

The Church: 1970

## Power Through The People

By Fr. Andrew Greeley



In the last column I argued that my political and religious beliefs are profoundly influenced by the Jeffersonian wing of the American Populist movement. I am willing to put a good deal of trust and faith in the people, at least enough of the people to make the right decisions over the long run if they have the proper leaders.

I also believe that most men, or at least enough men, have the good will that is required to balance social progress with social stability.

I finally believe that anyone who proposes to engage in political or social action must respect the dignity and the integrity of the people and neither manipulate them, nor despise them, nor categorize them, nor denounce them.

There are a number of obvious weaknesses in the Populist position. The Populist believes that in the long run it is better to trust the people than to trust ambitious and snobbish elites. But, of course, as Lord Keynes remarked, "In the long run, we'll all be dead." And in the short run the people can be blind to injustice and immorality.

Thus, the majority of the American public is, I believe, sympathetically disposed toward blacks (though not toward college students), against organized crime, and quite dissatisfied and unhappy with the war.

But they are not outraged about discrimination against blacks, they are not horrified by the butchery of the war, and they are almost completely insensitive to the brigands of organized crime.

The Populist must respond by saying that however desirable a reaction of horror and outrage may be, it is not absolutely indispensable; at least it is not necessary that everybody be horrified or outraged. The Populist acknowledges many weaknesses and deficiencies in the people, but says, "Let he who is without sin throw the first stone," and argues, "While the people may not be very impressive, they are, after all, the only ones we have."

The alternative to trusting the people and trying to win their support for socially enlightened policies is to commit power to small elites, which, at its best, we call oligarchy and, at its worst, we call fascism. Those who want social change must be encouraged to bring pressure on the people so that they will be stirred out of their apathy and complacency enough to become aware of what the problems are, and to begin to experience the horror and outrage of which they are capable.

But there are a number of different reasons for bringing pressure to bear on the people. One would be to vent one's own feelings of aggressiveness, self-righteousness, or superiority; another would be to punish the people for their failures in the past; a third would be to win the support of the people for change.

I would argue that he who is exercising the third strategy will use rather different methods than he who is engaging in the first two kinds of activi-

ties. I would also contend that where one is dealing with critically important issues like peace or racial justice the first two kinds of behavior are luxuries we cannot afford.

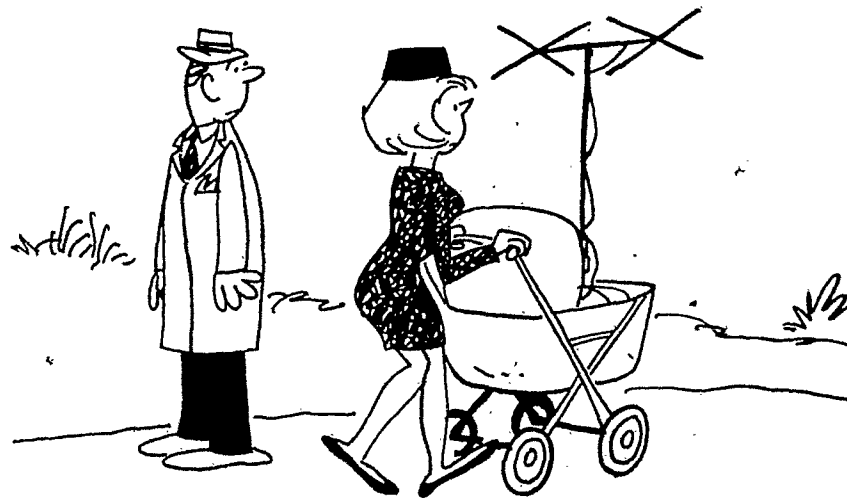
My problem with much of the peace movement (including the Berrigan brothers) is not that they are for peace — I am for peace, too — but that the methods they use to stir up horror and outrage in the people against the war are frequently exercises in either self-righteousness or punishment and are not exercises in persuasion. Instead of being designed to make the people realize the foolishness and the horror of the war, they are designed to call attention to the demonstrators themselves (though not necessarily consciously so), and to awaken not anger at the war but anger at the demonstrators. I repeat: this sort of behavior we simply cannot afford.

I am not, then, contending that the people are always right, but I am not prepared to concede either the opposite contention that the elites are always right; that, let us say, the editorial writers of the *New York Times* or the *New York Review of Books* or the *National Review*, for that matter, are always right. What I am contending is that when the people are wrong it does no good to tell them that they ought to feel guilty or to denounce them as bigots or as a fascist mass or to despise them as "the silent majority."

The only appropriate behavior is to try to persuade them to change their minds. It is not an easy task to persuade someone else to change his mind, especially when you and he don't speak the same language, and especially when you feel vastly superior to him. The only way that you are ever going to change someone else's mind is to put yourself in his position and try to see reality from his viewpoint. There is a risk in such behavior. You might actually learn something. You might actually change your mind just a little bit, while your opponent is changing his mind.

This is a risk that many members of the American elite see no point in taking. After all, when you are absolutely right all the time there is no necessity to be ready to change your mind.

### SMALL SHOTS



About 9 a.m. Aug. 19, I hustled into St. Margaret Mary's Church in Rochester to see for the last time the face of a good friend, the former rector of Old St. Bernard's Seminary, Msgr. Wilfred T. Craugh. His funeral Mass was set for 10:30.

I have retained a bit of hero worship toward him since my seminary days when he taught us philosophy and Italian, and was a stern prefect of discipline. His magnificent intellect and erudition I held in awe. His self-discipline and rigid expectations from his students I admired.

Few priests of the diocese are more important than the rector of St. Bernard's. Yet outside clerical circles Msgr. Craugh was little known. He lived within the confines of the seminary physically but roamed throughout the universe with his great intelligence. By temperament and training he was a scholar. By vocation he was a priest whose reverence for Mass, the Blessed Sacrament and for the priesthood was an unforgettable daily instruction.

He was not blessed with an exaggerated sense of humor. In pre-conciliar days, Old St. Bernard's was more like a military encampment than an eclectic college, and as disciplinarian he often inspected the rooms of the students.

On The Right Side

## Msgr. Craugh, Teacher

By Father Paul J. Cuddy



One night he marched into the chapel, knelt and intoned in his basso profundo voice, St. Thomas' prayer: "Direct O Lord, all our actions..." He stood, faced his students in sizzling calm. It was Thursday. The time was 5:30 p.m.

His face was large and well-proportioned. His jaw was granite. His mind swept through facts, facets, corollaries, and concluded with deadly logic.

At this conference he detailed the reasons for external discipline (rules) from Scripture, the Fathers and from reason; the reasons for internal self-discipline from Scripture, the Saints and from reason. Then having laid the rationale for a discipline which develops character for the selfless service of God and men, his voice thundered, his eyes flashed, his anger mounted as he described the indescribable.

It had been "Walk Day", so the students were out of the seminary. He had inspected the rooms, which were supposed to be spartan neat at all times, like military training schools, devoid of food and effeminate frills, with prayer, text and reference books at elbow's reach. He had entered one room. The bed was unmade. A half-eaten pie lay on the stand next to the bed. A box of chocolates was on the floor. And "THE LIFE OF THE CURE OF ARS"

by Abbe Trochu lay open on the bed! The picture of a slovenly seminarian gourmet devouring the biography of the ascetical St. Jean Vianney would have sent Chesterton into gales of laughter. To Msgr. Craugh's earnest soul, it was an incomprehensible horror, and he castigated us with his voice like unto the voice of Moses chastising the rioting, undisciplined Chosen People. We students enjoyed the earthquake.

Bishop Kearney, with his customary eloquence and perceptiveness, spoke at the funeral Mass. He recalled a man whose whole life was given to help men mold themselves, under God's grace, to serve Our Sovereign Lord in and through the Church. As the many priests present listened to the Bishop extolling the former rector, each must have recalled many memories of their old teacher, experiences both personal and communal.

But I think that all memories led to one conclusion: this was a man of devotion and selflessness, whose "eye was single" (Imitation of Christ, Bk. 3, Ch. 33) as he taught us by instruction and example the prayer of the psalmist: "Teach me, O Lord, goodness, discipline, and knowledge." (Ps. 118:66) Re- quiescat in pace!

The Morriss Plan

## Substance vs. Appearance

By Frank Morriss



For many decades good and sincere priests and others worked for changes in the Mass that they considered advisable and necessary for modern piety. Most of these liturgists have long since withdrawn from active work in the "liturgical movement" in silent protest of the excesses that gradually grew and finally dominated that movement. That is a story for another day, but the point I would like to make here is that these early-day liturgists were often treated with undue and unfair suspicion, as if their loyalty to the authority and discipline of the Church were questionable.

Now the shoe is on the other foot. Certain changes have been obtained. The Mass lives as it has lived since the first Holy Thursday, but there are those such as myself who feel it is in some ways dressed inappropriately or even shabbily, and we are working to change that. Our aim is to make the trappings of the Mass become the nature and the dignity of the Mass itself, so that, new though they be, no Catholic need feel uncomfortable, distressed, or cheated in taking part in the Eternal Sacrifice.

These efforts are being met in many places at best with silence and at the worst with contempt, as if we were disloyalists to what the Church decreed and what the Church wishes in the form of worship for our day. We are not, any more than were the earlier liturgists. We do not reject the "new Mass". We do not demand a full return to the Tridentine Mass. But we do assert and practice the right to speak what we consider the truth — to say that in some ways and in some places the Mass is most threadbare to the point of disgrace. If there are those willing to be satisfied with this condition, we are not.

"We" are The Laymen's Commission on the English Liturgy. If it were just a personal thing with the seven members of this commission, we would have little claim to attention. Everyone knows, however, the width and depth of dissatisfaction on one score or other with what takes place in most U.S. Catholic churches.

It is safe to say that for every person satisfied with the Mass as it is now offered, there is at least one person disturbed, and this indicates most certainly that things are not right. It may range from a feeling of loss of meaning in the abandonment of the cry, "Lord, I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof," to a feeling of near amusement at having to respond, "And with you, also." There are of course the more important misgivings at the stress that implies the Mass is a social gathering for a type of symbolic meal, rather than a social submission to God through sacrifice. The whole concern about the type of host, whether it should be taken in hand, etc., indicates a shallow attention to the former idea, without so much as a nod to the latter one. Rather than being concerned with the appearance of the bread, Catholics should be worried about continued belief in the underlying Divine Substance of the Eucharist; rather than fussing about making the Mass meal-like, they should be determined its nature as the Holy Sacrifice not be eroded either by language, action or implication.

The Laymen's Commission will strive to make the final English translation faithful to the official Latin *ordo*, reflective of the Church's understanding of the Mass as Sacrifice, inspirational and reverent in language, not condescending to the lowest taste, but instructive of that taste so that it may accept the highest offering of eternal drama and literature.

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