some benefit to small farmers, but the speculation of landlords succeeded in cheating them out of any such advantages. The final result was complete betrayal of the farming classes, and the destruction of the most active source of practical charity for the poor of all classes. Taken as a whole, the innovations led to a separation between clergy and people, the evil consequences of which had to be borne principally by the poor. Rationalism found a fertile soil in which to grow, and there was scarcely anything to provide it with a serious check. A general spirit of utilitarianism forced the growth of this seed as if in the heat of a hothouse.

Now it is an undisputable truth that whenever religious habits are disturbed it is impossible, at least in the long run, to safeguard those that are temporal. Life, the great teacher, shows the intimate relation between the one and the other. Regard for the life of the next world tends, even in this life, to moderate man's ever ready propensity to vehemence and excess; in contrast therewith, an hypnotic attachment to the life of this world makes men realize all weaknesses and failings in the individual and social spheres, and exaggerates the importance of human institutions for personal happiness. There had, indeed, been continual economic and social changes during the previous three centuries, but the workman had not been substantially affected by them. Heavy and depressing as his work may have been, he knew and believed that in its performance he achieved God's will. Somehow the workman linked up his work to the other-world life, and thereby envy and

hatred were overcome. Insurrections in those days remained sporadic, and their very occurrence was in connection with religious demands, or with new-fashioned interpretations of the Bible and the Gospel. Indifference towards temporal things is well indicated by their attitude towards the poor: care of the poor, charity, was regarded, as it were, as a necessary part of the workman's life.

Now it was characteristic of the new times that all these self-evident principles came to be questioned. The proclamation of the Rights of Man by the Revolution advertised also the advent of a new age of care of the poor in conformity with the ideals of humanity. In theory, this had a melodious sound—but we know from the immortal works of Charles Dickens how it all worked out in practice. I need only mention the workhouse, officialdom, bureaucracy, the police. It is not by any means enough to give; the essential thing is *how* one gives. What had been taken for granted, now became dishonouring. Mankind learned the meaning of the terrible word "pauperism." The workman, intent only upon the life of this world, suddenly became disillusioned.

The most disastrous consequence has been that labour itself was brought into question, especially as it affected the working-life of the workman himself. Not only were the working processes queried, but also the distribution both of the burdens and of the product. In the new philosophy working men are presented as disinherited. The song of Heinrich Heine becomes theirs also: "We will be happy on this earth, no longer will we starve; what busy hands have produced shall not be spent for the gratifying of idle bellies." Morality soon becomes

a class-morality. For a time it seemed that Liberalism might act as a safety-valve. Did it not emphasize personal liberty, freedom, the attainment of excellence by means of education, learning and refinement? And was not this virginal Liberalism ethical also? Did it not lay stress on man as an end in himself and no longer as a means for serving the ends of others? Indeed, an early peaceable organization of operatives sprang from this bud since 1844, the *Workers' Educational Associations*, the most important of which has been the Association of Engineers at Berlin. But soon ethical Liberalism was thrust aside by *economic Liberalism*, treating labour as a mere means of production, as a commodity, and working men as "hands." The Associations could preserve their existence only so long as their leaders (chiefly political leaders) succeeded in avoiding social discussions. That, however, was made impossible by the ever-growing propaganda of communist and socialist doctrines.

Theoretical radicalism, as I have already pointed out, was promulgated in Germany long before the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and before the advent of capitalism as we know it. Artisan work which had been protected for centuries by the guilds, passed into a lasting crisis after the suppression of the guilds in accordance with Liberal doctrines, and the practical realization of free trade. The crisis became acute in proportion as machine-work expanded. Artisan masters and journeymen became unemployed. At the same time, driven forth by the alteration of the law of inheritance, masses of villagers and country people migrated into the towns, lowering still further the already

terribly depressed conditions of life. What enticed them was ready money and greater freedom. Mankind became uprooted. This upheaval in turn became the main launching-point for a vigorous radicalism, and it was obvious that this, so far from tending to mend matters, could only increase the evil. The loss of the sense of community, with its uprooting effects above all on the working-classes, went on incessantly. It was not only the ancient community of work that was destroyed : at the same time the community of the family had also been perceptibly shaken. The process went still farther when the Industrial Revolution destroyed homework by most of its operations and when machine-work attracted women and children into mills and factories. Everywhere was uncertainty, agitation, excitement, disturbance of mind and body, heart and soul. This period of the breaking up of the social soil continued in Germany until the year 1848.

In these times of trial and experiment the propagator of social unrest was the artisan worker, the journeyman, especially the travelling-artisan. I suppose that this class, a product of mediaeval guilds and corporations which still exists, although in a substantially reduced form and number, is also known in Great Britain. The journeyman's position was the worst of all ; he was half like the country lad, longing for freedom and independence, half like the unskilled labourer, for whom the traditional economic order had had no room. During a whole century the journeyman was in opposition to all the world about him. He had been the first to be subjected to outlawry ; legislation of the Empire since 1731 had deprived him of his

corporations;* a narrow-minded trade policy in the separate German States harassed and pursued him. He, too, was amongst the first to be disinherited: victorious capitalism cheated him out of his economic and social prospects. He, finally, was the first to be uprooted; nowhere had he a home; he was on friendly terms with no one, bound to nobody. Though a member of the traditional order, he had all the characteristics of the new-style industrial worker, in that he no longer worked and lived in community with his employer as before. All circumstances and conditions tended to detach him more and more definitely from society. On the one hand was his everlasting desire of organization resulting entirely from the German clan-feeling, on the other his youthful wish for friendship and his sense of a common destiny.

Who can be surprised that these very journeymen became propagators of a desperate and reckless communism? Again and again they united, in spite of the legislation promulgated by the Empire and by the States, in spite, also, of the anti-combination trades-law of 1845; and their coalitions were at least as much feared as persecuted, while the persecution was generally fruitless. What they were forbidden to attempt in public developed all the more vigorously in secret. And the distinctive mark of this was not only a grotesque and mysterious ritual, an obsolete ceremonial, but, also, atheism and blasphemy. The procedure of the corporations was distorted into a caricature of divine service. A pioneer of such development was W. Weitling, a journeyman tailor of Magdeburg, who had worked in Paris, in Switzerland, and also

* Cf. Leo XIII *Rerum Novarum*, § 2.

in America. He had imbibed all sorts of current social theories: from Saint-Simon, from Cabet, from Fourier and Proudhon. Besides, he was a religious fanatic. He published two books, the titles of which are: 'Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom' (1842), and 'Gospel of a Poor Sinner' (1845). All the teaching of these works is directed expressly against the Church. The Church, Weitling asserts; has withheld genuine Christianity and the Messiah from mankind, because she has been hired by the rich. The poor are banished on to the "misery-street" of an "other-world."

Propaganda once started by such means, spread from inn to inn, from workshop to workshop. Engels, collaborator of Karl Marx, was also influencing that same journeyman as he travelled from country to country. The chief result of such keen propaganda was finally the formation of two radical organizations, the Federation of Outlaws, and the Federation of Communists. By the latter, whose chief leaders were Karl Marx and Engels, was issued the famous Communist Manifesto, the birth-certificate of scientific Socialism.

Had German Catholicism been deaf to all these utterances of misled social aspirations? To tell the truth, it must be acknowledged that any understanding of the *social* side of current developments was but small. We hear and read of course, in the twenties, thirties, and especially in the forties, of Catholic preoccupation with the dreadful results of a propaganda which was felt everywhere, but was palpable nowhere. Pastoral conferences and reports are full of alarming and helpless evidence of a formidable corruption of morals, of an increasing insubordination amongst all employed

classes, of an unchaining of all instincts. But discussions, statements, and proposals, if any, centre almost exclusively round pastoral cares, without any particular reference to social changes. The first impulse to a new view of social matters came from the political side, though social theory, it is true, had been fostered also by individual Catholic thinkers. It will be sufficient here to mention the names of Adam Müller, antagonist of Adam Smith and his conceptions, and Franz Baader, one of the finest of German social philosophers. Their theories, however, found no echo in actual social practice, in consequence either of their subtlety, or, as in the case of Adam Müller, because of a romanticism that only looked backward. It stands to reason that pastoral troubles were not to be mended by theoretical sublimities.

But the political challenge to these communistic developments received also little notice, speaking generally. It came from Franz Joseph Ritter von Buss, of Freiburg, who was one of the most remarkable personalities in the early Catholic movement in Germany. His was an intensely social mind, with a deep comprehension and a great love of simple people. In 1837, when he was a member of the Diet of the State of Baden, Buss produced a complete Factory Bill. It was the first German programme of social policy. Response was but feeble, and the German Catholic troubles which then began entirely absorbed the willing energy of this noble champion of Catholic ideals. It needed, apparently, the sudden collapse, caused by the Revolution of 1848, of the whole reactionary mentality, to open people's eyes to the unexpected dimensions of the social menace.

Then, luckily, it was found that on the very brink of the precipice there had been built by a Catholic priest the most remarkable of all German social associations, the *Katholische Gesellenverein* (Catholic Journeymen's Guild). Adolf Kolping's organization rose to its struggle with social difficulties at their very centre. And in the same year, 1848, there began the great work of the *German Catholic Congress*, whose first president was Buss and whose first subject on the agenda was *The Social Question*, inaugurated by a masterly oration of the future Bishop von Ketteler.

I have here given the outlines—to give more is not possible—of the formation and of the original character of the German-Catholic Social Movement. It is clear that in contrast with the radical movements of communism and socialism, the rise of the Catholic movement is not due primarily to provocative theoretical influences encouraging an attitude of opposition towards existing economy and society long before these had developed capitalistic forms. There was no lack of social theory amongst German Catholics. I have mentioned the names of Adam Müller and Franz Baader, and in order to indicate the importance and far-sightedness of their conceptions it may be sufficient to relate an occurrence which was certainly interesting. After the war we had in Germany an active campaign for socialization. At the height of this campaign, in 1921, a socialist writer, Siegmund Rubinstein, published a remarkable and widely-read book entitled 'Romantic Socialism.' In this book was described, in an exquisite form and with a fine understanding, the strange phenomenon of the German mass-mind, which turns aside from the

common conception of democracy, and of its "absorption in another, a nobler and more adequate vision," in one truly expressive of the German soul itself. This vision which the masses, including the socialists, applauded, was however nothing other than a realistic interpretation of the main purport of the theories of Müller and Baader. Honest observers, said Rubinstein, could not help giving testimony that from the Catholic side came the most accurate and sympathetic comprehension of the new forms of social life. The maintenance of the personality of the working-man in the process of production, the treatment of wages as the living-income of the worker, the co-operative structure of the economic world, community of interests as the groundwork of the relations between employer and employed, the central position of the human being throughout the entire economic sphere, the revival of professional dignity in all kinds of labour—all these ideas and projects emanated from Catholicism, says Rubinstein, as from their truest and most natural source. The Catholicism of that time, the thirties and forties, which gave birth to the principles in vogue after the war, was thus not to be accused of a lack of theories. Nevertheless the origins of the Catholic Social Movement are not to be found in these theories.

Moreover, the origins were not primarily religious. The movement did not arise from statements of pastoral conferences, because from that source no initiative of great dimensions could be expected. The Catholic feeling of community had been weakened by various separatist tendencies, fostered by Liberalism of various forms. That the names of two priests, Kolping and Ketteler, are most

intimately connected with the movement at its outset does not mean that the foundations arose in the first instance from religious motives. Ketteler himself has told us that, having become acquainted with Kolping during the time of their common studies at Munich, and discussing the best way of coping with the growing radicalism among labouring people, the convictions they held in common made them search for a movement whose guiding motive should be social—but not of course by reason of any inferior value set on religion. From Kolping we have the following saying, which expresses also the belief of Ketteler: “Religion is the essence, the marrow of all human actions; to neglect it would be folly or baseness” Consequently, to start any social movement is, from such a standpoint, only conceivable on condition that one starts from a clear religious conception. However, under the existing circumstances, stress was laid chiefly on the purely social side of the movement which was to be set going.

It is, finally, this view which caused the shelving of all political considerations and therefore the disregard of proposals such as Buss had brought forward.

The social character of the great problems of the day once recognized, German Catholics attempted their solution by *social* means, and thus developed a specific kind of *social movement*.

CHAPTER II.
LEADERS OF THE CATHOLIC
SOCIAL MOVEMENT.

Adolf Kolping.

I MUST draw attention to the main point which follows, because the work of Kolping cannot be understood unless we consider it. As I have pointed out, the chief characteristic of German industry at the time of Kolping was hand-work. Now, the German hand-worker, after he had completed his apprenticeship, followed a different plan in his work; it was his duty to learn other methods of work in his particular branch. Thus we saw the German travelling journeyman wandering through the country and often crossing the frontier into other countries, into Switzerland, for instance, and especially to Paris. Kolping, being a shoemaker, was a travelling journeyman of this kind, and therefore worked in different cities and towns. Thus he perceived what was lacking to his colleagues, namely, family life. The journeyman arriving in another district went to the inn—the Herberge—for shelter, and from there he looked round for work. These inns, as Kolping knew them, were the breeding places of radicalism and communism. And so his leading idea naturally became this: how will it be possible to give a sort of new family life to the hand-workers who stand alone amidst all the dangers of a roving and agitated life?

Adolf Kolping was the true founder of the Catholic social movement in Germany. To speak about him is to tell of one of the most venerated

personalities of German Catholicism. Of all social leaders his name is the most popular : his name is still, as it was during the life of its bearer, the watchword of youth, longing for unity both within and beyond national boundaries. When young men, thinking of him, sing the song, "He's a jolly good fellow," the text of which has been translated into innumerable languages, they feel in their hearts an eager longing for noble endeavour and great exploits. Or when, before his tomb at Cologne in the Franciscan church, which shelters also the tomb of the great Duns Scotus, young travelling artisans of many nations sing in honour of Kolping, who strove to become to them more than father and mother, their enthusiasm cannot be surpassed.

Born in 1813 at Kerpen near Cologne, the youngest of a large family, he became a shoemaker. The vicissitudes of his journeyman's life led him through a number of workshops in different places. Thus he became acquainted with the mental and physical misery of his working colleagues and the way in which their souls were jeopardized by social radicalism. He observed their feverish craving for sensation to help them to escape from themselves. He recognized—and perhaps himself felt—the fatiguing grind of their wholly unbalanced life, naturally requiring fierce compensations which they found in all sorts of fantastic and subversive ideas. Revolutionary propaganda affected them chiefly by its emotional appeal. Social theories were the more welcome the more they encouraged splendid visions of a future society which would eliminate all the evils of the struggling world about. Thus the revolutionary flame was kept burning to satisfy an

emotional need. Kolping realized how carelessly the leading classes of society handled the high explosives which human nature contains, and how often the fact was overlooked that all explosions are caused somehow by preliminary pressure, and that a continued treatment of working-men which doomed them to remain outside the pale of society must inevitably call forth a psychological reaction.

By all this Kolping was most vividly impressed. It aroused in him the strongest determination to devote himself to his working colleagues and to the task of their social redemption. He began to study privately in the face of immense difficulties. Whilst busy with shoemaking he always had his books within reach, and in 1837, at the age of twenty-four, charity paved the way for systematic study. In 1845 ordination made him a humble but most zealous member of the priesthood. He clung to his ideal of social resurrection with the fervour of an apostle. Luckily his first sphere of activity was the town of Elberfeld, a centre not only of industrial progress but also of social aspirations: in the immediate neighbourhood lived Friedrich Engels, friend and collaborator of Karl Marx, and joint author with him of the "Communist Manifesto." Kolping became vice-president of the Catholic Young Men's Association which had been founded a little time before. In this Association he found a sphere in which to develop his designs, and in 1847 he was already its president. In 1849 he was appointed to Cologne, the metropolis of his diocese; and there, in the same year, Kolping's great foundation, the Katholische Gesellenverein (Catholic Journeymen's Guild) reached its last stage of construction. In a relatively short time it spread

throughout the Rhineland and beyond into the other German states. Kolping himself lived long enough—he died in 1864—to witness the expansion of his work outside the borders of Germany.

Kolping's primary idea, as I have pointed out, was to form a *social* association substantially different from the young men's religious confraternities or sodalities. He emphasized very definitely the difference between the two forms of organization. When the sodalities were formed at the time of the counter-reformation in the sixteenth century, their aim was to spread religious education and to revive the Catholic faith. Social conditions at that time were still firm and steady; Christian family life was still supported by ethical principles, and the social order was able to withstand all frivolous attacks. There was no need of new forms of social life, but only of a mentality that would purify and reform the existing ones. Consequently, the brotherhoods, founded for almost all classes and ages, could be nothing other than ecclesiastical institutions with a purely religious purpose. But what was the modern position? The young workman chiefly and above all other things needed social support through some association capable of supplying to some extent the element of family life. For the purpose of helping young men, there was no remedy more urgent, more practical and more meritorious than the foundation of a social organization designed to provide young men with that most important influence in life, the influence of the family. So this spirit of family life, which a confraternity takes for granted, now had to be created afresh. A solid social foundation had to be laid for any effort to raise the down-trodden class

of craftsmen. The Journeymen's Guild endeavours to provide this solution. Therefore, whereas a confraternity is mainly religious, the Journeymen's Guild is mainly social; it is needless to say that in social life also religion is the first essential.

We can gather from these principles that Kolping's intention in establishing his new society was to create an organization fitted to help in the preparation of a new social order, and that the specific remedy to be contributed by this organization was the cultivation of family life. For Kolping, in a much wider sense than for any other social reformer, the family is the germ cell of the social order. We perceive this when we observe that he tries to build up an association on the principle of the family, a method which had never before been considered. Never before had the president of a society been called upon, as was the priest-president of the Journeymen's Guild, to be the spiritual father of the association over which he presided. Never before had paternal authority been conceived so deeply as it was by Kolping, who taught and practised the belief that authority could only be gained by love shown in ceaseless devotion to the welfare of the pupils and disciples. He who will exercise authority is obliged to conquer it "in the sweat of his face," and he will preserve his authority only by giving his own heart in pledge. Kolping's conception of the great family is universal in application. He applies it not only to the trade group and the craft group, but he sees it in the principle of the State and in the Church, for the Church, too, is to him one great sacred family. Directly connected with this attitude is Kolping's conviction that a social hierarchy is

indispensable, and this conviction becomes, in the logical development of his thought, the mainspring of his incessant claim for good education and breeding in any environment. The good Christian, the able craftsman, the respectable citizen—these are three items of evident interdependence for Kolping. From this follows his consideration of labour under whatever circumstances as a vocation, a calling of Divine Providence, giving to everyone his "sphere of work."* Within this sphere everybody has to perform what we call the task of his career as apprentice, journeyman, or master. Given such an order of society as Kolping here depicts and strives for, both in his work and his organization, there would be full scope for genuine freedom. For Kolping was fully aware of the increasing importance of freedom for a world where mankind survived through incessant social changes.

Kolping was not hostile to technical progress. With such an unconditional faith in Providence, who put before each generation a task to be fulfilled by means of the resources of the times, how could he overlook the great possibilities opened up to mankind by technical progress? Yet he anticipated the acute dangers hidden in the social troubles and the strain which he foresaw would arise from the coming changes. Especially he foresaw that the creative power of craftsmen would be limited, and that this would be a great danger to the individual himself. The chief result of a period of social tension is the restriction of freedom and freedom must be saved with due regard to the need for safeguarding the individual. The new

* Cf. *Encycl. Quadragesimo Anno*, p. 38. ff.

forces must be used to develop social self-help. If there need be classes or ranks in the world, if the real family life of mankind be dependent upon the natural organization of these classes which no earthly wisdom has shaped and no foolishness or violence on earth can destroy, then *each* rank must have the right and the liberty to carry out its task towards the community and towards itself. Each rank ought to have not only the right, but the duty to take care of its own welfare.

These are, briefly summarized, the principles which Kolping presented to mankind and which he carried out in his own work, not only in order to overcome the threat from below, but also to renew social life as a whole in a rapidly changing environment. Working men brought up in his school have not been reduced by the crudities of the machine system to energy-saving automata, but have made use of technical progress without losing their personality.

Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler.

Although we have seen Ketteler in close conference with Kolping concerning the best method of social organization, this illustrious descendant of the Catholic Westphalian nobility was destined to influence the Catholic social movement in a fashion differing substantially from that of his friend. Ketteler was about to take up an official career when the famous "event" of 1837* demonstrated the fierce determination of the Prussian government to make its laws prevail over those of the Catholic Church and led him to abandon his secular career

* When the Archbishop of Cologne was imprisoned and calumniated by the Prussian Government for upholding the Church's law in regard to the children of mixed marriages.—Ed.

in order to become a priest. He was ordained priest in 1844, and after a few years work as a rural curate and rector, and a short time of activity as episcopal delegate to Berlin, he was consecrated in 1850 Bishop of Mayence, and from the very day of his consecration until his death in 1877 he was one of the most remarkable bishops Germany has ever been able to boast of. Ketteler was elected as deputy both to the first German Parliament, after the Revolution of 1848, and to the first German Reichstag of 1871, but in both cases he left Parliament as soon as he felt that his work for the salvation of souls was suffering as a result of his parliamentary activity. For it was his firm intention to be above all a minister of souls. This is the angle from which alone Ketteler's life and work can be entirely comprehended: the cure of souls. The social question is rooted in the interior of human beings themselves and consequently its solution can only be found there. Mend the hearts of men and you are mending social conditions. The position towards society and within it which we claim for man, depends on our attitude towards the world and its affairs. From a true faith in God, as Christendom teaches, we get the right conception about the dignity of man and his position within the State. We may attach the greatest possible importance to political questions and to the constitution of the State, but the difficulty of our situation does not lie there. Although we may have the best form of State, that does not in itself provide labour and clothing and food and shelter for the poor. On the contrary, the more progress is made with the settlement of political problems; the more do we recognize that this has only been the lightest

part of our task, and that the social question still more imperiously demands a solution. It seems to be better realized in our time that the mere form of the State cannot guarantee the welfare of the people. If we wish to understand our epoch we must try to get to the bottom of the social question. With that conception, we understand the present time; without it, present and future times are like riddles.

Thus the social conception of Ketteler is characterized by the responsibility with which he charges the individual. How can the individual fulfil the responsibility imposed upon him? Ketteler answers: by charity. Charitable works are the most convincing proofs. If we show in practice that with us is the home of charity, of an active, Christian, brotherly charity, the truth of our beliefs will be recognized. A challenge to prove our charity is the central point of Ketteler's earlier activities. And it is interesting to observe how Ketteler adjusts to this central point any proposals for social betterment which are backed up by public opinion, for this minister of souls conscientiously takes account of all plans and schemes by which his people appear to be moved. For instance, in his earlier years, the co-operative idea, especially in the form of working men's societies for co-operative production, found vigorous support. Ketteler called upon individuals to support the foundation of such organizations, by making sacrifices themselves, however small might be their possessions. He himself tried, but in vain, to collect from certain circles of the Catholic gentry, a sum which he intended to serve as a financial basis for the building up of a great many productive co-operative

associations, whereby, as he pointed out, workers would become their own employers.

Labour problems were to affect Ketteler in a manner quite different from that in which they affected Kolping, and with quite different force. To Kolping they had been chiefly problems of craftsmanship. Now, the main stress lay on industrial labour, or, in the personal sense, on the wage-earner. Kolping, of course, had been aware of the changing conditions, but it was his firm intention to limit his efforts to a definite class of men, whose conditions he knew by his own experience; and he proposed to devote his organizing ideas and efforts to the special claims of industrial labour. But among the workers themselves new forms of combination had already begun to develop, strongly influenced by British trade unionism. These new organizations, however, were used in Germany, both by Liberals and Socialists, for political aims. Ketteler accepted the idea of trade unions, discouraging of course the political and especially revolutionary misuse of them. In his opinion, trade unions might be and should be the basis on which to build up in a new and modern form the "estate" of workmen, which would have to be related to the existing "estates" in order to get society complete.* It is interesting to note that Ketteler, in formulating his claim concerning the establishment of a workmen's "estate," continued the tradition of Kolping, though in a form adapted to modern conceptions. Further, his demand resembled that of Lassalle, with whom he had been corresponding about the best manner of dealing with co-operative projects;

* C.f. *Quadragesimo Anno*, pp. 37ff.

but the resemblance was only a formal one in so far as Ketteler considered the workmen's "estate" to be indispensable for the completion of the social order, whereas in the view of Lassalle it had to be the rock on which to build up the Church of the future.

Ketteler's preoccupation with social institutions shows that his former belief that changes of mental attitude were the exclusive regulator of social conditions, had had to give way before the difficulties experienced in practical life. He recognized the interdependence of the inner life and external conditions. With unprecedented vigour, Ketteler has claimed general recognition of this interdependence, in his vibrant statement, "A labour population (immersed in all the miseries of a working life which has become dead to sensation) is generally not responsive to the grace of Christendom as long as this is offered merely in the form of the usual pastoral ministrations. Before we can deliberate how to christianize these masses who have become savages, we ought to create institutions to humanize them."

Proceeding from this starting-point, and led always by his desire for the salvation of souls, Ketteler finally became the real initiator of German social policy as a task of the State. In the earlier stages of his life we saw him distrustful of the State and of interference by the State in social life. Later on, perceiving the terrifying growth of the power of industrial magnates and the decreasing importance of the workpeople both in industrial and public life, he appealed to the State not to give way before material power, but to intervene in favour of those whom fate had wronged. Labour,

he says, is the man himself, and certainly an essential part of his personality. Therefore, in a civilized State it ought to be protected by legislation. Where it is merely treated as a commodity, where capital and selfishness are permitted little by little to kill the workman by exploiting his powers of labour, and where a daily increasing number of the people are forced to live under such conditions, there, in spite of our civilization, the crudest barbarism rules. It was certainly Ketteler who induced the Centre Party (Catholic Party) to work out and to submit the first Bill for social legislation. It is well known that Leo XIII referred to Ketteler as the pioneer of Catholic advocacy of the necessity for State interference in social policy.

Hitze and Brandts.

Among German Catholics and politicians the protagonist of social legislation on a large scale was Franz Hitze (1851-1921), a Catholic priest and a most influential parliamentarian during a period of forty years in matters of social legislation. Among the great Acts for the protection of workmen, for social insurance and for trades' regulation there is not one but bears the stamp of Hitze's mind and ceaseless activity. Yet Hitze was not only a gallant champion of social reform by way of social legislation; for Catholic tradition, dear to him above all, induced him to plead also for free social action by Catholics themselves. Hitze's endeavours in that direction were especially fruitful, since he had in 1881 found in Franz Brandts, a textile manufacturer of München-Gladbach, a congenial fellow-combatant and friend. In the "Society for Social Culture and Communal Betterment" of

which Brandts was president and Hitze the general secretary, and in the "Society of Catholic Manufacturers and Friends of Working Men" they strove to bring about between economic leaders and the rank and file in the factory a community of life, expressing itself through self-government in regard to shop-regulations, and in fostering workmen's legislation, as well as the social, civic and general education of the workers in Catholic social organizations for working men. This is the new type which took the place of the Christian social unions which had been formed in the sixties for industrial workers as a result of Ketteler's activity, in imitation of Kolping's organization for journeymen, but which were to lose their existence during the famous "Kulturkampf," the gigantic struggle of Bismarck to subordinate the Catholic Church in Germany to his purposes. Hitze was indefatigable in propagating the new type of organization, and the foundation of most of the first local societies is due to his initiative. Then came *Rerum Novarum* to give him the strongest possible support.

To the incomparable collaboration of Hitze and Brandts is due also the foundation in 1890 of the *Volksverein*, the People's Union for Catholic Germany, the headquarters of which are at München-Gladbach. The *Volksverein* was to be the central organization for German Catholics, and its aim was to instruct the German people in all social duties arising out of recent developments, and to train it in practical co-operation for mental and economic improvement.

Finally, Hitze devoted a great deal of his influence and activity to promoting the cause of Christian Trade Unions.

As I pointed out, the trade union movement met with full sympathy on the part of German Catholics. Especially was this the case with the imposing personality of Bishop Ketteler, to whom trade unionism was a welcome aid to social reconstruction. The political abuse of the movement was therefore very regrettable. Again and again Christian workers had loudly claimed political neutrality for the movement and a respectful consideration of religious traditions, setting up the British attitude and experience as an example; but in vain. Then by their own activity within the unions they had tried to enforce internal reform, but with no better success. Becoming convinced that separate action by Christian workers was essential to save the movement, Hitze proposed to form special branch departments within the Catholic workmen's organizations.

Early Trade Union Leaders.

But at the same time, in 1894, Christian workmen in the coal mines and in various other trades, using their right of self-defence, had begun to organize separate "Christian" trade unions. The pioneers of the new movement were A. Brust, a miner, and F. Wieber, a metal worker. Hitze without hesitation accepted this movement of self-help, which forthwith received most energetic support from the People's Union, and its leaders, Dr. Pieper, and Dr. Brauns, until recently Labour Minister of the Reich. The Catholic Workers' Unions (*Arbeitervereine*) in the west and south of Germany stood firmly by the new movement; there grew up as it were a natural agreement between these different bodies, leading everywhere to a

personal unity of the leaders. The Catholic Workers' Unions of the east of the Empire, however, with their centre at Berlin, have always been hostile to Christian trade unionism except during the war period and for a short time after the war, chiefly because they considered that Christian trade unionism constituted a danger to the faith of the Catholic workers.

The intimate relations between the Catholic Workers' Unions of the west and Christian trade unionism culminated in the personality of I. Giesberts, a stoker, who, thanks to his eminent capabilities and to his position as editor of the leading reviews both of the Workers' Unions and of trade unions, had the opportunity of adjusting the principles of both movements to each other. Giesberts, at the end of the war, became Secretary of State and, after the war, Postmaster General. The leading figure of Christian trade unionism, however, is Adam Stegerwald, a former joiner, a man whose admittedly statesmanlike gifts allotted him a front place amongst the personalities in the foreground of German public life. Both Giesberts and Stegerwald are influential members of the Centre Party. Stegerwald, after the war, was for some years Prime Minister of Prussia and is now Labour Minister of the Reich.

We venture to say that, at least in the Catholic social movement, the Lord has given us prominent leaders, the lack of whom in other spheres has been so disastrous to our people. Round the social movement, then, centre our best hopes of recovery and of a full awakening of our down-trodden masses to the deeper interests of mankind.

CHAPTER III.

CATHOLIC SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN GERMANY.

The Journeymen's Guilds ("Gesellenvereine").

WE will commence with some of the characteristics of our oldest organization, the Journeymen's Guilds. We have explained the underlying ideas: family life and freedom along the lines of self-help and self-government, following the principles of co-operation for the preparation of a new society. The Guild admits only single journeymen from 18 to 25 years of age. The young man who has not reached 18 has to concentrate on learning; he who has passed 25 may remain a member of the Guild, but only as an inactive member. The Guild is, as it were, the property of the active members who have founded it and are responsible for its development. Desiring that the young men should cope first with the problems of practical life, Kolping encouraged them not to wait for movement to be initiated from above, but to take the initiative themselves by inducing a Catholic priest to become president and spiritual father of the Guild which was to be built up. Kolping's policy of gradually bringing them to the stage of self-government led him to prescribe that the members themselves should elect their president, who afterwards, of course, had to be confirmed in this position by his bishop. If the Guild has a home of its own, as is

the rule, the president is to reside regularly in that home, to be at all times at the disposal of the members. Let me remind you that Kolping was concerned particularly with craftsmen, at a time when there still existed a large number of travelling artisans, who as we have seen were keen bearers of revolutionary propaganda. The care of them, therefore, signified not least of all giving them the opportunity of a home where they could find not only shelter for the night, but real home-life during the whole time of their stay in a town, whether taking a rest or looking for work. Each member of a Guild, who had his travelling booklet in order as regards contributions, etc., was entitled to demand, in all the Guilds belonging to the Federation of Catholic Journeymen's Guilds in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Roumania, the U.S. of America, and also to-day in several parts of South America, a gratuitous supper, bed, and breakfast. In view of the considerable numbers of members passing, the Guilds situated in large towns and in the most frequented areas, more especially in Germany but also in other countries as well, have their own buildings which serve both as hostels and meeting-places. The total number of such buildings amounts to 369.

Once invested, the president is the spiritual father of his community. He is assisted by a managing committee elected by the members and charged with the duty of enforcing the common resolutions. Kolping urged that the Guilds' homes should be comfortably furnished, in order to accustom the members as future householders to tidy family homes. As a further consequence of

being organized on the family principle, the Guild is a society for refinement and education. Members are to be endowed with all that is needed, mentally and physically, for Christian fathers and manly citizens. Regular lectures are provided, covering all religious and social matters of importance. Almost everywhere there is a yearly course about the problems of marriage. But the lectures extend also to subjects of very varied character: history is considered, as well as letters and art, and current problems of economics and of general politics. Kolping himself expressly prescribes that at all events a weekly discourse on a religious theme has to be given to members. Whenever Kolping was at home he gave this discourse himself, for he considered this the best opportunity of keeping in immediate touch with his disciples. He deemed it of such importance always to keep up direct contact with the members and their views, that he charged the General President of the Federation of Catholic Journeymen's Guilds, who resided at Cologne, to act at the same time as President of the Central Guild of Cologne, and thus keep in touch with practical daily problems; of course, in view of his far-reaching functions as General President he is assisted in his duties as President of the local Guild by a vice-president.

The very centre of the Guild's work is vocational instruction. It is an integral part of Kolping's educational designs. Obviously it would be an exaggeration to say that, according to Kolping, only a thoroughly educated man could be a good citizen, but at any rate, Kolping worked in this direction. Kolping's rule of conduct in all his educational endeavours may, I think, be charac-

terized as the desire to harness and guide the energies of the worker. The Catholic man was to be able to cope with all vicissitudes of life, of whatever sort. Thus every Guild must make provision at least for theoretical vocational instruction, and, even in the very smallest, there are opportunities for revising and supplementing forgotten primary school learning—a matter of greater importance than is generally presumed. Almost everywhere this instruction is completed by the teaching of shorthand and book-keeping or a foreign language. The stronger the Guild, the further vocational instruction can be developed, in departments for practical work. In the more important Guilds we find departments for designing, and provision of tools and machines for many purposes. From time to time the best results of the members' work are shown to the public in vocational exhibitions. Particularly well attended are the courses for masters, i.e., courses aiming at the preparation of journeymen for the officially prescribed masters' examination. Germany has no lack of official institutions for such preparation, but what induces journeymen to prefer the Guilds' courses is that they receive rather more helpful guidance there by teachers who, as a rule, have been members of the Guilds and therefore are more devoted to their pupils. The superiority of the Guilds has often been recognized by chambers of trade. Recently a technical school gave special privileges to applicants coming from the Guilds' vocational courses.

As has been pointed out, one who has been an active member of a Guild is not compelled to leave it after he has passed the age-limit, nor after

marriage. As an inactive member he can still help the cause and support the endeavours of his Guild and participate in all its arrangements of general interest. Consequently the number of inactive members is greater than that of ordinary members, the respective numbers being 128,695 and 102,956. There are many inactive members in the vocational courses, where they co-operate as teachers and in other ways. As many of these former active members have become employers, the Guilds present an excellent opportunity for fostering mutual understanding between capital and labour. As a consequence of the educational activities and the opportunity for mental development to be found there, the Guilds create a natural spirit of craftsmanship which leads of itself to common sympathy. Many Catholic Masters' Guilds have been founded among the inactive members trying to realize Kolping's ideals in their own special way. The journeymen's guilds themselves adhere to the principles of Christian trade unionism. It is not necessary to explain in detail the extraordinary importance of all these things; everyone will grasp their significance. Often an analogy has been drawn between the grouping of individuals in industry and the grouping of individuals in the social organization within social units of various sizes.* And it has been said that the co-operative organizations of industry are the industrial states and the industrial nation. The analogy does not hold at all points, but it is sufficiently true to show the necessity for some common understanding within the group and within the unit before the larger co-operation can be properly effected. The

* Cf. *Quadragesimo Anno*, C.S.G. edition, p. 39.

peaceful development of a nation must be preceded by the development of peaceful communities and classes; so the peaceful development of industry must be preceded by the development of peaceful industrial establishments and the application of co-operation to the different localities. The fact that the Federation of the Guilds is an international one indicates the influence of Kolping's organization for peaceful co-operation beyond national boundaries. Two big international meetings after the war at Cologne and at Vienna displayed vividly the common will of an international community to lay a peaceful foundation for communities and States. The international character of the Federation is taken into account in the formation of their General Council, which deals with questions of general importance, and includes leaders of the Guilds of various nationalities. Thus appears the universal character of Kolping's institution.

In the German part of the Federation special stress has been laid recently on the training of leaders who can be relied upon in any situation of public life. Several homes have been founded exclusively for the education of such leaders. The training is severe, and the directors may rightly claim, "We train no mere pigs here!"

Finally, to complete this rather discursive description of Kolping's legacy, let me add that the public is entertained from time to time by theatrical performances, sports, etc.

Commercial Guilds.

A considerable resemblance to the above, as regards principles and activities, is to be found in the Catholic Mercantile Guilds forming a con-

federation that totals 45,000 members, which has existed since 1877 and has its headquarters at Essen. The aims are, of course, adjusted to the special requirements of trade. In one respect this organization has a wider scope than the journeymen's guilds; namely, in so far as it unites employers and employed. This "parity," or neutral, standpoint appears out-of-date as compared with the one-sided organizations of to-day; therefore participation by the confederation in collective bargaining has been refused by official bodies, and even the Catholic Minister of Labour was forced to confirm this refusal. As a matter of fact, however, the denial that the interests of employers and employed are opposed and that these separate interests are an obstacle to co-operation between them, is of great moral value at the present time, when the importance of economics is so much exaggerated. A substantial difference between the Journeymen's and the Mercantile Guilds is that the latter lack the spiritual fatherhood of the priest-president: there is no priest as president, but only as spiritual adviser.

For female mercantile employees there was founded in 1901, practically on the same lines, the Federation of Catholic Female Employees and Functionaries with its centre at Cologne. The members of this federation were mainly in the west of the Empire, and the organization of these classes was completed by the foundation in 1914 of a separate federation for the south at Munich, and in 1917 of a federation for the north at Berlin. I may add here that the male officials are organized in the Confederation of Catholic Guilds for Officials, and established in 1910 at Cologne. All

these organizations have special departments for labour-exchanges, registry-offices, and social insurance, with assistance for the members in distress or out of employment, etc.

The Catholic Workers' Unions ("Arbeitervereine").

The Catholic Workers' Unions form the second great branch of the social organization. As I have pointed out, their development dates more particularly from the time when Hitze in 1880 founded the "Workers' Welfare" Federation, and received considerable encouragement from the social utterances of Leo XIII. To-day there exist four great Federations of Workers' Unions—one for the south at Munich since 1891, with a total of 45,000 members; one at Berlin for the north since 1896, with a total of 11,000 members; one for the west, the most important, at Cologne, ("Kettelerhaus"), with 200,000 members; and one for the east at Neisse, since 1926, with a total of 12,000 members. All these federations, with the exception only of the Berlin Federation, are joined together in a Cartel-Federation in order to co-ordinate their practice and to strengthen their power of action. The point of difference between the Berlin organization and the others is, as I have pointed out before, the trade union problem; the Berlin federation is the only one that is opposed to "Christian" trade-unionism, believing that it endangers the faith of the Catholic trade unionists in the movement, because this includes a great many Protestant members. To the western federation adhere also the Catholic Miners' Unions established in the principal mining towns of the west. Recently, the Catholic Workers' Unions,

led by the Cartel-Federation, began to foster international relations with analogous Catholic Workers' Unions in different countries, such as Holland, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Poland.

As for economic aims, the Catholic Unions entrust them to the "Christian" trade unions. In this respect, too, the attitude of the Berlin federation differs, the Berlin Unions preferring to have their economic interests dealt with by special professional departments within the workers' unions themselves. You will observe that this is the solution of the trade union question which had been first proposed by Hitze but had been rendered unnecessary by the spontaneous independent action of the Christian workers. The attitude of the Berlin Federation having been, as it were, refuted by the facts, its membership declined more and more, and in connection with other events after the war a settlement of the existing differences took place by the inclusion of the Berlin Workers' Union in the Cartel-Federation. But this settlement was only a temporary one: to-day Berlin stands apart again. The other federations, to repeat, have handed over to the Christian trade unions the care of their economic interests.

A special branch of the work of the Unions has always been the giving of legal advice to the members and to workers in general. But the chief place of course is occupied by social legislation, with its growing importance for the material conditions of human life. The rights of labour, under modern conditions, is an extremely complex matter, and the safeguarding of working men's interests demands a thorough knowledge of the intricate details of an incessantly growing legislation and

its administration, based on innumerable case decisions. To satisfy this demand German municipalities and, later on, German workers' organizations of all kinds, began very early to establish, for the use of the public, advisory offices, the directors of which, within the labour movement, were called workers' secretaries. The Catholic Workers Unions, from the outset, promoted such institutions, endeavouring by regular instructional courses to enable a sufficient number of persons of good repute to get down to the merits of the often very difficult individual cases. Workers' secretaries act as solicitors for their workmen clients before the different official bodies. The fees of the institutions in respect of the Christian workers are usually levied in a definite ratio on the Catholic workers' unions and the Christian trade unions of the respective areas.

Workers' secretaries, in so far as they are officials of Catholic Workers' Unions, are generally entrusted with the political representation of the Catholic workers. They act as their delegates on public bodies of various kinds; and, since the character of the Catholic Workers' Unions is distinctly political, they become town councillors, etc. The "Christian" trade unions consequently observe political neutrality, and the Workers' Unions are the organs for their political representation. The members are trained in a systematic manner to become useful citizens of the municipality and of the State, and a special activity is the educational side of the worker's life, with the object chiefly of guiding their political inclinations. The unions not being pledged to any one party, political differences, at least theoretically, are not excluded,

and indeed during an election campaign some years ago, there were some local disturbances caused by divergences of political opinion within several unions. The greater part of the members, however, belong to the Centre Party and, in Bavaria, to the Bavarian People's Party. This political consistency of the Catholic Workers' Unions is an important factor in the development of political thought and action among German Catholics. The strength of the famous Centre Party "tower,"* which is always a puzzle to its adversaries, is largely due to the discipline of the Workers' Unions. These are strongholds in themselves for the defence of religion and of religious institutions. Religious education and the furtherance of the interests of Catholic workers are the main point of their programme. Is not the worker more exposed than anyone else to the assaults of irreligion, in whatever form they may appear? His hard lot is in itself a continual test of his faith, and besides, he is incessantly attacked by adversaries whose ruthlessness is not to be surpassed. The unions acquit themselves of their task with remarkable skill. Their presidents being priests, a special importance will obviously be attached to religious matters; and a deep impression is made by the Religious Sundays which are arranged from time to time, in the centres of a large industrial population, by all the unions of the district. Needless to say, in the Catholic Workers' Unions, as in the other definitely Catholic organizations to which I have referred, there is regular general reception of the Sacraments, usually monthly.

* So popularly called, because of its unity and discipline.

An after-war task undertaken by all the organizations was the support of efforts to remove the housing and lodging difficulties. Both the journeymen's guilds and the workers' unions were active in founding and subsidizing co-operative building societies; and these combined with the "Christian" trade unions and the great Christian charitable organizations for the joint disposal of the welfare funds granted for this purpose by the government. A special task of the Christian trade unions* is to act as intermediary between them and the government.

The Christian Trade Unions ("Christliche Gewerkschaften").

In view of the reiterated mention of "Christian" trade unions and of their intimate connection with the Catholic organizations, some words concerning this movement, although not Catholic, may be permitted. It should be emphasized that Christian trade unionism was founded to keep German trade unionism in general free from political purposes, and to effect reforms with a view to bringing about a full respect for religion as the most important factor in social life. To attain this aim, the Christian workers started on the basis of what could be learned from British experience, namely, that trade unionism had to confine itself to the sphere of wages and conditions of work. This limitation—which was professed by learned friends of the young movement and was to become the point of attack for the Berlin Catholic Workers' Unions—

* Trade union officials act in this matter on behalf of the combined organizations.

aimed at keeping Christian trade unionism purely within the economic sphere, and at rendering the movement purely an economic one. The Berlin tendency, as it was called, to distinguish it from the so-called Cologne tendency which supported Christian trade unionism, predicted an encroachment of the "class-war" principle on Christian trade unionism, arguing that a purely economic attitude taking no account of moral restrictions on all human conduct, must range the working-classes against the employers, as a class of non-owners against the class of owners. Amongst the Christian trade unionists themselves there was a small contingent, led by Franz Wieber, president of the metal workers, who demanded a definitely Christian attitude for unionist thought and action. These divergent conceptions caused a transient secession of the Metal Workers' Union, at the very beginning of the movement, from the Confederation of Christian trade unions, the foundation of which had been laid in 1899 at Mayence. Even at that time, and also since then, some German bishops expressly condemned the young movement. Nevertheless the movement, specially fostered by the western Catholic clergy, who observed the firm attitude of Christian trade unions against Socialism and the intimate connection of trade unionists with the Catholic Workers' Unions, made rapid progress and forced the other trade unions to abandon revolutionary action and to act along positive lines. Thus, to enumerate at least some matters in regard to which Christian trade unionism compelled other trade unions to work in practical directions, there grew up in after years, thanks to Christian trade-unionism, a general recognition

and acceptance of collective bargaining, to which socialism up till then had been rigidly opposed. Owing to the keen incentive of Christian trade-unionism, socialist trade-unionists in several trades even became, by their ratification of collective contracts, firm adherents of the principle of co-operation between employers and employed, of a co-operation which was charged with the preparation of common action in all matters of professional or trade interest. The standpoint of industrial solidarity, as the underlying idea of Christian trade unionism, triumphed on this and other points. So also in the grave problem of employment offices (Labour Exchanges): socialists, and trade unions influenced by socialism, claimed these offices for the trade-unions as representing the interests of the sellers of labour. This extreme claim was however defeated by some strong organizations of employers, who in their turn, not only claimed the offices for employers as the buyers of labour, but established similar offices through which the workers were forced to pass, with the final result that only young workers got jobs and that every worker falling out of favour, for instance, in consequence of propaganda for trade unionism, was boycotted by all shops adhering to the employers' organization. According to its principles, Christian trade-unionism always demanded a neutral regulation by the municipalities and States, in the interests of workmen, employers and trades alike. In this respect again the attitude of Christian trade-unionism has been successful. Thus, the recognition of a workers' rank or "estate," similar to all other ranks and "estates,"*

* Cf. *Quadragesimo Anno*, C.S.G. ed., p. 38.

for which Ketteler had pleaded, had become the leading principle of Christian trade-unionism, whose adherents now number 650,000.

The People's Union ("Volkverein").

The whole Catholic social movement, as well as Christian trade-unionism, has gained most useful support from the Volkverein, the People's Union for German Catholics. From it came constant encouragement in the development of programmes and practice with a view to the reconstruction of society as a whole. The Volkverein has been and it the great preceptor of German Catholics in social matters—hence the ceaseless education of Catholics in all social and political problems, by courses for members of all classes, as well as by conferences covering all parts of Germany, and by the provision of books and pamphlets for everyone. To erect a real community of opinion and action, supported by the responsible co-operation of all—that is its leading principle. In the post-war period, with its substantially different claims and requirements, the leaders of the People's Union, in quiet but eager devotion to the demands for mental reconstruction, are endeavouring to lay the foundations of a better to-morrow. We all eagerly desire that their generous efforts may be rewarded by the wide growth of a conception which looks for more than bread and material power.

CHAPTER IV.

PROBLEMS OF THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL MOVEMENT.

I PROPOSE to deal now with the special position of the journeymen's organization and with the guilds of commercial and State employees. This will be followed by a consideration of the problems of labour and of labouring men, as being the very nucleus of the social question and the aim of the efforts of the workers' unions, of trade unionism, and last but not least, of the Volksverein.

As has been related already, the organizations of journeymen, commercial employees, and State employees are trying to revive the idea of vocation, i.e., the conception of work as being destined by Providence for everyone, as a duty to the community, be it to the small community of the family or the large community of the people and the nation. The conception, of course, is not to be limited to the categories of workers mentioned: it applies to all work, and therefore workers' unions and Christian trade unions alike are preoccupied by it. But the revival of the ever-valid principle in this period began first in the journeymen's guilds, and from there reached the state and commercial employees. As regards State employees, the religious background of the idea of vocation is not the only reason for its development, as it is in all the other organizations. The devolution of political institutions in Germany is described and spoken of as a transition from autocratic to popular govern-

ment. Now, in the latter, the position of the State employee is not the same as in the former, which was in fact controlled by officials. Hence the advantages and disadvantages of the system. The new order was devoid of precedent and there was also a complete lack of capacity for political adaptation under the difficult conditions of the German situation, and we all know that the collapse of Germany is due to this deficiency. The continuance of the former system in a democratic State would signify either the dependence of the immense army of State employees on the parties in power, or the abuse of them by opposition parties, or the domination of parties and parliament alike by the officials themselves, with the practical consequence that the so-called democratic State in its turn would be governed by its salaried officials. Therefore not only had the tremendous number of officials to be reduced, but the mentality of State employees had to become a purely professional one. Thus the Catholic Guilds are striving to give to the professional mind a vocational foundation on a religious background. We need an imperturbable faith in the inherent power to achieve of Catholicism if we are to avoid scepticism concerning the future development of these guilds, but their membership, though not yet large, is making headway.

The activity of the commercial employees' guilds centres round a similar aim, but their starting-point is different, namely, the growing mechanization of commercial employees' work. Mechanization, as everybody knows, implies a shrinkage of the creative or personal character of work; but although the vocation idea backed by religion by no means

depends on the technical or professional aspects of work, yet doubtless the elaboration of the theory as well as the practical observance is rendered more difficult by mechanization. The education problem becomes more difficult when these things have to be taken into consideration, and to compensate for the shrinkage mentioned, the guilds' training scheme is as wide as possible in character, just as Kolping provided for the journeymen's guilds. One special problem of commercial guild organization which I have already noticed is, whether guilds which combine employers and employees will or will not be admitted to collective contracts as drawn up by legislation, with the consequent advantages. This problem is gaining a more general character by the fact that the Catholic housewives' departments in the Catholic Women's Federation claim the right to conclude collective contracts with domestic associations within the Federation, as well as with separate Catholic Domestic's Unions, which I have not referred to by reason of their character of mere religious congregations. I only indicate the problem as a question of the rights of Labour, the exact delineation of which is one of the heaviest tasks of the future; at present we are only at the beginning.

Concerning journeymen's guilds, their efforts to overcome the difficulties of the shrinkage of the personal aspect of work by the development of what I have called the vocation idea has succeeded in a comprehensive manner. It is no exaggeration to say that the revival of this principle since the war has brought a wave of revival to the guilds' work as a whole. Before the war there had been a long

period of stagnation in the guilds, apparently owing to a too literal interpretation of Kolping's dictum in a time when the conditions of handwork were continually altering. From the moment that Kolping's mind was properly understood and applied on a larger scale, there began an astonishing development of the guilds which still continues to-day. The admittance of journeymen craftsmen only was supplanted by the reception of skilled labourers in general, and even unskilled workers are admitted provided they adhere to the rules. Indeed, the full interpretation of the vocation idea on a religious background cannot but apply to all kinds of work whatsoever, though agreement with this implication is not general. It is only necessary to remember the exclusive attitude of some crafts, to imagine the difficulties created here and there. But the leaders go their own way strengthened by the support of the best of the members.

The present programme of the guilds was laid down some time ago in a Manifesto addressed to the members by the General Council, i.e., by the supreme international committee. In case this Manifesto has not been brought to your notice in Great Britain, I give some striking passages from it,

"On the memorable day of Whitsuntide of the year 1927, you all, at Vienna, in pursuance of our programme, solemnly and proudly proclaimed our requirements: family, democracy, international peace. You demanded marriage and the family as a permanent community of love and life, as God willed it and hallowed it. Thereby you are fighting not only for the rights of the lowly but also for the living foundation of the people, for the source of a

genuine national spirit and for the framework of the Kingdom of God. You claimed democracy. This signifies that the conception of equality before God has to make men even on this earth more and more equal before the law and justice, and has to open up equal opportunities for all, so that the individual by good work in his profession and by his firmness of character may reach a position of worth and esteem within the State and society. You demanded international peace, because you consider that to be the commandment of Christ. He requires the peoples to be conscious not only of their common membership of the one human family, but to realize also that they are all children of their common Father in Heaven, and redeemed brothers of Jesus Christ. The Lord has willed, as you know, the variety and individuality of nations, of their cultures and of their States, which bear evidence to the riches He has bestowed on the soul of man, and for this reason their individualities and special rights are to be honoured and respected. Thus you are fighting against all narrow-minded exclusiveness of States, and against all hindrances to free communication between the nations. We are convinced that within each guild you are fostering religious, mental, professional and physical education, and that a spirit of solidarity unites you. Over and above all this, you ought at the present time also to support publicly within each nation and State our principal aims. To render this possible we want a guarantee of the freedom of education and of the organization of youth. It is a special task of our time to work for the attainment of this liberty. You want to be free citizens serving the State and the folk as a natural duty; you refuse to be faint-hearted subjects. Our struggle for the mind ought to unite all sons of Kolping in the world. To carry on this struggle, the hearts of all Kolping's sons ought to be joined

together first of all by that which permeated the greatest and most sublime of Kolping's work, i.e., by charity. Therefore, extend to each other across all national boundaries the hand of brotherly friendship, and test your active charity practically, by cheerfully granting support to the wanderer."

The Catholic Workers' Unions and the Christian Trade Unions are weighed down by the awful labour problem of to-day. This problem has a technical, an economic, and a social side. To begin with the technical side, the problem can be expressed by the formula that modern technique aims at fitting man to industry rather than at adapting industry to men. Everything possible ought to be done to induce, or even to compel, technique to concern itself rather with the worker as a man, and with the full development of all his powers, and the extent to which modern industry hinders this. As yet practically no work has been done on these lines. Modern industry produces a feeling of numbness in the routine worker. It is not only or chiefly with the worker as a worker, but with the worker as a man or woman that we should be preoccupied. Such a point of view is not a revolutionary one, at least not in the sense of subversion; it is the point of view of Christendom, which in all situations and under all circumstances places at the centre of economic activity the man as man, as a living being provided with a body and soul and consequently with numerous physical and mental needs and, before all, with the right to be treated on a human footing. Efficiency experts begin to realize that neglect of this human side of technique in the long run must have a harmful effect on production itself. Even the modern

worker has not lost the desire for achievement, but the organization of industry as it stands does not permit him to develop this sense, because the work itself does not educate him to a co-ordination of mental and physical skill; he no longer controls the conditions of his work, and individual responsibility is not visible in connection therewith. "It is in these human respects that the present organization of industry has failed, and it is these things which are affecting its efficiency, increasing its difficulties, and forming the basis for the unrest which is expressing itself in increased industrial interruptions or in new political demands."*

The central point of industrial organization today is rationalization. In the factory, it is exerted in the moulding of workers by scientific management. To a great extent scientific management is methodic degradation of men, in so far as the demands of personality are eclipsed by the prevalent demand for output. The chief result of scientific management is repetition work centering round relatively petty tasks, but entailing nevertheless an extreme tension. High-speed production compels the worker to keep all his attention fixed on his work, because, if he allows his mind to wander for a moment, he finds he cannot maintain the pace demanded. It is a just observation which I found in Mr. Fox's book, "It is galling to have to fix eyes, mind and muscle for hours on work that is not really sufficient to occupy the mind. A reaction is bound to come if the brain is not dulled. Lurid and sentimental films, melodrama, jazz, dancing; anything which has colour, romance, sensuousness, passion or excitement is demanded." Only, things

* R. M. Fox *The Triumphant Machine*.

are not expressed here with the really drastic clearness that is needed. Let me quote a passage from the young folk's supplement of a great German newspaper (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, 137/1928): "All day long the strain of work lies like lead on the heads of the workers. During the few hours of leisure liberty breaks in, the desires leap and jump: the effect is rhythm, jazz-rhythm in erotics too." In consequence of the triumph of machinery, the sphere of work and economic endeavour which formerly gave men scope for relative liberty, was rigorously circumscribed, and hence the absolute necessity to provide an outlet somewhere; otherwise, as has been pointed out, a reaction is bound to come. In Germany, the organic building up of social life promised at the time of the Revolution might have proved such an outlet. But the promised reconstruction did not take place, except as regards some fragments, and men became disgusted with the poor use made of their opportunities. The only outlet of importance was in the sphere of public morals, with the effect which I indicated by a sentence of a few short words, but of extraordinarily rich content, "rhythm, jazz-rhythm in erotics too." In the realities of social life that signifies the endangering of the family. Our Christian Unions are convinced that the real sufferer by the Great War is the family, whose structure has been affected to a most dangerous degree. Catholic social action, therefore, may not neglect the manner in which the developments of technique are likely to affect private and social life, and the consideration of this aspect is necessary to complete the conception of the workshop as the centre of social problems.

It is, therefore, wise for Catholics to assert that we shall have to choose whether we will sacrifice some of that efficiency which turns out cheap shoddy goods, by using up men and women in factories, or whether we shall make for all-round efficiency. In view of the growing population we cannot go back to handicrafts, but we must insist on ways and means being devised to safeguard human dignity, even in the humblest worker. If it is true, as we have always been told, that whatever task of machine construction engineers may be confronted with, they will be able to solve it, we shall require machines whose rhythm exactly corresponds to the normal rhythm of the working man and woman. That is the problem; let them try to solve it! It is not possible to explain here the multifarious sides of this general problem; it must suffice to point to the fact of their extraordinary variety. One aspect of the task, however, deserves our special attention. We find it expressed for instance in the proposal to introduce variety in work. This proposal is not by any means a new one. Since Fourier, i.e., since the first decades of the nineteenth century, it has been discussed by socialists. Karl Marx deals with it under the heading of restoring the restricted routine-worker once more to a properly developed individual. Recently the problem in Germany has been dealt with in an affirmative sense by Walter Rathenau, the great industrialist and politician. From Mr. Fox's book, it would appear that a discussion is apparently beginning also in Great Britain. And as for America, it is said that in Henry Ford's Detroit Works there is a work-changing bureau, and this fact alone thoroughly proves that from a

purely technical point of view a solution of the problem ought to be possible. Practically, this would mean that young workers entering engineering factories should gain an all-round experience on different kinds of machines, instead of being bound to one. In Germany and in America practice does not in all cases aim at introducing variety of work by the young workers learning to handle different kinds of machines. There are other experiments on a more modest scale. In considering monotonous work we must indeed, as Fox says, distinguish between different types of mind. "Some have no objection to monotony; others turn to monotonous jobs as a relief after highly-concentrated mental effort." It would, therefore, be no adequate solution to impose a uniform standard for everyone. There are thus psychological and practical grounds for declining to accept the point of view of some socialists that workers should not be constantly engaged on monotonous work by reason of its character as an offence to the dignity of man; rather should we decline to accept this standpoint as implying an encroachment upon personal liberty. Why prohibit breadwinning by monotonous work that will probably be always required in one form or another in some industries, if perhaps a considerable number of workers have no objection to it or even desire it on plausible grounds? Other workers may be satisfied by offering them the possibility of seeing and recognizing the intrinsic connection of their detailed work with the final product, as is done in the German system of group-manufacture. Here the usual arrangement of a number of machines of the same type and purpose in one shop, which has the

effect of obliging the worker to see always the same monotonous operations executed not only by himself but by a great number of fellow-workers, has been abandoned in favour of an aggregation in one shop of machines of different types with the final aim of producing in their aggregation a completed article, or at least a definitely greater part of it. Thus the worker is not doomed to see incessantly the same dulling manipulations; he sees the bearing on each other of all the single functions, and is able to visualize the value of his own humble work in its relation to the final product.

Of a similar character, but already of much greater importance, seems to be the growing movement in America for re-organization of industrial plants based on "related cycles of work." In almost all manufacturing operations there are, as Harry Tipper points out (*Human Factors in Industry*, New York, 1922, p. 223) certain cycles of work which relate to the same unit of work, so that each operation enlarges the value of the previous operation and explains its necessity. "These cycles are not always visible without a considerable study of the business itself and in some case the rearrangement would not be possible without considerable change in the physical equipment. There are a large number of cases, however, where the related cycle of work is very definite, and sufficiently small to offer a basis for experimentation. In this method the operator would follow the material instead of passing it on, completing the cycles of operations upon it. At first glance this method looks very confusing and there is no doubt that it would be much more difficult in the earlier stages of experimentation.

However, it can be made just as orderly in its routine and just as definite in its valuation."

It would offer to the worker, besides the most valuable incentives, a variation of physical and mental concentration which would lessen the monotony, increase the interest, and develop mental alertness. Doubtless, Catholic principles are no hindrance to such modifications, with the proviso that nobody should be compelled to them by mere force. With this proviso, we should strive to help on these developments, to extend the scope of the worker's education, skill and activity; thus Catholics should not obstruct the introduction of variety in work, and, always with the said proviso, we may concede that young workers, with their own consent, should gain an all-round experience at different kinds of machines instead of being bound to one. In Germany we have already to reckon with this development, since there has been established, by the biggest industrialists in the west of the Empire, the "Dinta"—German Institute for Technical Education—the purpose of which is to make the young workers "wendig," i.e., adaptable to the developments and changes of the industrial processes, a movement which if not checked by higher ideals tends to subordinate the worker to the mere interests of the shop. If we are convinced that the underlying idea of vocation is a religious conception and therefore independent of the professional aspect of work, why should it not be possible to connect it with variety in work too?

As for the economic side of the modern labour problem, developments seem to point to the rehabilitation of an old Catholic demand, established by Pope Leo and further developed by Pope

Pius XI, namely, that of a "just wage," and a wage in accordance with one's position. In Great Britain you call it the principle of the "living wage," the idea of which Philip Snowden has defined as follows;* "that every workman shall have a wage which will maintain him in the highest state of industrial efficiency, which will enable him to provide his family with all the material things which are needed for their health and physical well-being, enough to enable him to qualify to discharge his duties as a citizen." Machinery is encroaching more and more on almost all working processes. Now, the effect of this is to make impossible the exact measuring of the contribution of manual work to the output of production. What can be measured is only the difference between the performances of the single workers in a given process. These different performances, however, can be measured exactly by means of the subtle methods of the engineer, and may be graded by means of bonus systems; this is the only way to arrive at the just wage. It is thus essential that the bonus or extra profit be visibly connected with the productive capacity of the individual, or of the group he belongs to. The method of arriving at it obviously must be understood by all workers sharing it, and the actual figures involved must be known to the workers, so that they may understand the justice of its distribution. We thus have a means of rewarding performance according to individual capacity. But as the extension of machine-work continues without interruption, and in addition the subdivision of work goes on incessantly, modern labour has a tendency to

* *The Living Wage.*

equalize itself over an ever larger area. Owing to the equalizing claims of mechanized work with regard to brains and muscles, there must be a general basis for the payment of wages sufficient to restore "consumed" efficiency. This is what should be understood by a "living wage": a general minimum basis, covering the cost of living, the raising of a family, and education for citizenship; only above this basis does the graduation of wages in accordance with the special nature of the respective performances begin. This method, which I consider suitable for arriving at the modern form of a just wage, demands, in my opinion, an intimate connection between trade unions and shop representatives, because today each enterprise is a labour market in itself. The development of trade-unionism must follow these lines, otherwise it will become reactionary.

Finally, a word with regard to the social side of the problem. The social restoration of the modern industrial worker demands the fostering of his sense of personal responsibility. By the industrial conditions of to-day, the worker is predestined to lessen in value in proportion as he grows older, and the more of his capacities he has spent in industry. Such a situation is intolerable. The member of every other class has a career in so far as he has the opportunity of rising to a position of esteem. The members of the working classes have, on the average, no career at all. Instead of an ascent, their life knows only a descent. Especially is this so to-day, when social esteem depends chiefly on the wages earned; there are plentiful examples of families showing the deplorable situation of a son being more highly esteemed than his father by

reason of the son's higher wages. What a blow to parental authority! Yet there are so many ways of bestowing on the worker who is getting older, functions, the fulfilling of which demands little application of physical strength but a higher degree of personal responsibility. We must all be interested in the search for such possibilities, for it is one way of restoring the dignity and authority of the workman both in the shop and in the family. The whole life of the young workman receives new encouragement when he knows that there is an aim before him worthy of his best efforts. Here we must make it quite clear that what is needed is the alteration not of small details but of a whole attitude to industry and life, placing the emphasis on the last instead of on the first. Why not begin here with the many changes needed in the conduct and direction of industry? If the worker can strive for the realization of aims which he feels are worthy, he develops as a human being, and industry itself will gain the most by his doing so.

May I conclude by challenging British Catholics to unite with their brethren across the Channel, in their efforts to conquer a new position for the working man and woman? Such common action will certainly best serve the fostering of peace both within the single nations and with other nations; for we are threatened by the most terrible revolution within and without. Such a peaceable rivalry will initiate a modern Crusade whose watchword may well be, as in the sublime period of united Christianity: God wills it!

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"It is your chief duty, Venerable Brethren, and that of your clergy, to seek diligently, to select prudently, and train fittingly lay apostles among working men and amongst employers.

"In the execution of this most priestly and apostolic work, let them above all hold in high esteem and employ with diligence for the benefit of their disciples the Spiritual Exercises (that is, a closed retreat), a most precious means of personal and social reform—as We said in Our Encyclical on Promoting the more extended use of Spiritual Exercises" (20th December, 1929).

This urgent appeal of Our Chief Pastor and Vicar of Jesus Christ, which He makes to all and every Catholic, cannot in conscience be lightly set aside.

Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops have spoken to the same effect.

For terms at Loyola Hall, application may be made to the REV. FR. SUPERIOR, S.J.