

CATHOLIC WORKER

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EASY ESSAYS

by
PETER MAURIN

Unemployment

I. Profit Seekers

1. Business men believe in the profit system.
2. Because they believe in the profit system business men try to make the profit system more profitable to business men.
3. In order to make the profit system more profitable to business men, business men replace men with machinery.
4. Machines do not strike, but neither do they eat.
5. By replacing men with machinery, business men increase the producing power and decrease the consuming power.

II. Employers of Labor

1. Business men like to be called employers of labor.
2. But the employers of labor no longer know how to employ labor.
3. The job-providers no longer know how to provide jobs.
4. By replacing men with machinery, the job-providers have fallen down on their job of providing jobs.
5. And because the job-providers have fallen down on their job of providing jobs, the Government has taken up the job of providing jobs—W.P.A.

III. W.P.A.

1. Some one said: "What we need is a new machine, a machine that will do the work of one man and will take ten men to run it."
2. But the other fellow said: "We don't need it, we have it already, W.P.A."
3. W.P.A. jobs cost money.
4. In order to get money for W.P.A. jobs the Government is taking the profits out of the profit system through taxation.
5. By replacing men with machinery business men have brought about bigger and better taxes.

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—Ade Bethune

Against Conscription

By RT. REV. G. BARRY O'TOOLE, Ph.D., S.T.D.

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To the eye of a Liberal, liberty is a one-way street; thorough-going egoist that he is, it shocks him to meet another *ego* traveling in the opposite direction. For himself and for those who are "social-minded" enough to yes him he demands all the liberty in the world; but for the backward souls who are so "antisocial" as to disagree with him he has different and sterner standards of "liberty." Such benighted individuals must be made to see what is for their own good; in the parlance of arch-liberal Rousseau, "they shall be forced to be free." "Tolerant" thought he wants himself to be, your Liberal finds it quite intolerable that other people should not warm to the projects he himself promotes. The upshot of it is that the Liberal liberator invariably turns *reformer*—naturally of his neighbor, never of himself—and ends by suppressing for others the very liberty he claims for himself.

While the incense still smoked on the altars of their Goddess of Liberty, the French Revolutionaries enacted the enslaving law of *universal conscription*, and herein they have since been aped by every Liberal government in the world, including that of the United States.

Before the fall of the Bastille, soldiers were self-determining freemen. They were volunteers and not servile conscripts. Came Masonic Liberalism, preaching liberty but practising despotism, and the soldier became a slave.

Conscription Is Slavery

For conscription is undoubtedly slavery and slavery of the most degraded type; a slavery which dehumanizes men into dumb driven cattle, destitute of personal dignity and denied the right to have soul or conscience of their own. For, besides being herded into surroundings that are hotbeds of sin and vice, conscripts, like the Roman slaves of old, can be forced under pain of death to perpetrate the blackest and most dastardly of crimes. Wrote Schückling, soldier in the last European War: "Everything must go down in war. Not to be cruel is folly. Prisoners must not be spared, for they might prove treacherous. Humaneness has nothing to do with war. Theft, rape, violence of every kind is of the very essence of war." Did not British officers of that same World War tell us later how they "blooded" their recruits by commanding them to bayonet German prisoners? Hell's own ritual of mortal sin to initiate British conscripts in the many art of mass murder! Did not our own Devil-dogs mop up trenches, deaf to every plea for mercy? Many a grim tale, too, have I, as a military chaplain, heard from the lips of returning American conscripts who acknowledged the selfsame guilt, i.e., the guilt of having murdered helpless prisoners at the behest of their "hard-boiled" captains.

Now, the most diabolical characteristic of the ancient pagan institution of slavery lay in the fact that it recognized neither soul nor conscience in the slave, but treated him as a nobody, a mere chattel—a soulless tool that might be forced by threat of death or torture to do the criminal will of his conscienceless master. Yet not a whit less immoral and inhuman are the commands that today's conscript

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Truce of God Traditional In Europe

The Catholic Worker has, over and over again, condemned war and the activities that lead to war. We have consistently pointed out that war such as we are experiencing in Europe at the moment is the product not of the devilish inspiration of any one ruler or people but is rather the climax of a long series of refusals on the part of all concerned to recognize that there are other purposes for their being on this earth besides building empire and assuming power. We have been called uncharitable, we have been called anarchical, we have been called communistic. That doesn't matter. We still think we haven't protested enough; but we do wish the interpretation of lack of charity had not been put forth. Certainly we do not indict the English people any more than we indict the Russian people, or the German people.

This is not meant to be essential.
(Continued on Page 3)

Candle Co. Employees On Strike

Employees of the Diamond Candle Company of Brooklyn, N. Y., are on strike. Back in 1937, after a bitter sixteen weeks' struggle the employees of the Diamond Co. won union recognition (United Mine Workers of America) and pay increases. The Diamond Co. was the first company in this industry to recognize a union.

The Diamond contract expires December 22nd and the company, in the meantime, has been packing the plant with non-union help. As it stands now about sixty-five jobs were given to non-union people when the workers went on strike. Both sides charge breaking of the contract but the company seems to be the only victor in the alleged violations. An injunction was handed down restraining picketing. For the employers guilt in violating the contract, nothing has been done.

Pickets Restrained

When the injunction was handed down against the UMW of A., The Catholic Worker carried signs showing the support of the strikers' action by The Catholic Worker and Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Now all picketing is restrained by court order until the date of expiration of the contract. In spite of the contract the conditions the workers were exposed to justify their action—there was no alternative. The Diamond Candle Co. depends largely upon the sale of church candles for its profits. As a result of the company's activities, there is widespread suffering among the striking employees.

Florsheim Salesmen On Strike for 26 Weeks

Striking salesmen of the Florsheim Shoe Stores (Locals 1268 & 287 C.I.O.) are making an appeal for a boycott of Florsheim shoes.

According to one of the C.I.O. strikers, their union was formed in June 1938 for the purpose of eliminating long hours and winning pay increases. The employers hearing of this action, he charges, started to intimidate workers who were union minded and even then conditions worsened. As a means of thwarting the C.I.O. union, a company union was formed which succeeded in drawing from the C.I.O. union strength by intimidation and bribery. This action on the part of the company

precipitated a walkout in June of 1939.

The Florsheim company union appealed for official certification but the charges of illegal action were so strong the certification was postponed six or seven weeks. In November the company asked for dissolution of the company union and substituted in its place Local 1115-F A. F. of L. The Board had notified all sides that there would be an indefinite postponement of recognition until the charges were investigated thoroughly.

In exchange for A. F. of L. recognition, the salesmen charge, the company is promised an open shop agreement. At this writing the strike is in its twenty-sixth week.

Some New Laws Curbing Civil Liberties

When Congress convenes, the first of the new year, there are certain bills scheduled to come up before it for consideration. Because we consider that some of these are direct attacks on the civil rights, not only of aliens but also of citizens we list some of them. Write your protest to your Congressmen on time.

These bills are for the most part "anti-alien" bills. One of them by Senator Bilbo goes further and is aimed at the Negroes, an attempt to force them to migrate to Liberia. A number of "anti-alien" bills contain provisions which directly curb democratic prerogatives. Some of the bills seek to do this covertly, by indirection in the hope that by so pointing their attack against non-citizens, the suspicions of the people as a whole will be lulled. Many of these measures are undoubtedly unconstitutional, distorting or openly defying the Bill of Rights. A number of them offer a potential legal base for those anti-democratic groups in the country which increasingly strive to spread racial hatred, dissension and disunity among the people.

Some of these bills will be acted upon directly Congress convenes in January, and an attempt will be made to pass some of them—notably the Hatch bill with its rider on criminal syndicalism. There are eighteen bills of this kind now pending. Notable among them is bill HR 5138 introduced in the House by R. W. Smith of Virginia and already passed. This bill provides for compulsory finger printing of aliens, deportation and exclusion of aliens belonging to anarchist and "similar classes," deportation of aliens who at any time in the past belonged to organizations that advocated overthrow of the government.

Another is bill HR 5643 introduced by Sam Hobbs of Alabama and already passed in the House which provides for concentration camps for alien criminals, anarchists and "similar classes" whose native countries won't issue passports to them.

One of the Worst

Probably one of the most dangerous is that introduced by John Dempsey in New Mexico, HR 4860, providing for deportation of aliens advocating "any change in government." This bill is particularly dangerous because those advocating constitutional methods of change would be affected.

The Reynolds amendment to the Social Security Act is now on the Senate calendar after having been killed in a conference between special point House and Senate committee. This bill would have affected thousands of employers placing upon them a "special" tax all aliens in their employ.

An anti-democratic bill pending in the House Committee on Immigration is that of Martin Dies of Texas, HR 4905, which provides for deportation of alien fascists and communists. Senator James E. Murray, analyzing this bill says of the definition of fascism and communism contained in it, "You could fit any trade unionists at all active and especially one who might venture onto the reservation of an anti-union employer to organize his plant."

Bill HR 130 introduced by Representative Arends of Illinois would permit the arrest of aliens without warrant. Senator Bilbo's bill S 2231 which is an attempt to force Negroes in America to migrate to Liberia in Africa, seeks to identify the Negro with the alien and classify him as such. It reveals that the prime movers in the field of anti-alien legislation are representatives of Southern States where there are less aliens but the greatest concentration of Negro people in the United States.

An important bill is that introduced by Senator Johnson of Colorado which provides for regimentation and complete control of everybody in the country by a central body at Washington through compulsory finger printing.

These bills and others seek to pave the way for fascist America. They are curtailments of civil rights and in some cases of natural rights. This column urges that all CATHOLIC WORKER readers write to their Congressmen and Senators protesting against the passage of any of these bills.

Cooperative Successful in Mining Field

The dark side and the bright side of Pennsylvania's mine situation were brought into bolder relief by two reports issuing recently from that state.

On the tragic side of the ledger were the deaths of two more miners (bringing the total to more than fifty for this year) who perished in bootleg mines, the "suicide industry" which has sprung up in the wake of continued private mine closing. The most recent tragedy occurred in Shenandoah.

A more cheerful report came from Minersville. There, faced with the same situation, the threatened closing of a famous old anthracite colliery, miners united to form a cooperative mining company. The results of their enterprise, just reported, was that they have met every payroll of \$60,000 a month for almost 500 miners during the last three months. It has operated daily except week-ends and has produced 95,000 tons of anthracite.

Rector's Suggestion

The cooperative enterprise resulted from the suggestion of a local Episcopal rector when he



St. Stephen
First Martyr

heard that the mine was about to be abandoned. The suggestion was received with enthusiasm and today, as a result, the outlook of the one-industry valley has been changed from one of despair to complete faith in the future.

The miners agree to donate their labor for two weeks and sell the coal they produced in that period to obtain capital. Mining supply companies agreed to advance credit, and owners left their mules and all equipment in the mines. The local power company furnished power on terms.

Self Management

The superintendent of colliery volunteered to serve at a salary much less than that offered by other companies and the paymaster also offered to stick. Six miners were named directors. The cooperative leased the colliery from the Hanna Company, and signed a contract with the United Mine Workers of America. A coal sales agency in New York and another in Boston agreed to market the coal.

Since September 1 the miners, now numbering 475, have received union-scale wages at the rate of one day's pay in stock to four days in cash. With orders coming in from the East, Middle West and Canada, production surpassed 1,200 tons a day. The company began paying off its

Rising to An Occasion



Daily News Photo.

Cleveland CATHOLIC WORKER finds itself in the center of hunger vortex occasioned by relief crisis in that city. Under the able leadership of Bill Gauchat, the Blessed Martin de Porres House assumes the task of feeding hundreds whose food supply was cut off because of lack of funds.

This picture, taken on the tenth day of the relief stoppage shows a small number of the men who kept the Cleveland house busy all day. New York reporters were so impressed that the Daily News published several stories and pictures of the Martin de Porres House. For the benefit of those who can help with clothes or contributions for food, the address of Blessed Martin de Porres House is, 2305 Franklin Avenue.

Pope Pius XII Discusses Labor and Unions in U.S.

Following is a section of the encyclical to the American Catholic hierarchy issued last month by Pope Pius XII:

Now, if the rich and the prosperous are obliged out of ordinary motives of pity to act generously toward the poor, their obligation is all the greater to do them justice. The salaries of the workers, as is just, are to be such that they are sufficient to maintain them and their families. Solemn are the words our predecessor, Pius XI, on this question: "Every effort must therefore be made that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately normal domestic needs. If under present circumstances this is not always feasible, social justice demands that reforms be introduced without delay, which will guarantee such a wage to every adult working man. In this connection, we praise those who have most prudently and usefully attempted various methods by which an increased wage is paid in view of increased family burdens and special provision made for special needs."

Opportunity to Work a God Given Right

May it also be brought about that each and every able-bodied man may receive an equal opportunity for work in order to earn the daily bread for himself and his own. We deeply lament the lot of those—and their number in the United States is large indeed—who, though robust, capable and willing, cannot have the work for which they are anxiously searching.

May the wisdom of the governing powers, a far-seeing generosity on the part of employers, together with the speedy re-establishment of more favorable conditions, effect the realization of these reasonable hopes to the advantage of all.

Because sociability is one of man's natural requirements and since it is legitimate to promote by common effort decent livelihood, it is not possible without injustice to deny or to limit either to the producers or to the laboring and farming classes the free faculty of uniting in associations by means of which they may defend their proper rights and secure the betterment of the goods of soul and of body, as well as the honest comforts of life.

Medieval Guilds Set Standard for All Time

But to unions of this kind, which in past centuries have procured immortal glory for Christianity and for the professions an untarnishable splendor, one cannot everywhere impose an identical discipline and structure, which therefore can be varied to meet the different temperaments of the people and the diverse circumstances of time.

But let the unions in question draw their vital force from principles of wholesome liberty. Let them take their form from them, take their form from the lofty rules of justice and of honesty, and conforming themselves to those norms, let them act in such a manner that in their care for the interests of their class they violate no one's rights; let them continue to strive for harmony and respect for the commonweal of civil society.

debt by September 1, and today it is said, there are no obligations except the stock certificates.

The cooperative enterprise offers a bright contrast to the grim record of Pennsylvania's widespread "suicide industry," bootleg mining. Depression-born, it has resulted in scores of deaths.

For the most part operations are conducted in makeshift mines. Cave-ins are relatively frequent. The two most recent victims in Shenandoah were entombed for more than six hours before they could be reached. Both were crushed almost beyond recognition.

Truce of God Traditional In Europe

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tially another protest, but we cannot forbear repeating a paragraph from Maurice Zundel's *The Splendour of the Liturgy*: "No doubt we shall never sufficiently execrate war. We shall never protest enough against this abominable method of solving disputes between human beings, disputes nearly always concerned with material interests, by wholesale massacre. But we must not blind ourselves to the fact that to accept the supremacy of material values, as in practice we do, renders war inevitable and is responsible for the desperate issue when innocent individuals take up arms against others equally innocent while cursing the fate that compels them to do so."

There is the meat of it. The people scarcely know for what reason they are shedding their own and other people's blood.

It is to them, then, the people that we address this appeal.

Prince of Peace

Christmas Day is the birthday of Christ Who is truly God. The birthday of God! Leaving aside all sentimental considerations, does not respect for God demand a truce? Does any group dare ignore the Holy Day? It would seem to us like telling God that His coming into the world was unimportant in view of the business at hand; it is to defy the wrath of a scorned and insulted and terribly just God.

The Truce of God, *Treuga Dei*, would certainly be in the best traditions of all the countries concerned. In the days of chivalry it was a matter of excommunication to fight on certain Holy Days. This dictum of the Church was an affirmation of one of the nobler laws of chivalry. The sanctification of Sunday gave direct rise to the action of the councils for it was always agreed upon not to fight on that date. The Council of Elne, in 1207, forbade hostilities from Saturday night to Monday morning. Later, it was forbidden to fight on Thursdays, Fridays or Saturdays. Still later Advent and Lent were named as times when Christians might not engage in battle.

Truce of God

The first Truce of God was proclaimed in 1031 by the Council of Limoges at the instigation of Abbot Odoric and threatened with excommunication those lords who refused to live up to it. Co-ordinate with the proclamation of the Truce, was the successful attempt on the part of the clergy to make use of the chivalric laws that insisted upon protection of women, children, the weak and dependent. Christians under arms were required to observe the laws of chivalry and at the same time the protection of the Church was added to the list.

These laws of heraldry, affirmed by the Church, stemmed from even earlier customs. Tacitus observes that the only remarkable circumstance among the Angles and many other nations was that at particular seasons the symbol of the earth was carried in sacred procession through the countries where the supposed mother of all things was worshipped, and that during this re-

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soldier is expected to obey. Though he ought, indeed, to prefer martyrdom to such criminal obedience, what shall we say of the damnable institution that forces on him so hard choice?

The first step that the Catholic Church took towards the emancipation of the Roman slaves was to deliver them from the bondage of sin by urging them to obey God rather than men. The Church taught the Christian slave to obey his master in what was right, but not in what was wrong; she forbade the Christian master to make unjust or immoral demands upon his slaves; she insisted on the slave's dignity as a human person having an immortal soul; she affirmed the equality of all men, both bond and free, in the sight of a God who is no respecter of the power, wealth, or rank of any man. In the light of this teaching, slavery disappeared like a foul mist before the rays of the rising sun.

Man, in the Christian conception of his dignity and worth, is neither the irresponsible libertine of Liberalism nor the pawn of any dictatorship, be it of the liberalistic majorities, or the proletariat, or of the totalitarian parties; the citizen is above all else a human person, having for his supreme end not the State but God alone.

Endowed with reason and free will, he is the self-determining and responsible source of his own conduct, capable of directing and controlling all his really human acts. This freedom, greatest of all man's prerogatives, God Himself respects, and it is not for any State to trample or infringe upon it.

State's Authority Limited

Speaking of the limitation thereby put upon the power of the State, the great Bishop Von Ketteler says: "Here on earth God has not authorized the State to enforce with its external power the fullness of His justice, but only a part thereof—only that part which is absolutely necessary to maintain order on earth among men. It is precisely this arrangement, however, that, on the one hand, affords men the room required for the exercise of their freedom and, on the other hand, sets those bounds without which liberty would degenerate into license and lead to general disorder—to a war of all against all."

"Behold the wonderful dispensation God has established for human kind! The coercive power of governmental authority does not extend beyond what is necessary for the protection of all and for the maintenance of order. Where its limited domain ends, there the domain of liberty begins . . . ; the latter, nevertheless, is still a domain of rigid duty, but of duty in the highest sense of the word, where a man, out of his own free choice, freely accepts the consequences of his proper relations to God and to his fellow men. . . . In the domain of civil justice, man's discharge of his duty, in so far



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forth as said duty is enforced by courts of law or assessed by the tax-collector, hardly amounts to a human action at all. Free choice is all but absent from it, because the duty in question is imposed by governmental coercion. Consequently, in this domain, duty remains but a servile service. Hence it is that to live within the limits of mere civil justice is to live on the lowest plane of civilized life; to content one's self with the performance of mere civic duties is to have one's foot on the lowermost rung of the ladder of moral existence.

"Above this level of legal coercion there is the higher realm of that justice which will one day become the object of the Last Judgment, but which now is left to our personal decision, giving unobstructed scope to the exercise of our liberty and power of free choice. In the discharge of this higher duty, a man need not reckon with cabinet majorities, nor with fines and legal penalties, but has only to keep in mind the will of God in whom he recognizes the supreme infinitely perfect Good—the Lord and Master of all things. In this sphere, he is cited before no court of law to receive his sentence from someone else; no, here it is he himself who sits in judgment on himself, who passes sentence upon himself as to his observance or non-observance of God's law and the law of Jesus Christ: . . . such a condition of things is indispensable for human freedom and the free performance of truly human conduct—essential, I might even say, to man's dignity as the personal master of his own actions." (*The Labor Question and Christianity*, chapter VI.)

In fact, so necessary is it for the State to respect the personal freedom of its citizens that it would not be justified in conscripting them even for an authentic crusade. Hence, even on the supposition, absurdly entertained by some, that we have in the present European conflict a clear-cut alignment of the forces of God and anti-God, the American Catholic should refuse to fight therein as a servile conscript, or to bear arms in any other capacity than as a wholehearted volunteer.

Reason and Conscience Only, Give Consent

If the time ever comes that our beloved America is threatened by revolutionaries from within or by invaders from without, we American Catholics will rally to her defense long before Congress has opportunity to pass a law of universal conscription. But when it comes to foreign war, let us stand on our natural and Constitutional rights not to be conscripted into military slavery. Let us insist on our right before God to assure our own reason and conscience of the justice and necessity of such a war before we consent to be enrolled in the expeditionary army.

In my November article, I pointed out that, the precedent of 1917 to the contrary notwithstanding, it is unconstitutional for Congress and the President to conscript American troops for foreign service. This, I am told, was the opinion of the late Professor John W. Burgess, former head of the Department of Political Science in Columbia University, as expressed in an article written about the time of our entry into the last World War. Since my own article appeared, Mr. F. J. Eble, an eminent Catholic lawyer of Toledo, Ohio, has written me a letter in which he sets forth solid reasons for questioning the right of our Federal Government to draft the American Militia for an expeditionary war. Mr. Eble has written so well on the subject that I requested and received his permission to publish his letter in conjunction with my present article. By his courtesy and that of the editors of *The Catholic Worker*, Mr. Eble's letter appears on page five of this number.

ligious journey the voice of foreign wars and domestic broils was hushed.

Christian Tradition Dies Hard

Certainly Germany, France and England, the countries whose pagan cultures gave rise to the high principles of chivalry and who carried and enriched

these ideals through the early ages of the Church and only recently discarded them, can see the beauty and the nobility that is still theirs if they will only open their eyes.

"Peace, Peace, and there is no peace," quotes the Holy Father from Jeremiah. The Pope chose his quotation well. The people of all countries want peace. The leaders insist they want peace,

too. And yet they find themselves at war, a commercial, imperialist and sordid war. What better time to recall to mind the glories and ideals that once were theirs; to throw aside, at least for the Holy Day, the passions and hatreds, the thirst for empire and the greed for power, and, out of deference and respect for God, act in chivalrous manner at least on His birthday.

Mississippi Scene of Terrorism

It was charged here by J. R. Butler, President of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, in a letter to Secretary of Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace, that throughout the cotton-growing South, and especially in the Delta region, where tenants and sharecroppers are the majority of the farm population, such tenants and sharecroppers are discouraged by landlords and local officials from participating in the formation and operation of the County Conservation Associations, although they are entitled to do so under the act.

This letter from Mr. Butler was a follow-up of a telegram sent to Mr. Wallace, apprising him of the brutal beating and deportation, under threat of death if he returned, of George Mayberry, a sharecropper and union organizer of Macon, in Noxubee County, Mississippi, when he went to the County Agent to inquire for the date and place of the election of the County Committee.

Merciless Beating

According to Butler, Mayberry was handcuffed and forced into a car by six men, some of whom were county officials, pistol-whipped about the head, kicked and beaten, and then taken out on Highway 45 and told not to come back. The men also told Mayberry that, if he reported the matter, they would spend money to find him and kill him.

In his letter to Wallace, Butler said that he had previously advised the Agricultural Adjustment Administration that the tenants and sharecroppers were being prevented from participating in the administration of the County AAA program, but that, because he had been unable to cite any outstanding, bloody, spectacular, murderous incidents, these advices had been lightly passed over. Butler said he hoped that immediate warning would be issued by the AAA to the officials of all County Conservation Associations of drastic action in case of any further attempt at intimidation of any eligible person or persons who try to participate in these Associations, and called on Mr. Wallace to investigate the Mayberry case and take appropriate action. He said he hoped such action would prevent further outrages and that he believed it would earn the approval of all decent Americans.

Appeal for Lepers

Every year the Society of the Propagation of the Faith asks all Catholics to remember the most pitiful of all humans, the leper. Through the Society, these unfortunate men and women can subsist for a day on ten cents. The heroic missionaries who give their lives ask you to give a little from your substance.

The Catholic Worker urges its readers to give generously to this worthy cause. You have been generous to us; we beg you to consider, now, those far away.

Send gifts to the Propagation of the Faith, 109 East 38th Street, New York City.

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To Whom Shall They Go?

Some of these foggy mornings the sounds from the river are very clear as you wake up—fog horns, whistles, the sounds of tugs and freighters and ferries. Mott Street is half way between the two rivers, ten blocks either way, and the tip of the island is about two miles down to South Ferry. One feels very much on an island these cloudy warmish mornings.

Peter Clark opens the day's activities at four-thirty when he comes down from the fifth floor to get the store ready for the breadline. It is always heartbreaking to see how badly we do it, the men having to stand in line outside and then stand inside while they eat. Next summer, please God, we will set up long tables in the back yard and the men can sit down like men and eat in peace. However, the coffee is strong and sweet and the bread from a Jewish bakery down on the East Side is substantial, good as a cereal when it comes to nourishment. And Ade Bethune is coming down today to paint pictures of the saints to hang in the coffee room which will cheer the whole place up and everyone in it. Ade's saints are robust and substantial, creatures of body and soul, and they know how to use their hands and bodies.

No Work—No Clothes—No Food—No Warmth

In a way these active saints accentuate the tragedy they look down upon. They all have work to do, and the men who fill the store each morning have none. It is hard to pass that line each day when one possesses a warm coat and so many of the men have none. Many of our readers send in coats and underwear and we are deeply grateful. Every day at eight there is another line forming in the back yard for clothing. These men have become part of us, part of our very fibre. They belong to us as we belong to them. We have come to know each other in the breaking of bread. It is inconceivable as long as the work goes on, that the line should cease. We stated once in the paper that we would rather not bring out the paper than stop the line. And numbers of times we have missed bringing out an issue of the paper because we had no money.

Then a letter came to us from the College of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome. It read: "Be careful not to put the importance of the breadline before the paper (with no disrespect to charity; I know what it means). I've raised some money for your line by saying, 'I shall gladly pay you in the next world for a cup of coffee in this.'"

We do indeed realize the importance of the paper. We realize that it goes out all over the world, not just to the United States, and that it reaches thousands of every race, color and creed.

Last Sunday in the Times magazine section the leading article was about a man who travelled across country by car "getting public opinion"—getting in touch with the masses, dropping in wherever people congregate to find out what people are thinking, what they are talking about. It is a time of polls, cross-sections of thought, presented carefully, in well written articles and in many books to those who read. As I read it, I thought, "we are the people," we live with them and among us they come and go. We reach the student, the teacher, the professional groups, the great body of middle class. And we also reach the lowest, the homeless and the unemployed as well as the organized and the employed worker.

Christmas Appeal

We know them in their union halls as well as the breadline. We know them too from living with them, day after day, just as closely as a family knows its members. We know them in family happiness such as we had at Thanksgiving and we know them in sin and sorrow when they fail and drink and steal. We know them when they pick themselves up and kneel again at the communion rail. We know them in the bitter misery of sin and the pain (but not a bitter pain) of sickness and even death.

There can be no *Catholic Worker* without this living with the poor.

Again we tell all our readers that this is their work. And this is not a manner of speech. Our readers are close to us, visiting us as they do all hours of the day and night, bringing in essentials to keep us all alive, writing to us of their joys and sorrows, sharing ours with us. They help us with clothes, with food, and with money.

So I am making this Christmas appeal, begging them to help us pay our bills which still beset us. These men, women and children with us are your family. They are your husbands, your brothers, your children. More than that, oh terrible thought! it is your Christ, standing there on the breadline, waiting for your help. We know that you will help Him.

Day After Day

Thanksgiving Dinner and Other Things

Today the yard looks like a junk shop. We just cleaned out one of the cellars to store three tons of coal that Frank O'Donnell trucked in from Tamaqua, Pennsylvania. We have burned one ton so far this winter already.

We had to move the furniture we had stored in the cellar out in the yard and for the day we have looked like an evicted family. One old man sat in the rocking chair, sewing canvas together, trying to make himself a pair of shoes for his decrepit feet. Three other men waited for a chance at the shoemaker's bench to sole and heel their shoes. A few other men were chopping up boxes for firewood and others waited to see if any clothes had come in.

First Day

This year we had a delightful Thanksgiving in spite of the fact that all our friends seemed to have forgotten us and no one sent in any food except Schuyler Warren who brought in two magnificent pumpkin pies. We had enough money, however, to buy some chickens which we cut up and potroasted so that they would go further. With those and cranberry sauce (Sharkey put too much water in and then added gelatin to stiffen it so that it finally looked like red cabbage rather than cranberries), creamed onions and mashed potatoes,—it was a feast indeed. For once on a holiday, not one of the family circle over-indulged. Usually our Italian neighbors are so neighborly that they offer our weaker brethren hospitality in the way of wine and groppa and the result is maudlin sentimentality if not pugnacity on their part and wrath on mine. But this day was indeed a day of cheer. Every one cooperated even to the five cooks in the kitchen. To be exact I should say four, because Shorty is all-around assistant. But Roddy, John Cannon, Sharkey, Katherine Travers, all worked to make the feast a pleasant one. There were white tablecloths, second helpings for those who wished, and enough to feed all our own gang and about fifteen others who came in. About sixty meals were served and it was a leisurely and homelike meal.

Less Eatings

And now Advent is upon us and we must begin to fast. We read (in a Hearst paper), picked up from a subway seat, that the Holy Father is beginning a week's vigil for peace, spending the time in prayer and fasting. Rabbis and ministers, of New York City, according to the story, are joining with him in prayer. It gives one a sense of great loyalty and devotion to our Holy Father when we hear of his storming Heaven with his supplications. We want to join him, to add our prayers and sacrifices to his. Last Lent our priest in the Precious

Collect For the Feast of Saint Stephen

Grant us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to imitate what we venerate, that we may learn to love our enemies; for we celebrate the birth of life everlasting of Him who knew how to pray even for His persecutors to our Lord Jesus Christ.



Blood Church around on Baxter Street was enjoining us all to fast. "Too much eatings, and too much drinkings!" he told us sternly. And too little prayer.

Mohammedan Friend

Last month we visited the Burlington group for the first time and met the landlord of the House of Hospitality there. He is a Mohammedan and announces proudly that he prays five times daily. There is no mosque in Burlington, though there is one in Brooklyn and one in Canada, so he makes a temple of his own heart. And when he fasts, he fasts from four in the morning to five in the evening.

We are weak creatures and cannot go so long without food, but we can eat the soup that is put before us at noon instead of too much eatings and drinkings of coffee and bread, we can organize our lives in more disciplined fashion. . . . We can be more recollected and lift up our hearts more often in prayer.

Travelings

The trip up through New England a few weeks ago was very pleasant. I spoke in Providence at the home of one of our readers and many of the students from Providence College came. In Boston the next day I spoke at Old Town Meeting House on the subject of peace and even the New England leader of the Christian Front said he was in agreement with what I had to say. Like the philosopher who has just been applauded, I wondered what I had said wrong.

At the farm at Upton I had a long talk with Arthur Sheehan on manual labor, and I realized that we have not been writing much about it for the paper. We talked about voluntary poverty and the Works of Mercy as being the basis of our work. Of course manual labor is involved in many of these Works of Mercy, but we have not gone into detail about it. Ade Bethune has dealt with it in her pamphlet "Work," so has Eric Gill, and Etienne Borne. Gregg, who wrote "The Power of Non-Violence" a splendid book for our times, deals with the philosophy of labor in a pamphlet for conscientious objectors.

Last Sunday the boys all went to the park at the end of Mulberry Street to play football, and we all go in for walks for exercise. But manual labor carries

with it a satisfaction and sense of accomplishment in itself. When I came back from one trip last month, I scrubbed up the office floor as a cure for backache and brain fatigue, and felt most beautifully limbered up. The only trouble was that though it was early in the morning, right after Mass, half a dozen tried to gang up on me and deprive me of my labor. Which shows they have not been sufficiently indoctrinated. The boys get plenty of it, scrubbing and cleaning, but another tendency about work is that when one takes a job around the place he does not want to share it. He wants to work alone, or do it all. Sometimes it becomes even more than a friendly competition for jobs.

Worcester

Spoke in Worcester at the Ancient Order of Hibernian's Hall and someone in the building who preferred to remain anonymous, defrayed the expenses of the hall. The CIO organizers of textiles and steel who have offices in the building, came to the meeting and we had a good conversation afterward on the condition of labor and the opposition to organizing. It's an uphill job and it takes the courage and patience of a saint to keep at it. Stayed at the home of the Brady's this time who, with the McGinn's, are the mainstay of the house in Worcester.

Truck Strike

Next up to Burlington where Norman and Donald Langlois run the House of Hospitality down on Battery Street which is just across from the lake front. The truckmen are on strike in Burlington and the boys had turned over half of the headquarters for the men to meet in. They use it as a hangout, day and night, and the night I arrived we had a meeting to discuss the rights and duties of labor from the standpoint of the encyclicals. They were a fine bunch of men, newly organized, and struggling hard for the elementals, a decent wage to maintain a family. They are mostly employed on long hauls and get very small wages. Some of them are forced to live in company houses and the rent is deducted from their pay. When the strike began, the company raised the rent. They have no funds to keep themselves going so it means sacrifice of the most real kind to strike.

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## Hospital Chaplain

By JOHN GRIFFIN  
Welfare Island

Being criticised for publicising his good works, St. John Bosco, according to a contemporary Catholic publication, is said to have replied, "The devil makes a splash, we shall make one too."

As I read the foregoing, I have in front of me the July-August issue of "The Jesuit Seminary News." This issue modestly devotes its pages to Jesuit activities in hospitals and prisons. Judging by the brevity of various Chaplain contributions, it would seem that the precepts of St. Ignatius did not include an exhortation to his followers to adopt publicising as a spiritual medium. This conclusion was arrived at when I read page four of the "Seminary News." Page four is chosen because that is the page in which our pastor succinctly enumerates his activities.

### T. B. Patient

I am a patient in one of the seven buildings so tersely referred to. I am in the West Pavilion, where approximately four hundred patients are segregated. From the very beginning of our 'cure' there is impressed upon us the highly communicable, and menacing nature of our disease.

### Pastor Bonus

The Grim Reaper has never been on an eight-hour schedule, and in a place like this, where death is never very far away, emergencies are frequent and there is lots of work for a Priest.

For some months of the year there is only one resident Priest to take care of approximately one thousand patients. He is on call twenty-four hours a day, and he is grateful to the doctors and nurses who give him the opportunity to administer to our spiritual wants at any hour.

For us up-patients, and for those in wheelchairs, the beautiful interior of the Sacred Heart Church is a pleasant contrast to the dour architectural aspects of the various hospital units.

At the eight-thirty Mass on Sunday, when the middle aisle is lined with patients in wheelchairs, the pews occupied by others, one cannot help but remember our Divine Savior's admonition, "Come to Me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you."

### Spiritual Joy

The main altar, and the side altars are ever beautiful, but, on the feast days, when Our Pastor exerts his decorative skill and banks these altars with gorgeous flowers, when all the candles are lighted, and the candelabra scintillates, when the choir, which is his joyful pride, resonantly sends forth hymns of Adoration and Praise, then do we become oblivious to all the sordid things of this tearful valley and spiritually join with the heavenly hosts in Alleluia to Him, Whose injunctions are being faithfully carried out by Our Beloved Pastor.

## A Voice from Bethlehem

"Thank God, thank Jehovah," the inn-keeper said, "The crowd is so great there's not one vacant bed. The census at Bethlehem, God's House of Bread, Makes business rush fast, like hot blood, to my head."

"Thank God, thank Jehovah, my inn is quite full. I never before saw the like. As a rule There's space enough left for whomever a mule Might bring late—or a donkey or horse—nay, a fool."

"Thank God, thank Jehovah! Stop rattling that latch!—Thank God!—What is wanted? Who comes here to catch A glimpse of prosperity? What comes to match Such business as mine and of coin such a batch?"

"Thank God, thank Jehovah—Who stands at that door? Oh, it's Joseph and Mary—They're poor to the core. Just tell them King David was rich and the more I accommodate rich folk, the bigger's my store!"

"But to take in poor people would give them offence So tell pious Joseph and Mary: 'Go hence!' God is good. For the poor His deep love is immense. God bless you and find you some shelter's defence."

So Mary and Joseph, dismissed from the inn, Bearing Jesus whose coming should make men hate sin, Went out to the fields where dumb creatures are kin, And kith with the poor who find holes to live in.

There was one hole quite large in the hillside out there. A manger, an ox and an ass with blank stare Were all Joseph found, as he looked for a chair Or a bench of some kind, for sweet Mary's mute care.

Now Brethren, I warn you, the secret is hid Of all that soon followed. May Jesus quick rid You of all self-complacency, conceit, and forbid Any passion to blind you. Act wisely instead.

Rejoice on this day. It's a Day the Lord made. Lowly Shepherds and Angels invoke heaven's aid To swell the sweet chorus which Israel's Maid, Virgin Mary, occasioned when Jesus she laid

In the manger for you and for me to adore. Oh! Let us fly thither. An inn-keeper's store Is a curse. Its vile comforts which greed tries to gore Cannot last. Let us dread them. They kill evermore.

To dear Little Jesus, Who this day is born, To Mary and Joseph and Angels this morn Our duty is clear. We must never once scorn What authority wishes—Of self-love get shorn.

Then simple as doves we shall prostrate and pray: "Oh, Jesus, we love You—so please have Your way. Our works are torn swaddling clothes. Take them away. This Christmas we're zeroes—and zeroes to stay."

(Rev.) Thos. Reilly, O.P.

## Upholds Dignity Of Labor; Urges 'Trained Hands'

The dignity of labor was stressed by a visiting teacher from Arkansas at a meeting of the Rotary Club in New York this month. John Elward Brown was the speaker, president of John Brown University, at Siloam Springs, Arkansas, in the Ozark Mountains.

### No Birth Control—Dog Control

Dr. Brown said that the United States was "slowly committing suicide" by the operation of a school system costing staggering sums and through a reverence for "white collar" work that impelled farmers to mortgage their property and send their sons to college so they would not have to work hard. He also condemned "training our millions of girls for a man's world, rather than for a woman's world," and remarked that America was was "putting up twice as much dog food as baby food."

### More Mechanics—Less Executives

"Today there is a demand for millions of young people with trained hands," he said. "Today there are millions of new jobs to be created if we had young men trained in the pioneering spirit—young men of daring and courage and skill to go out into this great undeveloped land to start the nation building back to progress and prosperity again."

### Needed—Philosophy of Labor

"If the millions of young men who have gone through the schools with the idea that education meant emancipation from daily toil could be trained back to productive labor where they could get a job, make a living, build a home and support a family, additional millions of girls could also leave the payrolls of the nation to assume the higher honor and privilege, as wives and mothers, of giving the nation stalwart sons and daughters."

## Clothes

For the past few months we have appealed for clothing and our friends have been more than generous in their response. However, our shelves are bare once more and so we must continue to ask our readers to please send us any articles of clothing which they no longer need. Every day approximately one hundred people come for clothing. It is never possible for us to fulfill all their needs. Therefore in order to continue this Work of Mercy we beg you to take stock of your clothing closets and send to us any winter coats, suits, odd coats and trousers, underwear shirts, dresses and socks for which you no longer find use.

### Works of Mercy

Each Sunday morning we distribute Catholic literature in Bellevue Hospital to the patients. Catholic papers are furnished to us for distribution but there is a dearth of Catholic magazines. We ask any of our friends who would like to aid this work to gather up all their Catholic magazines and send them to us. This will enable us to carry on the work of visiting the sick.

## Conscription Unconstitutional Says Lawyer; Shows Why

Toledo, Ohio, November 23, 1939

Rt. Rev. George Barry O'Toole, Ph.D., S.T.D.,  
Catholic University of America,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Doctor:

Through the courtesy of a friend, I have been presented with a copy of *The Catholic Worker*, issue of November, 1939, containing your article entitled "Against Conscription."

I have read your article with a great deal of interest and I hasten to add that I subscribe wholeheartedly to every word that you have written on the evils of conscription. I, too, am utterly opposed to conscription, particularly to conscription for foreign wars. It has long been a settled conviction with me that the Government had no moral or Constitutional right to force our conscripted soldiers of the years 1917 and 1918 into the World War abroad.

I think your article is timely for all citizens. In view of the recent shameful performance at Washington in re "revision" of the Neutrality law, more properly, abolition of neutrality, sober reflection suggests the idea that our present Government, aided by supine Congress, may yet demand from Congress, and receive from the latter body, a declaration of war against Germany. Hence, the timely question that you have so ably discussed and which ought to be discussed NOW by all citizens.

The question of the ethics of conscription, however, should be discussed especially among us Catholics, in view of the fact that we shall be called upon—if war is declared—to furnish a large contingent of the armed forces of the United States.

But, while you have discussed this question from an ethical standpoint, may I suggest that it be also discussed from a Constitutional standpoint.

It is my contention, based upon the Constitution of the United States, that the Constitution does not permit either Congress or the President to employ conscripted soldiers in a foreign war. And here's the argument.

The Constitution (Article I, Section 8, Clause 15) reads: *The Congress shall have power . . . to provide for calling forth the militia to:*

- (a) Execute the laws of the Union
- (b) Suppress insurrections and
- (c) Repel invasions.

Hence, it becomes immediately necessary to determine what constitutes the MILITIA.

In order to ascertain the meaning of the word MILITIA, it is necessary, among other things, to understand the composition of the military forces of the United States.

In the sequel, for the sake of brevity, I shall refer to the 1935 edition of the "Code" of the laws of the United States, and shall indicate this source by the word "Code." I have checked into the subsequent "Code," published 1938, and found nothing to alter or modify or abolish the law as set forth in the "Code" of 1935. Also, I have examined into all the laws enacted since June, 1938 and up to the end of the last Special Session of October, 1939; and find no changes in the 1935 "Code." Hence I believe that my observations are up to date and applicable NOW.

The national forces of the United States are constituted of all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and of foreign males who have declared their intention to become citizens, and who are between the ages of 18 and 45 years "Code," Title 10, ch. 1, sec. 1, par. 1).

This rule applies to the various organized forces of the United States as well as to the militia. The latter is divided into three classes, to wit:

- (a) The National Guard;
- (b) The Naval Militia and
- (c) The Unorganized Militia (Cf. "Code," Title 32: The National Guard, ch. 1, sec. 1, par. 1).

The National Guard again is subdivided into the National Guard and the National Guard of the several States, Territories and the District of Columbia. It is that portion of the Organized Militia of the several States, Territories and the District of Columbia which is federally recognized, organized, equipped and armed at Federal expense and officered and trained under par. 16, sec. 8, article I of the Constitution (Cf. "Code," Title 32, par. 4 (b) (1) of ch. 1, sec. 1).

The Army of the United States is composed of

- (a) The Regular Army,
- (b) The National Guard of the United States,
- (c) The National Guard while in the service of the United States,
- (d) The officers' Reserve Corps,
- (e) The Organized Reserves and
- (f) The Enlisted Reserve Corp. (Cf. "Code," Title 10: The Army, ch. 1, section 1, par. 2).

Hence, it will be seen that the National Guard constitutes a part of the Army of the United States.

Nevertheless, a close study of the manner in which the membership of the above "organized" forces of the Army of the United States is acquired, revealing the fact that the entire "organized" military force is obtained through voluntary enlistment. But there is a distinction in the enlistment. Those who enlist in the Regular Army engage to serve directly under the President of the United States, subject, of course, to law. Those, however, who enter the National Guard, either federally organized or organized, etc., by the States, etc., take an oath, if they are officers, to obey the President of the United States AND THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE in which they enlist; and, if they are enlisted men, they swear or affirm that they will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and the State in which they enlist. Evidently, the officers and men of the National Guard are bound by a two-fold oath; and this seems to indicate and stress their membership in the militia. They do not propose to subject themselves to the loyalties required of members of the Regular Army; their loyalties are limited in that part of them are due to the Governor of their State. (Cf. "Code" Title 32, chap. 7, par. 112 and chap. 8, par. 123).

It seems that in the case of divided loyalty, there is an inhibition or restraint upon the President in consequence of which the members of the Organized Militia cannot be ordered around in the same extent as is the case with the members of the Regular Army.

This restriction, I have no fear to state, is indicated in that part of the Constitution which limits the calling forth of the Militia for the three-fold purpose of executing the laws of the Union, suppressing insurrections and repelling invasions.

Now, to proceed: since it is evident that all enlisted men are members either of the Regular Army, the National Guard of the United States, the National Guard while in the service of the United States, the Officers' Reserve Corps, the Organized Reserves, and/or the Enlisted Reserve Corps, it follows, per eliminationem, that all other able-bodied males of the United States, whether citizens or declarant-citizens, between the ages of 18 and 45, must be members of the ORGANIZED MILITIA.

At any rate they are members of the MILITIA. Hence, they may be called into the service of the United States, per authorization of Congress, to execute the law of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions. They also may be "drafted" by the President, per authority of the Congress, for the sake of being drilled and taught the art of war—

(Continued on Page 7)



# Christmas Story

Adapted from a  
Russian Folk Tale

By ELIZABETH FINEGAN

This tale has been told at Russian hearthsides on Christmas Eve, for years unnumbered, and secretly each listener has thrilled and hoped and wondered.

Nicolai sat snugly by the fire, content with the great good of being warm and peaceful on this lean and chill Christmas Eve. As the fire sparkled and snapped, and the great Cathedral bells chimed and pealed, Nicolai closed his eyes against the welcome heat of the flames.

Through the war darkness, unheralded, a Voice sounded, soft as the night, bright as the flames.

"Nicolai, little father. You sit alone this Christmas Eve. Tomorrow, little father, I will come to you, to gladden the birthday of all men's joy."

With a thud, a glowing log crumbled in the fireplace, and Nicolai leapt up, crying:

"Wait, Child! Wait, Sire!" but the high-burning flames showed on the rough walls only a grotesque shadow with empty arms outstretched.

Nicolai rested no more that night. The forgotten fire sputtered and died, and the cold dawn woke to a festive scene. The table and chairs had been carried near the hearth, and on the decorated table, next to a plate and a mug, twinkled a pair of small shiny red leather boots, "for today He will surely come as a child," Nicolai had whispered as he worked.

Hastening back from the Cathedral, lest he miss his Guest, Nicolai almost stumbled over a huddled form on his doorstep. Within, with the man hugging the fire, and devouring Nicolai's one loaf of bread, the cobbler almost regretted his rash generosity. Yet when the man turned away from the door, with new strength from the food, and new hope from his host, Nicolai could not regret it.

Nor could his warm heart bid him close his door to old Anna when she rapped impatiently, eager to pour out her troubles to her one unfailingly patient listener, the kind Nicolai. As the whining grandma rose to go, after dreary hours of grumbling, Nicolai said courteously, and quickly, that he might not weaken:

"Here, little mother. Drink this wine to arm you against your cold journey home."

No, he could not bemoan, with her blessing still warm on him, the lack of bread and wine for his princely Visitor. For there, in the dancing firelight, shone the red boots, the work of his hands, his birthday gift for his Guest.

But twilight came, and Nicolai sat again alone before the fire, and red boots gleamed no more in its light.

"Alas," thought Nicolai sadly, "He will come and find me empty-handed. No food nor wine to offer Him, and no gay boots for His little feet. No, His boots are warming the feet of that urchin who came grandly ordering boots from me, with his two pitiful little Christmas coins."

Wearily, the disappointed Nicolai dropped his head on his breast and closed his tear-dimmed eyes. Suddenly the glowing logs burst into showers of starry flames, while the Voice Nicolai had waited all the long day to hear, rang out tenderly and joyously:

"Nicolai, this day have you warmed and fed me, consoled and strengthened me, given me to drink, and clothed me with the priceless work of your own hands. Three times I visited you and three times you made me welcome. Nicolai, dear little father, I bless you."

And the fire leapt, and the bells pealed, and the Angels sang tidings of great joy.

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# Work and War

by Eric Gill

## I. Degradation and Destruction

1. Man is a person.
2. War today, like work today, is impersonal.
3. Modern weapons, like modern machines, reduce the soldier and the worker to a sub-human condition.
4. War today is not fighting; it is destruction.
5. Work today is not ennobling; it is degrading.



6. The worker is made into a fool.
7. The soldier is made into a beast.
8. What we call peace today is simply the preparation for and provocation of war.

## II. Whether or No

1. Rivalries between men of business lead to rivalries between nations for economic advantage.
2. Those who see these things are powerless; their only course is passive resistance.
3. Whether or no forcible resistance to injustice is every justified, whether it is ever even successful is not the point.
4. What we have to consider first is whether the methods of force which we call war today can ever be justified even if apparently successful.

"To countenance race-prejudice is to confirm it; and to confirm it is to wound the very heart of Faith..."  
Rev. Edward F. Murphy, S.S.J.

From an address  
given at a public meeting  
convened at Friends House,  
London,  
by the Council  
of Christian Pacifist groups,  
on September 26, 1938.

Arranged by Peter Maurin

## III. War Today

1. And second, whether the wars of today are really struggles for justice or whether they are not really struggles for economic supremacy.
2. Wars today are not fought by small professional armies or mercenaries, i.e., men in the pay of and at the command of their employers as all the old national armies were.
3. Those mercenaries, in a matter of speaking, may be said to have died for their living.
4. War today involves the conscription of whole nations.
5. So men, women and children are forced to risk or lose their lives and their goods in quarrels they neither make nor understand.

## IV. Earl Baldwin

1. First, then, as to the nature of war today, the following quotations indicate the situation very clearly:
2. "There is no one in Europe today and I don't care who he is," said Earl Baldwin on 9th November 1936, "who does not know what war means in the long run."
3. "It means all over Europe the degradation of the life of the people."
4. "It means misery compared with which the misery of the last war was happiness."
5. "And it means in the end anarchy and world revolution, and they all know it."

## V. Earl Baldwin Again

1. Earl Baldwin said also: "The only defense is offense, which means that you have to kill women and children more quickly than the enemy if you want to save yourselves."
2. "The object of the bomber is not to defeat the rival air force, but to terrify into submission populations whose women, children and homes

are attacked and destroyed by fire, explosives and gas."  
(Times 12th January, 1938)

## VI. We Are Persons

1. Even were we to suppose that forcible resistance is justified, that the brave good man is justified in fighting the brave bad man how can we deceive ourselves into thinking of war today in such terms?
2. What then . . .
3. We are persons —we have free will and the use of reason.
4. But war today is for the vast majority of those who are dragged into it not a personal struggle at all.

## VII. It Is Simply Terrorism

1. It is not fighting, just or unjust.
2. It is merely indiscriminate and impersonal destruction.
3. It is not defense of our country.
4. It is not defense of our men, women and children.
5. It is not defense of our homes.
6. It is simply offensive.
7. It is simply terrorism.

## VIII. The Bomber's Job

1. The brave young bomber has not the least desire to fight his rival brave young bomber.
2. His job is to get behind his opponent and destroy or poison foreign people and their homes.
3. How useless and mendacious is the pretence that bombers can confine their attention to military objectives.
4. This was shown by daily experience in Spain.

## IX. Changed Nature of War

1. And it is not only the airplane that has changed the nature of war. . . .
2. The same developments have taken place in ordinary artillery and rifle fire.
3. The use of guns and rifles as instruments of precision, things which individual men use to destroy or kill an individual target or person, has almost disappeared.
4. The sniper is merely an eccentric.
5. High explosive and long range have made gunnery, like air bombing, more and more indiscriminate.
6. The machine gun is not directed against individuals, but against masses.



## Controversy Continues In Re City Versus Land

THERE ARE TWO KINDS OF  
AGRARIANS

Washington, D. C.  
We might call them the Realistic Agrarians and the Romantic Agrarians, respectively, because the difference between them lies precisely in their willingness or reluctance to face facts. The Realistic Agrarians look on rural life objectively. They assign it no special sacredness, but study it like any other social phenomenon. To the Romantic Agrarians, on the other hand, the farm is a fetish. In their eyes agrarianism must not be criticized. When anyone dares to suggest that life on the land falls a little short of heaven, they rush into print with long and rather irrelevant letters.

With the Realistic Agrarians I have no quarrel at all. Why should anyone want to quarrel with them? After all, they have the facts on their side. Take the Free America group, for example. Their interesting magazine is full of factual articles. They consider the practical issues of farm life and make no bones about the hardships involved. Moreover, they are realistic enough to adapt themselves to a machine age even on the land, and they are not shocked at the idea of a suburban economy where men work in the city by day and sleep in the country by night.

### Credo

I have never made any secret of my sympathy with this movement, but in case anybody persists in believing that I am opposed to sane agrarianism I herewith set down my creed:

(1) I believe that the cities are overpopulated and the country underpopulated.

(2) I believe in the back-to-the-land movement; but this movement must be realistic. You can't make city people into farmers overnight.

(3) I believe in distributism and a large body of small farmers as an essential element in distributism.

(4) I believe that our rural areas have been unjustly neglected. They deserve more churches, better schools, and more adequate professional services.

(5) I believe that our cities should be decentralized. There is no excuse for crowding several million people into a few square miles.

(6) I believe in subsistence homesteads. The factories should come to the farm or the farms should come to the suburbs and be near the factories.

(7) I believe in such ventures as the Catholic Worker farm at Easton. They are wholesome and promising experiments.

So much for the Realistic Agrarians. Now let us turn to the Romantic Agrarians. The Romantic Agrarians tend to be pure theorists. A surprising number of them have never managed a farm. Some have never even worked on a farm for any length of time. The Romantic Agrarians are disgusted at the social evils of the cities in which they live. They assume that the land will be somehow different and they connect a romantic theory about a brave, new, rural world. They get excited if anyone dares suggest ever so mildly that there are still certain advantages in urban life and that a back-to-the-land movement will not immediately solve all social problems.

When a man can stare thirteen hundred unemployed farmers in the face and say "There is no unemployment on the land," then he is quite inaccessible to any laws of logic which I can understand. However, I shall give the facts for those readers who have not discarded logic. I cannot ask for space to discuss all the issues raised, but shall limit myself to what seem to be the two principal issues at stake, namely, economics and the spiritual life, on the land and in the city respectively.

### Rural Proletariat

A correspondent says: "Obviously Father Furfey doesn't see any connection between 'what men make, what they are, and what they believe.' It is hard to see how he arrived at this. Probably he has a fixed idea that farm work is inherently more noble than city work. When I don't at once agree with him, he jumps to the conclusion

(Continued on Page 8)

Dear Editor:

The November issue of your paper contains especially interesting articles by Rev. John J. Hugo and Mr. Ray Scott, indicating the high value of a page devoted to "The Land Question." Our current newspapers and magazines are filled with discussions of the "Labor" and "Capital" problems. The "Land Question" is neglected. Labor must live on and from land; and capital is produced from land by labor. Land, like man himself is a primary factor. Its use and abuse are man's most vital problems.

I have read these and former articles with interest. Among all of them I fail to find any definite answer to the problem. There can be but one answer; Free access to good land for those who desire to use it.

In my brief note in your November issue I point out a few fundamental principles that apply; and that need not be repeated. The user of land must first make a living for himself and family, as good a living as he can make working for a city employer; otherwise he will move to the city. But good land produces more than a living. It produces an excess that the user must pay to his landlord. This excess is ground rent. Ground rent is unearned income to the landlord. He gives neither labor nor service for it. He is like the squirrels in the farmer's corner. He merely grows fat at the farmer's expense.

Henry George

The remedy is to take over ground rent by the public, and use it to build the farmers' highways, support his schools, pay his other public expenses,—perhaps give him a pension in his old age. Ground rent is a product of the presence and needs of society.

How will this make land free? No landowner will care to retain land if the ground rent is taken by the local public treasury unless he is also a land user; and then he will retain only so much as he can use profitably. The subsistence farmer can make a good living where the commercial farmer will lose money; for the farmer and his family do most of the work, and raise a third or half their living on the farm.

When the rental value of land is taken by the public there will be more land free than can be used, probably for many years. With free land men will not work in cities for less wages than they can make on the land. Our remedy will solve the labor problem as well as the farm problem.

This brief outline leaves many questions unanswered; but they are all answered in the books. Read them; study them. A fine address was delivered very recently by Judge Samuel Seabury of New York, that answers some of these important questions. It can be obtained for five cents. Read it.

Respectfully,

John Harrington

"Let no man think to have set his own life in order if he is unmindful of his neighbor's well being."

—St. John Chrysostom



Ado Bethune

## Irish Group In Fight on Unemployment

"The people of Eire have a foothold on but a portion of the earth's surface. This is our heritage. It is what we have been given to work on. Our purpose in the scheme of things is to make the best of our heritage; our privilege to enable all our fellows to enjoy pleasant conditions of living." These words are taken from a piece of literature issued by the Mount Street Club of Dublin, Ireland, a movement with a philosophy closely akin to that of our own Catholic Worker.

In its early days in 1934, the Mount Street Club was regarded as another "crackpot" movement. People, according to a news item in the Irish Times, called it a "philanthropic freak." Considering the willingness and abilities of its unemployed members as the biggest asset, the club begged along to its start to be of assistance to those who were unable to find a place in industry or whose employment was temporary or doubtful.

### Self-Supporting

The sponsors of the Club held to their vital principle that as soon as possible the unit would be self-supporting. They worked toward this end encouraged by the financial and moral support of friends and associates. Tailors, carpenters, bakers, weavers—tradesmen of every sort, over two hundred of them, work for tallies which serve as a medium of exchange. Proof that man must necessarily bring in help from without and can profit collectively by working for service over profit, is well brought out when we study the results of the Mount Street Club. Yet in crowded cities all over the world the capable and skilled unemployed rub shoulders and suffer apart from one another. In the Mount Street system a barber cuts hair, a baker bakes, a tailor makes and repairs clothes for the common need.

It takes but an hour of work to make a "tally" (their own currency which has already proven itself more valuable than the national currency) and through the system of self-help here is what this money can do: A hand-woven overcoat can be purchased for 60 tallies (think of the price of a hand-made garment in American stores!) A good dinner may be had for one tally.

## Conscription Unconstitutional Says Lawyer; Shows Why

(Continued from Page 5)

fare, etc.; but here again, their service, when engaged by the United States, is evidently limited to strictly "militia" duties.

But, to come back to the UNORGANIZED MILITIA. Back in 1917 to 1918, all the "conscripts" of that period evidently were members of the Unorganized Militia. They took no oath of enlistment; they were not "volunteers" either in the Regular Army or the National Guard. They were, in the true sense of the word, "conscripted"—forced—to join the military forces of the United States.

Were they, on that account, to be treated as the members of the Regular Army? Could they be sent out of the United States and into a foreign war? Before this could be done, it is apparent that the powers of the President as well as those of Congress, as set forth in the Constitution, should have been consulted. It is my contention that they were not Constitutionally sent out of the United States and into the trenches of France.

### Beyond a Reasonable Doubt

In order to justify their being sent abroad, it was incumbent upon those who took the affirmative in this matter to show beyond the peradventure of a reasonable doubt:

(a) That the Unorganized Militia, as well as the Organized Militia, were required to enforce the laws of the Union. This, however, cannot be shown, since the laws of the Union cannot be enforced in a foreign country;

(b) That the Organized as well as the Unorganized Militia were required at that time to suppress an insurrection. This, however, was not shown at the time, since insurrection is a domestic rising of citizens against their government; and no such rising took place either in the United States or in France; in fact, it could not have taken place in France at all since insurrection can take place only at home and against the Government of the United States; and

(c) That the Organized and Unorganized Militia were called into the service at the United States, in 1917 and 1918, in order to repel invasion. This, too, was not shown at the time, nor could it be maintained historically or by facts or logical argumentation. In fact, the law designated the troops that left the United States under Pershing as the "expeditionary forces" of the United States. There was neither invasion of the United States at that time; in fact, with all the European armies engaged in a life and death struggle with each other, invasion, whether actual, threatened or contemplated, was simply and entirely out of the question. Hence, the third condition under which the militia may be summoned, did not exist either in 1917 or in 1918.

### "Clear Violation"

In view of the above, it seems to me that there can be no gainsaying the fact that the "conscripts" of the World War period were sent abroad in clear violation of the Constitution.

The powers that ruled this nation in that period slipped a fast one over on the American people. But, I feel they were able to do this because the rank and file of the American people was neither cognizant of the letter nor imbued with the spirit and philosophy of our Constitution. And I am afraid the same mental condition obtains today. How many people in this country know the Constitution? Even lawyers do not know it; else how explain that few, if any, lawyers, questioned the right of President Wilson to send the Militia into the European war?

There was, however, a time when the rank and file of the American people had a better grasp of the organic law of the land than they do today. Back in 1812, a precedent was established for all Americans to follow. During the war of 1812, the militia of the several States was engaged in various battles. But they did not permit themselves to be sent hither and thither by their commanders. During that war, one of the objectives, to be seized by the Americans, was Queenston, in Upper Canada. Across the river, and opposite Queenston, lay the American militia, General Van Rensselaer in command. He importuned his men on this side of the Niagara to come to the aid of their comrades who had crossed over to the Canadian side of the river; but the American militia refused to cross over into Canada, maintaining—and rightly so—that their commander had no Constitutional warrant to compel them to leave their country. The militia could not be compelled to invade a foreign country. And not a man in that militia was court-martialed. This was October 13, 1812. A month later, Major-General Dearborn, in command on Lake Champlain, marched his men 20 miles to the Canadian line in an endeavor to attack Montreal in connection with Gen Smyth at Niagara. Again the forces of the militia refused to cross over into Canada. And this force, too, was never criticized or penalized for its refusal. Apparently, our militia-men of 1812 knew their Constitutional rights. Can the same be said of our militia of 1939? I doubt it.

### Ripe Time to Question

A serious precedent has been established in 1918 when the Selective Service Cases decided that the President or Congress had the Constitutional right to dispatch our draftees abroad. It should be our task today to question those decisions! Nay more, the time is at hand, NOW, to acquaint the American public with the unconstitutional decisions and acts of the World War period. If this is not soon done, and public opinion is not enlightened on this matter in time, I am afraid that a supine Government, under the influence of war-mongers, international bankers and exporters, will again drag this nation into a foreign war. The powers that be, both in high governmental offices at Washington and behind the scenes, have overridden the will of the people in the recent lifting of the embargo; they have made us direct participants in the present European war. And I have no doubt the same Government, visible or invisible, is scheming this very hour to project the American people once more into a foreign war. If we succeed in acquainting the American people with their Constitutional rights, the war party will not succeed in their nefarious plans a second time.

F. J. EBLE

Bicycles can be rented for a whole day for one tally. Through the tally system every one can contribute to the common welfare. The social life, amusement and cultural education of the Club members is by far more abundant and wholesome than the average Dublin wage earner enjoys.

### "Healthy" Farm Project

To make the best of their heritage a 130-acre farm was procured in 1938. Since then the farm has functioned to a healthy degree and provides the food needs for members. The worth of the agrarian side of the pro-

gram had already been witnessed by two plots of land previously obtained which were used as gardens.

Mount Street Club considers the farm program the best means for permanently rehabilitating unemployed members in a new and lasting order of production-for-use. The farm program is good for body and spirit in addition to being the most productive kind of work. Too, the family ideal can best be upheld on the land. Socially, the Club's great virtue is that it eliminates the deadening effects of prolonged unemployment, which has crushed the spirit of so many decent men.



# THE LAND

There Is No Unemployment on the Land

## Controversy Continues Over City vs. Land

(Continued from Page 7)

that I have no philosophy of labor and no interest in the dignity of toil. The trouble actually lies in the Romantic Agrarians' refusal to face the facts of urban and rural labor conditions.

The Romantic Agrarians seem to think of the city man exclusively as a worker on a production line doing back-breaking, monotonous work for some selfish capitalist. They seem to think that one hundred per cent of all city men belong in this category. On the other hand, the farmer is for them always a sturdy, independent yeoman working his own land in his own way and living a dignified, humanized life. On the basis of this romantic picture, they draw their conclusions. Now for variety, let us look at the facts.

In 1930, forty-two per cent of all farm operators were tenants. Farm tenancy is not an ideal sort of life. Farm tenants include the oppressed sharecroppers and a great many others whose lot is scarcely better. The remaining fifty-eight per cent, however, are not necessarily sturdy, independent farmers. Many of them are living on mortgaged farms under a constant dread of foreclosure which destroys their independence. Others own large farms where labor conditions reproduce, in an aggravated form, all the evils of factory work.

We have been talking about farm operators, but not all farmers are even that. A great many of them are farm laborers, the rural proletariat. The Census of 1930 enumerated two and two-third million farm wage workers and one and one-fourth million unpaid family workers on farms. It is easy to see that the typical farmer is not necessarily independent and free. He is just as likely to be a sharecropper or a farm hand or some other underprivileged laborer, no more independent and no more secure than a worker in a Ford factory.

### Dreams

Now consider the city man. The Romantic Agrarians seem to have a fixed idea that all city people are proletarians. This is not true. A large proportion of city workers engage in dignified, humanized, personalized occupations where they can do their skilled and useful work free from the spectre of extreme need. Consider for example the professions, the clergymen, physicians, nurses, dentists, teachers, librarians, musicians, journalists, civil engineers, and the rest, all of whom are heavily concentrated in the cities. Consider also the small independent business men, grocers, butchers, druggists, real-estate operators. Consider the civil servants, police, mail carriers, and government officials of all ranks and grades. Consider, too, the paper-hangers, bricklayers, plumbers, plasterers. Consider the carpenters who pursue Our Lord's own trade. Often these men own their own businesses. Their life is every bit as dignified and their toil as human and personalized as that of the farmer. The proletariat does not embrace the entire urban population.

When I cite these very unpleasant facts, the Romantic Agrarians may possibly answer that they are not thinking of the present imperfect rural life, but of the ideal rural life of the future. That, of course, is just the point. They are talking about their dreams. They have a right to their dreams, of course, but they must not use these dreams for arguments. Either they should com-

pare the real country of today with the real city of today, or else they should compare their dreams of the future with the parallel dreams of our more optimistic city planners. Let us compare reality with reality or dream with dream. Personally, I prefer to do the former.

### Sanctity in Cities

Now let us turn to a still more important issue—the question of holiness under rural and urban conditions. A correspondent accuses me of implying that urban life is the ideal life. Of course I never said that. I merely said that "the ideal life should be consistent with urban life" (*Social Problems*, Dec. 1933, p. 110). In other words, sanctity is not hopeless for city people. That is the only point I care to defend. The question, then, narrows down to this: In our modern cities, that is, in the cities of the post-Industrial-Revolution era, is it possible to live an ideal lay life, as I said it was?

Let us once more forget our dreams and look at the facts! Do people lead holy lives in modern cities? We can turn to the Church herself for a very convincing answer. Dr. Elizabeth Walsh in her book, *The Saints and Social Work*, examined all the saints and blessed of the last hundred years. Two of them were lay people. Both lived all their lives in cities. Blessed Anna Maria Taigi at Siena and Rome, Blessed Gemma Galgani at Lucca. Only two recent lay people have been beatified, but several others are on their way to beatification. I do not have a complete list of these, but my student, Sister Christina Schwartz, studied forty-one holy persons active in France between 1815 and 1870 and published her results recently in a Catholic University dissertation. Out of the forty-one, there were eight lay people of whom five lived in cities, three in good sized town, and none in the country. Finally, Kempf in *The Holiness of the Church in the Nineteenth Century* lists a number of holy lay people, giving sufficient relevant data on thirteen, of whom eleven spent the major part of their lives in the city, while two lived in towns.

The city has an abundance of parochial schools, high schools, and colleges. The city has churches where the liturgy can be carried out with due magnificence. The city has many special features calculated to nourish piety, such as retreats, study clubs, lectures, novenas, famous preachers, Catholic libraries, pious societies. In a word, the city provides a wide variety of Catholic culture which meets each individual's need.

We need not be surprised, then, that cities have been the traditional centers of Catholic piety, in spite of their evils. For if evils are concentrated in cities, piety is even more concentrated there. St. Peter went to Rome and made it the center of Christianity. Down through the ages cities have nourished piety, and such cities as Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Milan, Paris, are full of holy memories. Christianity is a social religion. Holiness ordinarily depends on being close to our fellow man, not on being close to nature. Therefore, it flourishes under urban conditions, and it is not surprising that heaven should be represented in the Scriptures as a holy city, the New Jerusalem, whose citizens carry on the ideal social life within the intimacy of the communion of saints.

(Rev.) Paul Hanley Furfey

Because the letters in this controversy are unusually long, we find it impossible to print more of them this month. In the January number of *The Catholic Worker* Father John Hugo of Seton Hill College will answer this month's letter from Father Furfey.

## Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

### IV. On a Farming Commune

1. The remedy for unemployment is employment.
2. What the unemployed need is free rent, free fuel, free food; to acquire skill, to improve their minds, to receive spiritual guidance.
3. They can have all that, on a Farming Commune.
4. On a Farming Commune you eat what you raise, and raise what you want to eat.
5. On a Farming Commune a child is an asset, not a liability.

## THE SOWER



—Ade Bethune

6. On a Farming Commune scholars become workers, and workers become scholars.

### V. Firing the Boss

1. The C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. help the worker fight the boss.
2. But the worker must have a boss before the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. can be of any help to the worker in fighting a boss.
3. If it is a good thing to be a boss, it is a good thing to help the worker to be his own boss.
4. If it is a bad thing to exploit the worker, it is a good thing to help the worker exploit himself.
5. "Fire the boss and be your own boss" is a good slogan for the worker.



## FARMING COMMUNE

### ROSIE (THE COW) IS NO MORE

Jim Montague should be writing this article and perhaps before the paper goes to press he will. But I don't know. Rosie was a subject of controversy. She represented a school of thought. And we were all very fond of her. Nobody could write about her like Jim. Many a time we got letters about his farm-page column and many were the inquiries about Rosie. Once when she was ill (and the fact mentioned in the paper) a man from Wall Street called up about her condition. (Of course he didn't know how we felt about her. He was thinking of milk for our children that summer.)

Rosie came even before the farm in the history of the *Catholic Worker* movement. It was this way. We started at the dinner table one night the intense resolve to have a farm before Spring. It was then November and four summers had passed in the *Catholic Worker* history, and still no farm, no matter how much we talked and wrote about the land movement. I was traveling that winter in January through the state of Kansas, a tour arranged by a priest who made a schedule of five talks a day for me. I was whisked about the state so that I scarcely remember where I spoke or whom I met. But there was one family of three, Jewish converts, who became interested in our farm project and donated sixty dollars towards a cow. It was inevitable that a farm should follow.

### Business of Getting A Cow

I remember the day we purchased her. Jim Montague, Eddie Priest, Cy Echele, Bill Callahan and I wandered over the hills along the Delaware to a neighboring farm, through fields, through high grass, through mandrakes, through stubble. It was a sunny May day. A black snake slithered through the grass under our feet.

Our neighbor had a field full of cows, and we could have our pick. Cy and Eddie had both worked on farms and knew how to milk but the rest of us didn't know a thing about it. We expressed our preferences, the farmer obligingly separated half a dozen cows and Cy and Eddie practiced milking them. The one that was easiest to milk we took.

We never regretted our choice. The only thing we did regret was that Rosie was not younger. For she was already an old cow as the veterinary told us some time later.

She was a gentle amiable creature, but not particularly handsome. She was huge, she was a dirty white with a few black speckles here and there. She gave as much as twenty quarts of milk a day at that time. And what was more, she let everybody on the farm milk her, children and adults. All this last Summer Teresa milked her.

### A Bull, A Cow, A Fence

Not only the farm but the city crowd at Mott Street was proud of Rosie. Margaret who was cooking for us at that time had a dream (she was always having dreams) that Rosie ran away and came back bringing three other cows with her. She did indeed run away and Eddie Priest every evening had to wander out to fetch her. Usually she went home and once when they were separating her from the rest, a bull charged them. Rosie and Eddie went through the barbed wire miraculously and Rosie charged home over the hills with Eddie clinging to her tail. Too bad we haven't a picture of it.

We made her feel at home finally and during the course of three years she presented us with Bessie, Gloria, and Billy, the first a rather mean cow, the second met an untimely end falling down the hillside; and Billy remains, a stalwart young bull.

Jim Montague, John Filliger, Luke Finnegan, Arthur Durrenberger and now Raymond Buley all had their turn at taking care of Rosie and her companions and offspring. During her last year, her constant and affectionate companion has been George the goat who followed her around the pastures and accompanied her home at night.

### No Matter How It's Sliced—It's Still Rosie

And now she is no more. No longer did she produce milk for the children and on the advice of the veterinary we hardened our hearts and sold her to a neighboring butcher who is noted for his bologna. We used to enjoy it, but we will not be able to eat any more of it for the next year. We might be eating Rosie. He offered us steaks enough to last for a week, but we all preferred to fast.

Our little sister, the cow Rosie is dead. St. Francis would know how we feel about it. The realistic agrarians will doubtless, as they have so many times in the past, snort at this sentimentality and write withering letters to us.

But to us Rosie meant milk for hundreds of slum children during her four summers. She meant flowers and meadows and sunlight and wind in the grass. She meant the pleasant pungent smell of the barnyard and the singing of the birds in the eaves. She meant early morning freshness and delight to all those hundreds who rose at dawn to milk her. We thank God for our little sister, the cow Rosie, and may He send us another as good.