

CATHOLIC WORKER

Vol. IV. No. 8

DECEMBER, 1936

Price One Cent

SPANISH CATHOLIC FLAYS BOTH SIDES!

Claims Double-Refusal of Communism and Fascism Is Duty of Christians; Rebels Did Not Exhaust Peaceful Means; Both Sides Have Fought Like Savages

The following is a letter received by Emmanuel Meunier, the editor of *Esprit*, the French monthly, and printed in the November issue of that paper. It expresses the stand of *The Catholic Worker* and for that reason we are re-printing it entirely. We are using the front page for this purpose because the civil war in Spain and the stand the Catholics and Communists in other countries are taking is a vital issue today. It is translated from the French by Stephen Johnson.

Before the bloody drama which is turning our unhappy country into a shambles, have all the friends of *ESPRI* in Spain taken that side evoked by the extraordinary moving ads opening the October number? To be able to give evidence in such tragic circumstances one must retire within oneself and probe the very depths of his own conscience. Each man will react according to his temperament and guided by his ideas. But that which can be truly said of those who are bound by the fundamental community of thought and friendship which is the sign of *ESPRI* is that they have made their choice, dramatically conscious of their duty. And however different even, be their grades of thought or position, one common line unites what appears divided, and which is at bottom nothing else but the Divine reflections of the Spanish soul tormented in the terrible present trial.

Testimony of Conscience

Isolated as I am from my other friends, I shall speak only of myself, or better, the conscious reaction which I underwent from the stupid and brutal fact of the war such as it was in its conception and as it has become in reality. For more than three months brothers have been killing one another in the fields and in the towns of Spain. Every day partisan hatred exacts renewed efforts towards the annihilation of the adversary. Hatred mounts all around threatening to submerge all that is left of the human in man. Truceless and merciless, it is the frightful device of this civil war to which the forces in play would devour us all. My only possible attitude as a Christian and a man, is the refusal which I have given.

To take sides under these circumstances would be for me to renounce in some manner this independence which is the mark of the Christian in his power over the world. It would also permit me to be led by people who have unpardonably lost their reason in the ocean of their passions.

This non-partisan position is, I know full well, also a most uncomfortable one, since you receive blows from two sides. It is nevertheless necessary and justly necessary for the direct reason of the risks taken in its adoption. When no voice for peace is listened to, when nobody thinks any longer of fraternity or duties of charity between men who have become enemies, when each one seeks his brother only to kill him, it is then that the Christian voice must honor the greatest scandalizer, the scandal of Truth. It must unwaveringly do its duty.

Negative Technique

Unfortunately, all contemporaneous Spanish politics is inspired by negations. Always the opposition is against some thing, some person, some idea. Each side considers the other revolutionary the moment it throws itself into opposition. The Rightists present a Front in anti-communism, as the Leftists in anti-fascism and each marks his adver-

sary as everyone who does not lift his fist, or stretch out his arm according to the aggressive gymnastics of the salutes in vogue.

Aside from those negations of anticommunism and antifascism and precisely so, since they are nothing but negations, our position of refusal sends forth an affirmative sound of values which seems to us loftier and unknown, although the words which point to them are often used and abused by a deceiving eloquence. Today both sides in the struggle claim they are for defense of culture while their acts revert to an epoch of barbarism that we had a right to believe had gone forever.

Names

The confusion begins by the appellations which each band gives the one facing it. To the Republicans: communists, anarcho-syndicalists are "Loyalists." To whom this loyalty? To the government? But they have always shown themselves more ultra than a democratic Republic and they respect the fruit of suffrage only when it falls into their hands. Scarcely had the Republic veered towards the Right than they launched in October, 1934, an insurrection against it. The more fitting name has been given to them of "governmentees" since it is their government which they defend, that power submissive to their maneuvers, mastered by the proletarian militia to the point where it is nothing but a military power without let or hindrance, dominated by terror and imposing by arms, under the title of the will of the people, the capricious arbitrariness of the Soviet.

On the other hand the Army, with its fascist and traditionalist collaborators, refuses to accept the name of "rebel" or "insurgent." To whom must they be applied if it be not to those who revolt against the established power? They pretend to be the true loyalists, above every legality, by reason of loyalty to country and the national cause. Hence they prefer the name "Nationals." It is always this same paternalistic and exclusivist sense which envenoms relations between citizens from the moment the accusation of being anti-Spain is hurled at a half of the people. And the same illogism holds here as there: the men who revolt when the Republic goes too much to the left are the same who came to its defense against the Leftists two years ago. The bursting out of this civil war, smoldering for some months, was only the breaking of the dams of legality, already very greatly weakened, but still serving to hold back passions in the bosom of the civil struggle without the spilling of its heart's blood.

Travesty of Democracy

The Republic is lost in Spain for lack of real republicans. And if republicans are lacking it is for lack of a true sense of political liberty. Each claims liberty for himself by denying it to his adversary. Man is only liberal when he is oppressed. And even then he is not so from principle but only to regain his own liberty in order to suppress it in others. Governments of the Right, Governments of the Left, all in Spain have confounded the cause of the Republic with the conservation of power as monopolized property, like a permanency of possession that wants no contribution from the morrow.

I do not find it hard to recognize, that since the triumph of the Popular Front, in February, the high bid of the demagogues of the revolutionary parties overawes the Leftwingers of the Republic who at length allow themselves to be driven by the masses to violent means as an almost permanent measure. In these



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mobile, and almost always impulsive masses, were mingled some thousands and thousand. of common law criminals who were freed from jails together with political prisoners. They functioned as a haven for revolt.

Unhappy Choice

What mattered who was to be killed because he refused to raise his fist or refuse to submit to an illegal summons?

The increasing balance of burnt churches, of attacked edifices and innocent victims, signalized mounting anarchy, parallel with the cowardly failure of the public power before its elementary task of assuring to citizens at least some condition of security within the bosom of the law. The State saw itself supplanted by irresponsible organisms and its executives faced with the alternative of having to choose between their prestige (by fulfilling their duty) and their popularity (which meant for them only their Popular Front). They sacrificed the former to the latter.

I am not using any dull tint in painting the preceding picture. But are there colors dark enough to paint what has happened afterwards? This fratricidal slaughter to which sons of a same country are delivered up, can it be justified by a desire to end by it such a situation where many "unauthorized" crimes were done? What more atrocious crime than this civil war, this merciless man hunt, feeding the worst deeds of vengeance, making of each one a spy on his neighbor and of all the country a burning hearth of murderous hatred?

Ethics of Revolt

If one considers the conditions laid down by theologians on the right of insurrection, it would be very difficult for the partisans of the insurgents to plead their cause. No doubt

the laws of the government of the Popular Front could be called tyrannical. The real motives for revolt were furnished by the partiality of a public power which was exercised against half of the people. But if motives existed, the conditions, evidently, were lacking. Neither had the situation reached such extremes that no peaceful means remained, nor was the moral certitude of success assured.

The very open and provocative existence of thousands of socialist and communist workers was known; only too well was the strongly armed organization of the anarchists known as well as the attachment to the government of some Army corps and police headed by favored officers, precisely because of their Leftist leanings. All those elements lined up with the constituted power, increased the chance of government resistance against the assault which the Army was carefully preparing for some months. In fact, the coup d'Etat, the pronunciamiento as such was a dud. But the men who found themselves at the head of the insurrection did not hold back. They embarked on war, that war from its first moment being offensive on the part of the insurgents and defensive on the part of the government. That war which is the most criminal and the vilest means and also the most futile and the most contradictory that could be employed to save a country.

Thou Shalt Not Kill

It is always necessary to recall, to those who forget it, the permanent vigor of the fifth commandment of the Divine Law. What are we to think of so-called Catholics who believe themselves free from its observance because their own particular conception of patriotism is at stake? It is as Catholics and among Catholics that we have to denounce the wrong sense of those of our coreligionists who deliver themselves up to violence, to insult for the pleasure in vexing, to reprisals for the pagan principle of the claw. Where in all this is the teaching of the Gospel?

We must speak our indignation at those ferocious Moorish warriors, disciples of Mahomed, with insignia of the Sacred Heart pinned on their breasts, as they come to kill Spaniards and avenge their ancestors for the cause called National and Catholic. But there is something worse. Combatants shout out "For Christ Our King"; this cry which should be one of peace and love turned into a cry of war and hate to mark the moment of assault by bayonet. Those young boys, Carlist "recruits" who go to kill their brothers outwardly wearing big crucifixes, and who die (even at the age of 16) "for God and for Country!" Is it "for God" also that they kill?

Incompatibility

On the first page of a "Catholic" journal of Navarre there is a photograph of young traditionalist soldiers on their knees and they are communicating. This picture of piety carries a monstrous inscription: "they receive in the full fury of war (en plena furia belica) the Body of the Lord." How harmonize what is incompatible?

We shall keep returning to the critique of means. The holiest end will never suffice to justify a criminal action for all politics must serve Morals. Now war, and from the strongest reason, civil war is avowed to be the most wholly immoral of all means. It is the sum of all the vices and all the passions.

It may be that our action will lead up into isolation, it may be that this our romantic spirituality will be condemned as a folly in this

time of dynamism and realism, as scrupulosity about questions of doctrine. We prefer this solitude to certain compromises, this folly to the wisdom of those who run before the chariots of the victorious. The peace we want will not be established until order shall bow before justice. To this order, there is opposed, on one side, the moral disorder installed in the bosom of bourgeois society, and on the other side blind revolutionaryism, in the blindness of which upright wills are seduced.

New Order

The revolution for order is one for true Christians to make, but it will be no mere single revolt, no explosion of unbridled violence. It will begin only from the moment when a number of Christians will set themselves to live socially their Christianity by a sort of re-conversion. How far removed is this ideal from the actual tragedy of Spain where many Catholics compromise the Church by binding it to a political cause which is not hers, while in revenge furious hordes pillage, burn and kill all that in their eyes represents religion. This religion which suffers equally from the hatred of its enemies and the mystification of too many who call themselves its champions.

In the beginning of the insurrection right was indisputably on the side of the government and against the insurgents. The latter were the aggressors. The regime had to defend itself with all its forces. Unhappily the forces under control of the government soon proved insufficient to break the action of the revolt; and the cabinet calling upon the support of the proletarian revolutionary militia, launched upon a path full of perils which it could no longer retrace. The original bond between the militia and the government is their attachment to its cause.

The whole task of reabsorption undertaken by the power desirous for the successful integration of party militias into a sort of popular disciplined army, will end in a sad consequence. These militias are the ones who withstood the first insurgent attack, and for that the government is their prisoner.

Ethics of Defense

By exercising the power of legitimate defense beyond all reason, by anarchistic action and terroristic bands of militiamen (or by freed criminals in the guise of wanton women to commit the most fearful excesses and the most awful vengeance) the moral position of the government was weakened greatly. For if armed opposition to the insurgents was absolutely justified, even with the help of those improvised and irregular bands, from the moment that the action of those armed bands was directed against all society, by pillage and red terror exercised against peaceful citizens who made up the non-insurgent civil population, this abuse of means, going beyond defense, weakened the right which in the beginning was very manifestly on the side of the government.

I am always and everywhere the foe of militarism. But the militarism of civilians is more formidable still than that of the military. Where is the room for the spirit which is liberty, in this society of Corporal Guards, uniformed and goose-stepped by an omnipotent and omnipresent authoritarian system? On both Fronts of Spain the same phenomenon strikes us. The citizen degenerated into a soldier becomes proud of his trade because he feels the sense of power and is above the law. Those who formerly prided them-

(Continued on page 8)

Seamen's Morale High as Officers Walk Off Ships

Chinese Crew, Unable to Join, Sends Money and Sympathy to Strikers

By JOSEPH HUGHES

This is the fifth attempt at writing on the seamen's strike today. The start was made this morning in the front office on Mott Street but room had to be made for the growing number of men who come in for coffee, bread and butter. After all their care is more important than writing.

The second attempt was frustrated in the community room where six boxes of warm clothing came in followed by several thinly clad men who surrounded Miss Clements, hoping for warm underwear or an overcoat. I'm finally back where I began and all is quite and peaceful now.

High Morale

The spirit is high on the waterfront today as the Masters, Mates, and Pilots together with the Engineers just came out to swell the ranks of the striking seamen. Perhaps one voyage with incompetent strike breaking crews was more than they could tolerate.

The seamen are hoping that the much abused longshoremen will come out soon to join in the struggle and better their own miserable conditions. Their reactionary, politician, Union officials tell them the seamen are responsible for the slack times. The longshoremen realize, however, that the seamen's strike was brought on by the arbitrary and un-American acts of the shipowners in trying to take away the gains secured by the 1934 west coast strike.

Seamen's Rights

The seamen are demanding control of their own Union hiring hall, payment for overtime and their constitutional right of collective bargaining. It is difficult to see anything extreme in these requests.

The shipowners are enjoying mounting profits and are all lined up to get their share of the \$100,000,000 ship subsidy the government is ready to hand out. This is the tax payers' money and is being spent on a vital national industry. The shipowners don't seem to realize that part of this is to be used for the comfort and safety of passengers and crew.

Safety at Sea

Laws, rules, or regulations regarding safety at sea mean nothing unless the ship is manned by a properly fed, decently quartered crew living under human conditions. The only real sea hazard existing today is a poorly paid, exploited personnel living under inhuman conditions.

The seaman leaving port is an entirely different man from the seaman ashore. He knows the ship, he knows the sea, and realizes his great responsibility. He is ever alert and watchful for the small things that could develop into major disaster. He has the safety of passengers and crew more at heart than the profit-hungry shipowners ever could have.

Seamen Watchful

It was the seamen last spring who pointed out the safety violations and demanded their correction. It was the striking seamen too who caused the S. S. Washington to be halted and the crew investigated. The results were that a stone deaf Engineer and other incompetents were put ashore.

By night as well as by day the picketing of piers and shipping agencies goes on. Strike headquarters is seething with activity day and night, the Watchers being dispatched to various piers, the contacts being sent to ships arriving from long voyages, speakers going from place to place to acquaint the public with the true facts of the situation existing within the Merchant Marine.

Picket Lines

Tired men in from a night's vigil on the foggy waterfront, sprawled

Labor-Spy Network, Fink Tactics Come to Light

The gentle uses that American capitalists make of professional labor spies and strike-breakers were again revealed last week in investigations made by the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee and by the National Labor Relations Board, which is probing the Remington Rand strike.

Four officials of the Railway Audit and Inspection Company refused to appear and were arrested for contempt of the Senate after they had torn up and thrown away their records. Fortunately, committee investigators were watching the wastebasket disposal, retrieved the records and patched them together.

From these records the committee was able to establish that the Railway Audit and Inspection Company was a huge labor espionage concern with a network of labor spies in industrial concerns, mills, and business offices throughout the country.

Tough Guy

Appearing before the Rand investigators, Sam ("Chowderhead") Cohen, arrested 15 times and convicted three times, was asked whether he gave references for the job of protecting life and property as a guard at the Rand plant in Middletown, Conn.

"You see," said Cohen, "in this line of work they never ask for no references."

"Did you tell them—?" began the examiner.

"Tell 'em nuttin'! Tell 'em anything!" he exclaimed. "Just a bunch of boys that went to work, that's all."

Another witness at the hearing, Norbert F. Williams, an employee of Pearl S. Bergoff, head of a successful strike-breaking agency, and a more intelligent fink than Mr. Cohen, had a calling card that entitled him "an industrial diplomat."

Logic Confuser

Mr. Williams told how he had received \$10 a day from Bergoff and later \$15 a day from Remington Rand for contacting strikers.

"The idea was to confuse the strikers' logic," he explained.

"The union had kept them from getting a pay cut. We would confuse them about that and show that they were now losing a lot of work. We'd explain to them that the union



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leaders are just feathering their own nests and the members don't get anything but paying dues and losing a lot of work."

"Did you believe what you said?" asked the examiner.

"No," said Williams, when strenuous objections of the company's counsel had been overruled. "I didn't believe it."

And for so much honesty we congratulate Mr. Williams.

No Flattery

Let no man, therefore, dearly beloved, flatter himself on any merits of a good life, if works of charity be wanting in him, and let him not trust in the purity of his body, if he be not cleansed by the purification of almsgiving.—St. Leo the Great.

over benches after being relieved by others to continue the never ending picket line.

Joe Curran's "outlaws" will remain outlaws until the steamship owner decides to keep within the law and fulfill his duty to the personnel and sea going public.

Brotherhood

All color, race and creed is forgotten and there is a real brotherhood. (Continued on page 6)

"PAX"

A Group of Catholic Conscientious Objectors

The following is the leaflet distributed by PAX, of England. The recently formed American group will subscribe to the same principles, objects and methods. We have, already, received many letters requesting membership, and containing welcome suggestions and criticism. During the month, mimeographed copies of the American setup of PAX will be sent to all who wrote to us. We welcome the membership of all others who feel their convictions will permit them to join.

"Pax" is an association of those who maintain that spiritual activity and personal integrity are the first means towards the removal of the causes of war and that all men of good will have the duty to work actively for peace and justice; and that, meanwhile, individuals have the right to abstain, on grounds of conscience, from any sort of warlike activity.

PRINCIPLES

Though the use of force for the vindication of an undoubted right is in some circumstances and under certain conditions allowable to mankind, both individually and collectively, nevertheless under the conditions of today in all wars waged between nations for national ends the moral and physical evils involved must enormously exceed any possible legitimate gains by either side.

For this and other reasons such wars are morally unjustifiable.

It follows that those who are convinced of the truth of this have the duty to do every legitimate thing in their power to remove the causes of such wars and to encourage policies and individual action that would hamper warlike activity, and consequently have the right and duty to refuse to take part in such wars.

OBJECTS

Primary

(1) To form a permanent and representative body in order to give corporate background and moral support to those who on grounds of Catholic Christian morality and principle (or simply on grounds of the God-given natural reason) hold the above views and wish to act accordingly, but who will not join peace organizations that profess the doctrine of the intrinsic unlawfulness of all war.

(2) To give practical support and professional help to those of any nationality who at any time come into collision with the civil or military authorities on account of conscientious refusal of military service, &c.

Secondary

(3) To spread knowledge of traditional Christian teaching on the unity of mankind, the nature and limits of patriotism, the use of war, &c.

(4) To support the establishment of an effective and universally accepted supranational instrument for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, or any other policy which is calculated to safeguard peace and justice throughout the world.

METHODS

Primary

(1) Prayer.
(2) The use of personal influence in the day-to-day intercourse of life towards attainment of the above objects.

Secondary

(3) Collective work of study, propaganda, &c., towards attainment of those objects.

(4) Co-operation with the activities of other peace organizations in so far as they are not in conflict with the principles of "Pax."

MEMBERSHIP

Any person over 18 years of age, of any nationality or religion, who accepts the principles and objects of the association shall be eligible for membership.

A short commentary on the principles and objects of "Pax" by the president, Mr. E. I. Watkin, will be published in due course. "Pax" has no political affiliations or interests.



BETRAYING CHRIST

Jacques Maritain says:

1. It is often a temptation to use unChristian means, and so misrepresent Christianity, for the sake of making it prevail.
2. This is the most treacherous way to betray Christianity.

KINDNESS

1. We betray the true Christ—just as Judas betrayed Him—when we pretend to help our brothers in Christ and we feed their bodies, without kindness and love, without feeding their souls where Christ lives.
2. Unless we spread kindness, joy, radiance,



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peace, happiness, in the very manner in which we give help, our gift is but ashes.

3. If I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor, and if I should deliver my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profits nothing.
4. If I do good to my neighbor for the sake of pride, it profits nothing. It betrays Christ.
5. But if I do good to my neighbor for the sake of Christ, it builds up Christianity unto life everlasting.
6. Pride pretends to impress the worldly-wise, and so betrays Christ.
7. But Christians try to imprint kindness and forgiveness with the Spirit of Christ.

ACTION

1. We also betray the true Christ—just as Judas betrayed Him—when we pretend to know what is good without choosing to do it.
2. Unless we use our free-will to choose deliberately what is best in us, we betray Christ. Who is the best within us.
3. Unless we obey our conscience and choose deliberately to do the best (even in little daily actions) that we possibly can, we betray our conscience, which is the Christ within in.
4. Pride claims to know what is worldly-wise better than Christ, the Wisdom.
5. But Christians try to do what they know is Christ-wise with the Holy Spirit of charity.

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Recognize Christ

In the needy and poor we recognize the person of Jesus Christ, our Lord Himself, Who though He was rich, as says the blessed Apostle, became poor that He might enrich us by His poverty. And that His presence might never seem wanting to us, He so effected this mystic union of His humility and His glory that while we adore Him as Being and Lord in the majesty of the Father, we might also feed Him in His poor, for which we shall be set free in the evil day.—St. Leo the Great.

Planter Jailed For Enslaving Negro Farmers

Sharecroppers Justified in Union Fight for Basic Liberties

The sharecroppers have won their first victory in the courts.

Convicted by a Federal Court jury of attempting to enslave Negro members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union during the latter's strike last summer, Paul D. Peacher, city marshal of Earle, Ark., last week received a sentence of two years in jail and \$3,500 fine. He was the first person ever to be indicted under the Federal anti-slavery statute of 1866.

Thus the persistent efforts of this courageous young union to win for its members some of the basic rights of American citizens appeared to be making headway against the lawless violence of planters and landlords in the South.

Peacher was one of these planters who, by reason of his official position, was able to get away with the arrest of eight Negroes, some from their own homes, on charges of vagrancy, was able to secure sentences which he then forced them to work out on his own farm.

Nice Fellow

It developed that Peacher had been the only witness at the Negroes' trials, which he claimed to have been "regular," that he had never made a valid contract with the county to work them on his farm, that he had filed a bond only after the union had forced a Federal investigation, that he had given none of the prisoners food for three days after their arrest.

The jury of white business men and farmers deliberated for an hour and a half, returned to the courtroom for advice from Judge Martineau, who told them that "every circumstance in the case points to the guilt of this man." Even then it took the jury another hour to convict, at which time it recommended clemency.

Right Political Action In Resettlement Project

An example of the right kind of political action is the resettlement of 135 New York farmers and their families, some 700 persons in all, from unproductive onto productive farms, a project now being carried out by the Resettlement Administration of the federal government.

This is the first resettlement of farmers in the East, according to M. J. Dorothy M. Beck, regional director, who pointed out that the Hightstown, N. J., project involved only urban dwellers.

40-Year Loans

The land on the farms from which the farmers are being removed will be used for reforestation purposes, conservation projects and wild life preserves.

In their new homes the farmers will be provided with a modern house, farming equipment, horses, cows, mules and other necessities. To repay their loans for land and buildings they will have 40 years and 10 years to pay for livestock and equipment.

Occasion of Sin

Not only are spiritual riches and heavenly gifts received from God, but earthly and material possessions also proceed from His bounty. God's gifts, therefore, we must use properly and wisely, lest the material for good work should become an occasion of sin.—St. Leo the Great.

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short
Archbishop Murray
calls particular attention
fallacy of this age, "when men
seem to have lost the appreciation
of Christianity as divine life rather
than a set of dogmas or a codifica-
tion of laws, it seems providential
that the Mystical Body of Christ has
become the basis for the spiritual
reconstruction of society and the
intensification of the mystical life
in the souls of the faithful."

The account of St. Paul's contribu-
tion to the doctrine is the most in-
teresting part of the book, but the
author dares with brilliant results
to bring his concept down through
the various Fathers to the present
era. It is, in fact, a simplification of
a divine ideal, asceticism, which
links every Catholic black, red,
yellow, and white, with their
brother, Jesus Christ. All men are
potential members of the Mystical
Body of Christ. All men possess a
latent right to the reception of divine
gifts and to participation in the
blessings that flow from the head-
ship of Christ.

The graces of the Head, however,
are transmitted to them only on con-
dition that they become actual (and
active) members of the visible mysti-
cal organism. The human branches
live and bear fruit if the obstacle
engendered by sin is removed, and
if they are engrafted in the vine—
the mystical Christ. In this manner
only are the grace, the justice, and
the life of Christ brought to men,
who by the aid of divine mercy and
divine favor, become brothers of
Christ and children of God.

Neerb.

The first year is over—the reckon-
ing has been made. We started with
ten members, and now there are 52.
The balance sheet shows a fair
amount of business, in round num-
bers, \$5,000 for the year. Of course
the Catholic Worker, our "group
member," claims about \$1,600 of
this.

Our merchandise is good co-opera-
tive products, whatever we can ob-
tain, with standard brands to supply
the rest of the demand. We are
especially proud of our own prod-
ucts, jellies, jams, preserves, canned
fruit, and chow-chow.

Human Factor

So little I shall dare to say for the
balance sheet, but so very much is
there to be said for the human needs
and relationships. Economic and
social, the dualism of co-operation.
A keen business man can establish a
successful enterprise; an intelligent
social worker can help improve the
status of her patients. But let the
people themselves come together,
and with their own economic re-
sources improve their standard of
living—that is co-operation.

During the first months we were
so busy with the business side of co-
operation that I really believe we
neglected co-operating with our
neighbors. Human needs and homely
incidents are now bringing us closer.

Hot Routine

Let us focus on a few happenings
typical of our daily routine.

It is 8:30 a.m., a Saturday in July,
during that four-day heat wave.
Two of us arrived at Fedeco's ready
for work. One of the boys was
there straightening the store; the
other arrived at 9:30 a.m. disgusted
with humanity. Even at this early
hour the heat was considerable; the
humidity very disagreeable. A few
orders were listed for delivery, and
some merchandise had to be picked
up.

Somehow our ingeniously in-
vented, padlocked box was filled
with the first order for the C. W.
The boy was just pulling out when
he had to stop to make repairs on
the bicycle, our iron steed of splen-
did spirit, but dilapidated body. As
there was not enough cash to pay for
the necessary merchandise, one of the
members advanced it.

"Luscious Tomatoes"

The boys alternated at those ardu-
ous trips, pedalling over cobb-
lestone streets or pushing through
asphalt oozing from the heat to that
congested section of the East Side
where the C. W. dares to live.

Although we had lost the daily
personal contact with the C. W.
when they moved to Mott Street and
out to the Farm, our mutual under-
standing and appreciation seemed
ever to be increasing. How refresh-
ing it was just to look at the to-
matoes, so luscious and meaty, which
we received direct from the Farm!
Our neighbors and members clamored
for more.

The intensity of the heat, the on-
pressive humidity, the grimy, blister-
hot pavements; the shadeless
trees; canned noises; the irritability
of some people and the world-weari-
ness of others intensified human im-
patience.

Longings

Some one wished for a place in the
country—at the water's edge—and
with many trees.

Some of our members were away
enjoying their well-earned vaca-
tions at the seashore or in the coun-
try. Others found it too taxing to
come to the store after working-
hours, or even week-ends, so there
was a lapse of interest, and conse-
quently our income dwindled.

A few individuals persisted in
their efforts, but sales continued to
drop. We had to tell the two young
men that there was only \$1 a day for
wages, and later possibly less. We

asked them to help solve the prob-
lem. Close the store? Let only one
man work?

Strikes

We were soon greeted with their
reply. "Strike! We demand No
Wages and Longer Hours!" They
lost the immediate issue, but gained
a deep respect and recognition of
their understanding of co-operation.

On toward Labor Day week-end,
rumors of a milk-strike spread; the
certainty of a rise in price was
apparent.

The crisis came on Labor Day. Al-
though a co-operative does not try to
undersell its competitors, we could
buy milk at a price permit-
ting resale at 11 cents a quart. So,
hand in hand with the N. Y. C.
Board of Health and the Consumers'
Milk Committee, we "sold for use
and not for profit."

Carry On

Perhaps, Miss Day, I have failed
to tell you enough about the business
set-up, money, percentages, and mer-
chandise. I shall be happy to write
again, but even as today I shall be
continuously interrupted by calls on
the telephone and persons in the
store.

Last night Mr. May, head of the
Wholesale Co-operative Society in
England, called at Fedeco's. His en-
couraging remarks inspired us to
carry on the work of social-economic
co-operation which I believe is the
greatest help to maintain peace.

Opposing Communism

"In the social domain Catholics
behave there as in the moral domain
in which they always prefer a posi-
tive method to that of interdiction.

"The principle of Christian mor-
ality was laid down by St. Augustine
when he promulgated his famous
maxim, 'Love and do what you like.'

"It is a case of planting a principle
so powerfully as to seize upon and
gradually imbue all the powers of
the soul . . .

"And in like manner with regard
to social abuses, to a direct opposi-
tion it prefers either a kind of un-
dermining and pernicious passion
or the development of institutions or
virtues incompatible with disorder
and drawing to themselves life and
interest. It is in one word, the ap-
plication of the apostle's recommen-
dation:

"Be not overcome by evil, but
overcome evil by good."

—Paul Claudel.

"Before very long all real political
scientists will be forced to admit that
we are in the stages of incipient
Fascism."—Vice-President Francis J.
Gorman, United Textile Workers.

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lem. Close the store? Let only one
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carry on the work of social-economic
co-operation which I believe is the
greatest help to maintain peace.

Back to Newmanism

I. NO RECOURSE

1. Politicians used to say:
"We make prosperity
through our wise policies."
2. Business men used to say:
"We make prosperity
through our private enterprise."
3. Workingmen had nothing to do
about the matter.
4. They were either put to work
or thrown out
of employment.
5. And when unemployment came,
the workers had no recourse
against the professed makers
of prosperity,
politicians and business men.

II. POLITICS vs. POLITICS

1. A politician is an artist
in the art
of following the wind
of public opinion.
2. He who follows the wind
of public opinion
does not follow
his own judgment.
3. He who does not follow
his own judgment
can not lead people
out of the beaten path.
4. When people stand back
of politicians
and politicians
stand back of the people,
people and politicians
go around in a circle
and get nowhere.

III. BUSINESS IS BUSINESS

1. Business men say
that man
is naturally selfish.
2. And because man
is naturally selfish,
business men maintain
that business



FATHER DAMIAN
Ade Bethune

- must be based
on selfishness.
3. But when business
is based on selfishness
everybody is busy
becoming more selfish.
 4. And when everybody is busy
becoming more selfish
you have classes
and clashes.

IV. BOURGEOIS SLOGANS

1. Service for profits.
2. Time is money.
3. Cash and carry.
4. Business is business.
5. Keep smiling.
6. Watch your step.
7. How's the rush?
8. How are you making out?
9. The law of supply
and demand.
10. Competition
is the life of trade.
11. Your dollar
is your best friend.
12. So's your old man.
13. You're all wet.
14. So what?

V. TEACHERS OF SUBJECTS

1. Our business managers
don't know
how to manage
the things
they try to manage,
because they don't understand
the things
they try to manage.
2. So they turn

to college professors
in the hope to understand
the things
they try to manage
But college professors
are first of all
teachers of subjects
And mastering subjects
does not enable people
to master situations.

VI. NOT MY SUBJECT

1. A few years ago
I asked a well-known professor
to give me the formulation
of those universal concepts
embodied
in the universal message
of universal universities
that will enable
the common man
to create
a universal economy.
2. And the well-known professor
answered
"That is not my subject."
3. Modern education
turns out specialists,
knowing more and more
about less and less.

VII. THE N. R. A.

1. General Johnson said
that the N. R. A.
was like a horse
trying to pull
in different directions.
2. At the head of the horse
were business men
pulling the horse
toward recovery.
3. At the tail of the horse
were the Brain Trust
pulling the horse
toward reform.
4. Pulled both ways
the horse could not move;
it stood still.
5. And the nine judges
of the Supreme Court,
looking at the whole thing,
could not make
head or tail
out of it.

VIII. UNITY OF THOUGHT

1. Henry Adams
says in his autobiography
that you cannot
get an education
in modern America
because there is no
unity of thought
in modern America.
2. And he found out
that the same thing applies
to modern England
and to modern France.
3. But looking at
the cathedral of Chartres
and the Mont St. Michel
he realized
that it was possible
to get an education
in 13th century France
because there was
unity of thought
in 13th century France

IX. ABOUT TEXTBOOKS

President Hutchins of the University
of Chicago says:

1. "How can we call
a man educated
who has not read
any of the great books
of the Western World?"
2. "Yet today,
it is entirely possible
for a student
to graduate
from the finest
American colleges
without having read
any of them
except perhaps Shakespeare."
3. "Of course the student
may have read those books
or at least
of their authors."
4. "But this knowledge
is gained in general
through textbooks."
5. "And the textbooks have prob-
ably
done as much
to degrade American intelligence
as any single force."

X. IT MUST BE USED

Cardinal Newman says:

1. "If the intellect
is a good thing,
then its cultivation
is an excellent thing."
2. "It must be cultivated
not only as a good thing,
but as a useful thing."
3. "It must not be useful
in any low,
mechanical,
material sense."
4. "It must be useful
in the spreading
of goodness."
5. "It must be used
by the owner
for the good
of himself
and for the good
of the world."

XI. FR. VIRGIL MICHEL PAMPHLETS

1. Human Rights.
2. Ownership.
3. Labor and Industry.
4. The Nature of Capitalism.

Right of Refuge Denied By Modern Machiavellians

A Catholic refugee from Germany
wrote the following story for THE
CATHOLIC WORKER.

It is supposed to be an interna-
tional rule observed by all civilized
nations since pre-Christian days that
political refugees cannot be deliv-
ered to their former political police
authorities. The United States and
Great Britain as well as France have
always closely watched over this
humanitarian principle.

The following stories seem hardly
believable, but as they have been
confirmed by reports in our daily
newspapers there must be some
truth in them. The Brazilian gov-
ernment has delivered German refu-
gees to the German authorities
aboard the German liner La Corina.
Miss Olga Benario Prestes and the
wife of a former leftist deputy to the
Reichstag, Mrs. Ewert, who was
pregnant, were forced to go on board
these ships. When they arrived in
Hamburg they were at once arrested
by the German "Gestapo" or Secret
Political State Police, an equivalent
to the Russian O. G. P. U.

A similar case has been reported
about a German refugee named
Roesche whom the Dutch police
handed over to the German political
police although he could prove the
political character of his offense.

At the same time there have been
alarming news about an agreement
between German authorities and the
so-called Rebels in the Balearic
Islands, who are said to have put
German political refugees on board
the German S. S. Gneisenau, where
they have been arrested by the Ges-
tapo agents.

Officer Shot

A German pacifist, Heinz Kra-
shuzki, who was an officer of the
German Navy during the World War
and who left Germany when it be-
came evident that his activities for
peace would be forbidden under
Hitler's new government, lived as a
merchant on the isles of Majorca.
He was arrested by the Rebel extra-
ordinary police. Some days after
that event, his wife was informed
that he had been shot. Since his ar-
rival in Spain he had absolutely
withdrawn from all political activity.
It is supposed that his death was de-
manded by Nazi agents in the rebel
forces on the isle. A protest from
the High Commissioner for German
refugees, Sir Malcolm Neill, arrived
too late.

These violations of the laws of in-
ternational asylum rights are an
ever increasing concern since the
days when the Bolsheviks kidnapped
General Kutieff, head of the Rus-
sian refugees in Paris, ten years ago.
As the right of asylum of the
Church, highly respected throughout
the Middle Ages, is no more recog-
nized by our present laws, the se-
curity of political refugees is in the
hands of the governments. These
recent events show how little respect
some of them pay to the funda-
mental rights of humanity.

VERITAS.

5. Critique of Capitalism.
6. Ideals of Reconstruction.
7. Reconstruction Schemes.
8. Money and the Common Good.
9. The Theory of the State.
10. Saint Thomas and Today.

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128 East Tenth St.,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

"Numerous troops and an infinite
development of military display can
sometimes withstand hostile at-
tacks but they cannot procure sure
and lasting tranquility. The men-
acing increase of armies tends more
to excite than to suppress rivalry
and suspicion." Leo XIII.

EXHIBIT
OF
Work of C. W. Artist
Constance Mary Rowe
AT
HEADQUARTERS OF
CATHOLIC THOUGHT
ASSOCIATION
34 E. 61st ST.
NEW YORK CITY

THE CATHOLIC WORKER

(Member of Catholic Press Association)

Published and edited monthly by DOROTHY DAY,
at 115 Mott St., New York City

WILLIAM M. CALLAHAN, Managing Editor

PETER MAURIN, EDWARD K. PRIEST, Editorial Staff;
BETHUNE, Art; JAMES F. MONTAGUE, Farm Manager; D.
IRWIN, Bursar; MARTIN F. O'DONNELL, Circulation.

Easton Office

Farm

142 So. 4th St., Easton, Pa.

R.F.D. No. 4, Easton, Pa.

St. Joseph's House and Propaganda Headquarters, 115 Mott St., N. Y. C.

Subscription, United States, 25c Yearly. Canada and Foreign, 30c Yearly. Sub-
scription rate of one cent per copy plus postage applies to bundles of one
hundred or more copies each month for one year to be directed to one address.Notify of change of address, giving both the OLD and the NEW. Requests for
new subscriptions, renewals, change of address and discontinuance should be sent
to this office (115 Mott Street) at least two weeks before they are to go into effect.Entered as Second Class Matter, December 5, 1934, at the Post Office
of New York, N. Y., Under the Act of March 3, 1879

HOUSES OF HOSPITALITY

During this last month news comes in that our fellow workers in Rochester, Pittsburgh and Chicago want to start Houses of Hospitality. Already over in England, the staff of The English Catholic Worker have opened a House. We know the difficulties of the undertaking so it is in place to reiterate some of the principles by which we began our work.

We emphasize again the necessity of smallness. The idea, of course, would be that each Christian, conscious of his duty in the lay apostolate, should take in one of the homeless as an honored guest, remembering Christ's words,

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, ye have done it unto me."

The poor are more conscious of this obligation than those who are comfortably off. We know of any number of cases where families already overburdened and crowded, have taken in orphaned children, homeless aged, poor who were not members of their families but who were akin to them because they were fellow sufferers in this disordered world.

So first of all let us say that those of our readers who are interested in Houses of Hospitality might first of all try to take some one into their homes.

Several of the women workers of our group here in New York who have jobs have moved down to Mott street now and taken little slum apartments and are offering a room and bed and board to our overflow. They are exemplifying perfectly the idea of hospitality.

But if family complications make this impossible, then let our friends keep in mind the small beginnings. I might almost say that it is impossible to do this work unless they themselves are ready to live there with their guests, who soon cease to become guests and become fellow workers. It is necessary, because those who have the ideal in mind, who have the will to make the beginnings, must be the ones who are on hand to guide the work. Otherwise it is just another charity organization, and the homeless might as well go to the missions or municipal lodging houses or breadlines which throughout the depression have become well organized almost as a permanent part of our civilization. And that we certainly do not want to perpetuate.

Cyril Echele, out in St. Louis, is beginning in the right way. Read his letter in this issue of the paper. He is starting with a store and with whatever means come to hand. Clothes, some food, some furniture comes in. He is getting along with what he has, and the work will grow.

We began with a store, went on to an apartment rented in the neighborhood, from thence we moved to a twelve-room house, and now we have twenty-four rooms here in Mott street.

It is not enough to feed and shelter those who come. The work of indoctrination must go on. There must be time for conversations, and what better place than over the supper table? There must be meetings, discussion groups, the distribution of literature. There must be some one always on hand to do whatever comes up, whether that emergency is to go out on a picket line, attend a Communist meeting for the purpose of distributing literature, care for the sick or settle disputes. And there are always arguments and differences of opinion in work of this kind, and it is good that it should be so because it makes for clarification of thought, as Peter says, and cultivates the art of human contacts.

We call attention again to the fact that the Communists have set themselves to do four things, according to the reports of the last meeting of the Third International: to build up anti-war and anti-fascist groups in the colleges; to organize the industrial workers; to start a farm-labor party and to organize the unemployed.

Houses of Hospitality will bring workers and scholars together. They will provide a place for industrial workers to discuss Christian principles of organization as set forth in the encyclicals. They will emphasize personal action, personal responsibility as opposed to political action and state responsibility. They will care for the unemployed and teach principles of cooperation and mutual aid. They will be a half-way house towards farming communes and homesteads.

We have a big program but we warn our fellow workers to keep in mind small beginnings. The smaller the group, the more work is done.

And let us remember, "Unless the Lord build the House, they labor in vain that build it."

...of a calf
...Worker Farm. At
...clock in the afternoon Victor
left his pots and pans to go up to
the barn cistern for water, and
looked in to say hello to the cow.
She was placidly munching then.
An hour later Jim and John Fillinger
went in, and there was the calf. I
got down to the farm three hours
later and the little one was gambol-
ing around, answering to the name
of Bess, and actually cavorting with
the joy of life that was in her.

The boys had fixed up the barn
new roof, new sides, whitewashed
within, lots of bedding on the floor,
and everything so snug and bright
that it was a pleasure to contem-
plate the scene. It was dark and the
light of the lantern cast long shad-
ows. Never again will I meditate
on the third joyful mystery without
thinking of that scene which brought
home so closely the birth of our
Saviour amidst the kindly beasts of
the field.

We were all so happy, and it was
one of those moments of pure un-
alloyed joy so rare in this life.

Mott Street

Contrasted with this warm, homely
scene, is the one at Mott street every
morning when a hundred men or so
come in to have cups of coffee. They
are without coats, many of them
without underwear. Their feet show
bare through the cracks in their
shoes. We haven't even women's
sweaters to give them. By eight
o'clock as I am coming from the
seven o'clock mass the fire is roar-
ing in the kitchen back of the store
where we hold our meetings, but
the front store is cold. We make
about nine gallons of coffee in two
big pots, and put the cans of milk
and the sugar in it. We have about
forty cups and everyone has to take
his turn. There is never enough
bread to go round.

Personal Responsibility

We didn't have any intention of
starting a coffee line. When we
didn't have clothes we invited the
men to have a cup of coffee. With
the cold weather the group has
grown steadily larger. We work
without equipment, and the men



haven't even any room to sit down.
We haven't any money left in the
bank after buying stamps to mail
out this issue and we can't charge
stuff for more than a week at a
time from the co-operative grocers
who are struggling along without
funds. But that is all in the hands
of St. Joseph. He is our patron and
householder and it is up to him to
take care of these needs. I haven't
any doubts about it. I've seen him
perform daily miracles around here
for the past three and a half years
and I know that if we do our share,
he is perfectly faithful about ful-
filling his obligations. Our share is
to give up everything but coffee and
bread ourselves for breakfast, and
then we can be assured that he will
feed the rest.

There are bright aspects to the
morning work. One of them is the
radio hour of symphonic music over
WNYC. Thanks be to God for that.
We have coffee to the tune of Mo-
zart, Beethoven, Wagner and Tcha-
kovsky. We serve notice on WNYC
that we don't care for concertos or
chamber music. We like something
loud and resounding.

Another bright spot is contem-
plating how men, deprived of all
worldly goods, insufficiently clad
and fed, maintain their courage and
dignity as men. Of course there are
those who drink and I must con-
fess to a lack of patience with them.
But the majority of them are truly
men and I respect them for their
endurance and for their patience,
and for the hope which they cling
to in the face of tremendous odds.

Protestants

During the month a Protestant
group of nurses from Hackensack,
New Jersey, were brought on a
Reconciliation Tour to visit the head-
quarters of the Catholic Worker and
lunch with us. There were too many
to feed at once, so while one batch
were eating—it was Sunday noon—I
talked to them and told them our
aims and purposes; and when Peter
Maurin had finished talking to the
(Continued on page 7)

...law on
O ROOT OF
ples; before whom
nations shall pray; Wait
O KEY OF DAVID, and se
opens and no man shuts; who shut
Lead the captive from prison, sitting
shadow of death!
O ORIENT, splendor of eternal light and S
Come! And enlighten them that sit in darkness and in
shadow of death!
O KING OF THE NATIONS and their desired one, and the
Corner-Stone that maketh both one; Come! And save man
whom thou madest from dust!
O EMMANUEL, our King and Lawgiver, the Expectation
and Saviour of the nations; Come! And save us, O Lord our
God!

BOOK REVIEWS

A Changing Russia

SOVIET MAN—NOW. By Helen
Iswoolsky, Sheed and Ward; \$1.00; 88
pages.

This is required reading, and not
much required either, because the
book is short, well-written and trans-
lated, and very interesting.

The author, a young Russian emi-
grée living in Paris, shows that dur-
ing the last two years, starting with
the abolition of the bread cards on
November 28, 1934, a series of sig-
nificant reforms and developments
has changed the aspect of Commun-
ism, as practiced now in Russia, to an
important degree.

Stalin and his henchmen have ap-
parently begun to see that not for-
ever can man be inhuman to man
and get away with it. They have
padded the iron mould at several
points, almost melted it at others. It
remains, however, an iron mould.

Preferred to Starve

Besides the suppression of the nox-
ious food cards, Moscow has relaxed
its ruthless policy toward the peas-
ants (mostly because the peasant
preferred to starve to death rather
than tolerate that policy), has given
babies back to their mothers,
strengthened the family, modified
education on bourgeois lines and
opened colleges to non-proletarians,
made representation more demo-
cratic.

Among the Soviet thinkers, led by
Maxim Gorki, there has been an in-
creasing use of the word, "human-
ism." No matter if it is still ma-
terialist humanism, there is a grow-
ing emphasis on the "free creation"
that is essential to man's happiness
as man. No matter if that free crea-
tion is still impossible in the
U.S.S.R.; these things must come
slowly. Russia is waking up.

"The artificial Communist man,
fabricated by the ideologists of Mos-
cow, has certainly no craving for
spiritual food, but the man of 1936,
who really exists at the present day
in the U.S.S.R., hungers and thirsts
after transcendent justice."

Millions and Martyrs

And how is he going to get it? The
author shows, as Berdyayev has said,
that "Communist liberty confers no
liberty on those who refuse to adhere
to the one and only saving Faith, to
the one and only doctrine. It de-
prives its opponents of every right."
It is estimated, on reliable sources,
that seven million men and women
have been sentenced to prisons, con-
centration camps and transportation
for denying this concept of liberty.

Many of these were so sentenced
for attempting to preach "transcend-
ent justice." Driven underground,
however, persecuted and martyred,
the Orthodox and Catholic faithful
have realized reconciliation and
union in a wholly supernatural man-
ner, have found "a new brotherhood
in common suffering, in imitation of
Christ crucified. . . undoubtedly the
greatest miracle of present-day
Christianity."

Perhaps the Church in Russia is
just beginning.

Certainly we Catholics in America
who wish to protect and strengthen
the Faith here against the plague
that rages there must first know and
understand that plague, should draw
inspiration from the heroic efforts of
those Russians who fight it, who pray
and love and suffer under its lash.
We repeat, "Soviet Man—Now" is
required reading.

Difference of Opinion

THE DECLINE AND RISE OF
THE CONSUMER: a Philosophy of
Consumer Co-operation. By Horace
M. Kallen. D. Appleton Century;
\$2.75; 484 pp.

This is certainly the most exhaust-
ive work to date on the co-operative
movement, its basic principles,
meanings, history, future, relations
to other movements of the past and
present. It is much too long and too
academic for this impatient, unedu-
cated world, but those who have the
time and learning will find it jam-
full of valuable information and
commentary.

Dr. Kallen is not a Catholic (the
jacket describes him as "the foremost
philosopher of Individualism and
Cultural Pluralism in contemporary
America"), but his viewpoint is, in
many respects, personalist.

That is, he emphasizes individual
liberty, spontaneous action, and the
fact that, "first and last, human be-
ings are not employers and em-
ployees, capitalists and laborers, car-
penters or clerks, or undertakers or
farmers, or physicians or miners or
machinists, but human beings, sim-
ply living men of flesh and blood...
organic individuals... persons."

Root of Theory

This is the root of co-operative
theory. "The freedom and enlight-
enment of each is the condition of
the greatest good of the greatest
number." It is also good C. W. doc-
trine, and emphatically excludes all
forms of state coercion, whether
Communist, Fascist, or Nazi.

Dr. Kallen shows how the medieval
economy centered about man as con-
sumer; how finally in modern times
it gave place to an economy that ex-
alted the producer and debased the
consumer; how in Rochdale in 1844
the movement started to restore the
abused consumer to his rightful, nat-
ural position in economic life.

On the whole, there is a little too
much "flesh and blood" humanism, a
little too much "enlightened self-
interest" in Kallen's approach to co-
operation. He fails to see, with a
long line of honorable men before
him, led by Socrates and Plato, that
free will and knowledge are not
enough; that good will, grace, is nec-
essary before man can follow the
vision that he sees, only too clearly
perhaps, as the right model of life.

Not by Bread Alone

The author fails to see, too, that
man is more swayed and drawn by
immediate pleasure than by a dis-
tant good. It may be to his "enlight-
ened self-interest" in the future to
sacrifice in the present, but poor,
dumb man does not see it that way.
Unless we can show him that he has
an obligation not only to himself but
to his neighbor, to the Common
Good, we cannot put over the co-
operative idea. The point is, it is
more flesh-and-blood fun not to co-
operate.

Co-operation belongs on a spiritual
basis, anchored on the dictum that
"man does not live by bread alone."
That is why Catholics must be fore-
most in the movement, to keep it on
what we insist is the realistic plane,
where sacrifice is given its true
meaning, where there is courage and
hope, but also fear and trembling,
where, finally, there is a driving
force infinitely more noble and, for
that reason, infinitely more forceful
than that spectre of our age, that
golden idol, that pest—Comfort.

J. C. C.

up to date, so I don't agree with you and I can't agree with your paper which you had better keep for yourself. Before writing against Fascism go and visit Italy and study the conditions of Italy before and after Mussolini came into power and maybe you will talk different. Your ideals, if too idealistic and not practical, cease to be good, as we say in Latin: "Optimum est inimicum boni."

Be well.
Truly yours,
Rev. Louis Bolzan.
Viva Il Ducl!

Ed. Note:
We regret Father Bolzan's estrangement, but express only the hope that "before writing," he not only visited Italy, but read the opinions of our Holy Father, Pius XI, on this subject, notably the encyclical "Non Abbiamo Bisogno," which among other things condemns the Fascist oath as "unlawful," and also the book "Italy and Fascism," by Don Luigi Sturzo, exiled leader of the former Popular Party in Italy.

More Seamen's Strike

Ed Note:
Mr. Gorman, whose letter follows, spoke at one of the Wednesday night meetings of the Catholic Worker School last month, describing his own experience at sea and the background of the present strike. Afterwards there was a lively discussion and a collection of \$15 was taken up to help the strikers.

Seamen's Strike Strategy Committee,
164 11th Avenue, N. Y. C.

Dear Miss Day:

A few more meetings like last night and I'll begin to want the strike to go on forever.

The Washington got away. It's a sad blow to me. I had hoped against hope we would hold her. But I was hoping for the impossible. The I.M.M. was simply determined to sail that ship and, holding all the trumps, it won.

As I see it in review, we did our best; our mass picket line held firm. The placards were clever and timely; 60 men came off 10 minutes before sailing; at least 50 passengers were induced to cancel booking.

We have affidavits from men induced to come on from Boston and Norfolk under guarantee of "no labor trouble."

The only thing to do is keep on grinding out a day's work.

Several of the boys know of the work you did last Spring and, of course, are grateful.

Should the occasion arise where you think I can sort of lend a hand, just holler and be assured I'll pitch in.

Frank Gorman.

"Pax" of England

Dear Editors:

The October issue of THE CATHOLIC WORKER has just come to hand and I note with the greatest pleasure your reference to "PAX" and the fact that it is intended to form a branch in the States. On behalf of the committee of the London Association I take this opportunity to convey sincere wishes for the success of your undertaking and the promise of our speedy cooperation in all matters effecting the advancement of the cause of "PAX."

Under separate cover I am sending you a number of the "PAX" leaflets of which I am sure you can make good use.

With all good wishes for your prosperity, believe me,

Yours very sincerely,
Bernard G. Coldwell,
Hon. Sec. "PAX"

business basis must automatically favor the Haves.

Re borrowing, it is obvious that while the banker can do without an individual borrower, the reverse is not so. Thus, the borrower must comply with whatever "agreement" the money-lender suggests—or do without the loan. (The operations of "six-for-five" loan-sharks are an extreme but clear example of how the system works.) In short, bankers nearly always dictate terms. We quite appreciate their joy at the consummation of such contracts, but doubt their sorrow at renewing them.

Common Sense

Common sense and the satiric temper of Mr. Hollis' statement forbid the literal interpretation of "forever afterwards." The point of the excerpt is to ridicule "the propitiation" of bankers by borrowers. It is precisely the viewpoint that regards money-breeding as "honest" that has consolidated the empire of Mammon.

Sincerely,

N. T.

Ed. Note:

At the risk of offending both bankers and common sense, we might add it was our impression that Hollis was attacking a system under which, bankers being the sole coiners of money, the borrowing public could only repay interest by asking bankers to create additional money in the form of additional loans ad infinitum. Ad infinitum, at least, until the State resumed its historic function as a money-making monopoly. Thus, the propitiation would be paid "forever afterwards" not to one banker, but to an endless line of bankers.

Pacifist

Newton, Mass.

"Pax,"

Will you place my name on the list of those wishing to join your organization of conscientious objectors? I really haven't any suggestions to make but will be glad to hear of those you receive from others and the plans you make.

It is rather confusing, to say the least, to read an account such as the one in Monday's papers, of Fordham using a guard of R.O.T.C. men for Cardinal Pacelli. As I understand the C. W. stand, you would not approve of such a procedure.

Sincerely yours,

Mary T. Sheehan.

Concerning Mr. Browder

Queens, N.Y.

Dear Editor:

Your last issue seemed to be full of actuality, and I feel that you are gradually becoming a force within the body of the American Church. Very soon no one inside or outside the Church can pass you with a contemptuous smile any more. Your principles seem to be clear, and you have the courage to apply them to life.

Please will you allow me one criticism or, let us call it, a question? On the front page you very nobly vindicate the right of free speech for the Communist leader, Mr. Earl Browder. You may accuse me of lack of real American-mindedness if I question your generous and noble statement. I wish you to understand that I have no doubt of Mr. Browder's sincerity and that I do not advocate anything like the German system in treating political opponents as developed by Hitler. But I do question your argumentation.

Why Killed?

There is a fact in recent history which may have escaped the attention of Americans, as it was far away from this country, but which is known to us who come from Europe. Why was Democracy killed in all totalitarian countries? Because doctrinaire application of a fine prin-

interpretation of itself.

As soon as Mr. Earl Browder managed to become the dictator of the United States in the name of the proletariat, there would be no right of free speech for any opponent any more. That would happen not out of the pure wickedness of our honest enemy (and he will be honest enough to say that his strife is for a dictatorship of the proletariat) but it is absolutely necessary that this must happen, he will say, for the security of the Socialist state.

Stupidity of Stupid

In view of these facts Mr. Browder may be sorry about the brutal way in which his democratic opponents hindered him from speaking. But he has apparently no right to protest in the name of a democracy which for him is nothing but a stupidity of the stupid bourgeois. If the German democratic governments had fought the enemies of democracy with less doctrinarism and more courage, and if they had used those principles which could save democracy from being ruined by reckless enemies, Mr. Hitler would have been shot as a traitor after his first bloodshed in 1923 or he would now be selling shoelaces in his Austrian home town. Would it be reasonable for the sheep to let the wolf join their company because they believe in collectivism and equality?

My question, based on experience on the other side of the Atlantic, would be: Is a democratic country obliged to let the fiercest enemies of

Let us assure you that our cause is just, our aim is high and our goal must be victory. So you can understand that we deserve just recognition and need all of it that we can get.

Again we say thanks and wish to remain as ever,

Yours truly,
FRANK BERRY,
Chairman of Seamen's
Strike Committee.

Likes "Pax"

Floral Park, L. I., N. Y.

For some time now, I have been praying for the formation of just such a group as you outline in the October issue of THE CATHOLIC WORKER. I will be very glad to join with you in conscientious objection to modern war. I suggest that this group be affiliated with and sponsored by THE CATHOLIC WORKER, since it is the product of its spirit. We also ought to make our position known, particularly among Catholics. I think that there is a need for the development of the concept of Christ the Pacifist, since so many professedly Catholic look askance at the word pacifist. He would be our model. For a motto, none surpasses the beatitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers," and for our rule there are Verses 38 to 44 of St. Matthew's Gospel.

Yours for Christ the King,
Bernard A. Schroeder.



Ado Bethune

Missionary Writes

Arcadia, Florida.

Dear Editor,

In yesterday's mail I received my first copy of THE CATHOLIC WORKER, and after reading it from the first page to the last, please accept congratulations upon the wonderful work you have undertaken.

I am just one of the many missionary priests in the United States, having under my jurisdiction hundreds of square miles. This requires many hours of travelling each week. And during my travels I see life at its best and at its worst. If your paper reaches across our country, as I hope it will, there will be an inestimable amount of good done by you folks, especially in counteracting the widespread spirit of Godlessness.

The filth and slime of Communism is being spread by means of the press in all sections of our fair land. Using the same weapon as the Communists, the press, you are waging a gallant fight for the cause of the gentle Nazarene.

Good luck, God bless, and Mary protect you and your staff—this is the prayer of a priest on the lonely missions.

Sincerely in Christ,
Rev. Lawrence J. Flynn.



to evaluate the sincerity of the statements of an employer who calls in a "cop" to his workers' meeting. Personally, I doubt this. However the end of your article on the Globe strike, where you state "If the Catholics in a union can't keep it on the level, they would do far better to get out and start one of their own," strikes me as extremely significant.

Surely you know that dual unionism all over the world has meant defeat for working people and has been one of the best aids the employers have had. Is it possible that you are beginning to advocate an extension of the dual-union policy of the Church in America similar to the dual unions of Europe? If such is the case it might be well for the many Catholics in the American Federation of Labor to know about this right away.

Sigh of Relief

I, as an office worker, certainly cannot thank you for your invitation to start another union. We are quite busy building up one strong, effective, clean union just at present, thank you. And when we have done that job, I pray that we will have sense enough to keep it together and not listen to any siren calls to dual unionism, no matter where they may come from! Almost everybody in the A. F. of L. has been breathing a sigh of relief that various groups have settled down and seem to have forgotten their former ideas of running off and starting little unions of their own. It will be ironic to have another chapter in that sad story begin again.

Very truly yours,
Margaret Mary Gillan.

Answer on Unions

Ed Note:

Miss Gillan is also entitled to her opinion, but we still feel that if one were to find oneself on a train going in the wrong direction, it would be a good idea to get off said train and onto one going in the right direction.

Naturally some people don't agree with us on what the right direction is, don't agree on what are the tests of a truly "strong, effective, clean" union. Some people think that such a union should do everything possible, by fair means and foul, to widen the breach, deepen the abyss between capital and labor, that it should constantly stir up bitterness and resentment on both sides, work up a crescendo of hate by Class War to a climax of Proletarian Revolution.

Not at Home

Those who believe, on the contrary, that labor needs capital and capital needs labor and that the only sensible solution lies in cooperation between the two, those who prefer freedom and peace to slavery and war, will not feel at home in such a union.

They cannot, however, honestly start a new union until they have made every attempt, by fair means and fair means only, to save the original union for the side of the angels. We appreciate the evils of dual-unionism. (Incidentally, what is this "dual-union policy of the Church in America?" A figment of the fertile anti-Catholic mind perhaps?)

It is just because we are interested in "strong, effective, clean unions" that we support the C.I.O., for example, in its active efforts to organize the steel, auto and rubber industries rather than sit around waiting for the A. F. of L. to do its promised duty. It is why we support the rank-and-file seamen in their struggle to throw off corrupt, sold-out leadership in the I. S. U. It is why, in short, we are ready to admit that a union could be so irretrievably opposed to the welfare of the working man and woman that it might not be so stupid on their part to start another.

Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C.

"Arbitrary dismissal, which takes into consideration merely the convenience or advantage of the employer without consideration for the well being of the worker, is a real injustice."

democracy advocate their doctrines on the same basis as those who acknowledge the institutions of democracy?

Democracy may be wrong anyhow, but that question is not at stake. I think it is better for modern men than other forms of community life, but I am afraid that a mechanical idea of democracy leads to its suicide.

Yours in Christ,

WILLIAM WESTERN.

Answer on Browder

ED NOTE:

There is a federal statute that reads as follows:

"SEDITIONARY CONSPIRACY. If two or more persons in any State or Territory, or in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, conspire to overthrow, put down, or to destroy by force the Government of the United States, or to levy war against them, or to oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take or possess any property of the United States contrary to the authority thereof, they shall each be fined not more than \$5,000.00 or imprisoned not more than six years, or both."

So far as we know, responsible Communists in America have carefully denied that they ever wanted to change the government by any means more revolutionary than a high-powered constitutional amendment.

Right to Lie

Admitted that said Communists are lying when they make such de-

(Continued on page 8)

as other children of the city. I heard people discussing the same problems and troubles. These fellow humans have all the ordinary cares and calamities we of the white group have, but in addition they must carry the burden of color.

From the outside Harlem looks dirty and neglected. Houses crumble, streets are dirty, and rubbish heaps abound. From the house to the rubbish and back scurry rats salvaging food scraps, and competing with human beings foraging in the same heaps.

In the houses dark damp hallways echo and smell of a hundred families bickering and cooking. Rickety stairs, burlap in windows, guttering hall lights, sample of a typical Harlem home.

Four and five families live in a six room apartment. Almost every house is a rooming house, and men and women sleep in shifts sharing the same room.

I was in one of the homes. It was dark and cheerless. A man and his wife with seven children shared the heat of a small inadequate stove. Their furniture was the barest—a few chairs, a few beds, and no attempt at decoration or even cleanliness. That home was symptomatic of Harlem's despair.

Here in these intolerable conditions lies the reason for Harlem's juvenile delinquency. These homes cause Harlem's high tubercular rate. These surroundings have made for Harlem's moral laxness.

True we must tear down old and build anew, we must make more playgrounds and parks. Of course Harlem's streets must be made wider and cleaner. All these measures must be taken, but what good will it do Harlem's citizenry to have new homes and low rents when most of them will not be able to pay those rents?

How will Harlem benefit from civic improvements with their attendant rise in tax and rent values?

How will the average Negro bear the brunt of these improvements when his buying power is lower than average and is kept low by economic expressions of prejudice?

Before we build Harlem homes we must first build for Harlem's future. Before we spend our millions on brick and mortar we must first reform our group's attitude.

Harlem is a slow growing cancer, but the cure lies in educating the minds and hearts of New York's white population.

ST. LOUIS LETTER

Dear Editors:

November has been a busy month at THE CATHOLIC WORKER center in St. Louis. We have been centering most of our activity around the first point of our program of action, *Clarification of Thought*. The best round-table discussion of the month was led by Rev. Joseph F. Thorning, S. J., on the application of the doctrines of the Labor Encyclicals in Germany. Father Thorning spent several years in Germany before the coming of Hitler. He told us about the beginning of the social movement in Germany about 1850 with leaders coming from the working class. At another round-table discussion attended by a delegation of students from St. Louis University High School each of the henchmen of our St. Louis CATHOLIC WORKER group gave a short talk on some aspect of our work: Cooperation with the C. I. O. organizers, our inter-racial work, the liturgy of the Church, our experience with the Ozark farm, our publicity program, our practice of the *Works of Mercy*.

I made two talks about the CATHOLIC WORKER during the month—one before the Sodality unit of one of the St. Louis girls' colleges; another before a conference of teachers at the Ursuline Convent outside of St. Louis. So much for *Clarification of Thought*.

Works of Mercy

We have also been putting into practice in a small way the *Works of Mercy*. For Thanksgiving we helped the Sodality of Fontbonne College, who gathered food, brought

A proof of the solidarity of the seamen of all race groups can be found in the following letter from the Chinese stewards on a certain struck ship in New York. As the Chinese are denied entry here by the Immigration laws they cannot strike but they sent a donation with this letter.

Chinese Sympathize

"Dear Striking Members:
"We are so much sympathized to



Ade Bethune

your striking action and are sure the seamen's condition can be made better only through struggling of the united front of them (the seamen) upon the ship owners.

"We, no doubt the members of the same union, accordingly we can make no difference between you and us. The difference that forced to be made is that we have a contract with the company and bonds have also been paid to the company for security for the term. Moreover immigration law has also confined us from freedom.

"Under all above conditions we therefore compelled to be on ship.

"Here enclosed the sum of \$67.50 as a spiritual and material help, hope you will accept it and support all 'Brothers' of the striking members.

"Hoping you to continue your energy and ambition and a successful victory is reached very soon.

"Your Chinese Brothers of Sincerity."

(Here all the Chinese members of the crew signed.)

Quiet Determination

Tonight all is quiet on the "Western Front" along the Chelsea piers. Pickets march silently back and forth grimly determined to fight to the finish despite crooked union officials, reactionary owners and despite the fact that the newly created Maritime Commission began its (constructive?) program of action by refusing to investigate the present situation, claiming there is no strike.

it to our headquarters, and prepared baskets which were given to twenty-five needy Catholic colored families. The girls distributed the baskets themselves; they enjoyed it and learned very much, they said. Also we received a donation of a truck load of used clothing from which we served about twenty families during the month. We still have a lot left and are giving it out daily. We also gave food and clothing and lodging and medicine to a sick unemployed man who wandered into our place. We do not believe in "passing the buck" to the local city hospital or the transient bureau when we have room for a bed on the office floor. . . . I have been interrupted in this letter to give a few groceries remaining from Thanksgiving to an unemployed negro workman. Last week I gave some bed clothing to a young Communist organizer, a former Catholic, who is poor and works without wages.

We are badly in need of some folding chairs or stools for our St. Louis headquarters. We will have to sit on the floor for our meeting tonight I suppose. We have been borrowing chairs from a local undertaker, but we can no longer do this.

Regards to all my friends at the CATHOLIC WORKER.

Yours for Social Action,

Cyril Echele.

Each man has his particular responsibility. One is in charge of publicity. There is a co-ordinating director. Two others contact employers and employees. Others handle office detail and statistics for the new organization. A very important department is the service department which takes care of the physical needs of the members.

Cross Section

So far sixty-seven men have been placed in jobs. They have accumulated 2,000 man hours of part-time work. A complete cross section of labor is represented by the applying men. There are doctors, lawyers, engineers, mechanics, and unskilled labor in their ranks.

However, they have calls for many jobs they cannot fill. There is great demand for machinists, toolmakers, diemakers, electricians, steamfitters, etc.

We suggested that they contact the men who come to us for clothing and food every morning here at 115 Mott Street. And next week a representative will speak to our itinerant brothers temporarily enjoying hard luck.

CHRISTMAS APPEAL

We will soon celebrate the birth of giving animates the world. Christ At this time of the year the spirit of giving animates the world. Christ, Himself started the custom of giving for Love rather than for what we receive in return, during His short thirty-three years sojourn on this earth. Dearly did He love the poor. Generously did He help them.

There are a few among the many here in the city needing help about whom we know personally. As they are unable to help themselves we are appealing to you for Christ's sake to help them.

The severeness of a New York winter can not be appreciated until you have tried living through it without a stove for warmth. The coldness and dampness of our city tenements you cannot fully realize until you have lived in them. The winter with its inevitable snow storms making city streets dangerous for children to play in force them to stay indoors in their cheerless homes.

Family Needs

One of the families for whom we are appealing, besides not having any stove, has the added handicap of a sick mother and a sick little boy. A stove, fuel, clothing and delicacies to tempt an invalid are needed. We are calling upon your generosity to supply them. There is a little girl twelve and the little boy is ten.

Another family, which is fatherless, consists of three children and their mother. They have a stove but lack money to buy enough fuel to keep the fire going. Food is continually on the short end in this house with its three growing youngsters. Clothing is very badly needed. The little girl is seven and the boys are ten and twelve respectively. Christmas, Christ's birthday, would be much brightened for them if they could only have their few needs supplied.

Soup Kitchen

There is also the endless stream of homeless men who come to us for coffee or soup to help ward off the effects of the cold outdoors. On an average seventy-five men a day have come to us to ask for clothes and food. Sadly enough, there are never enough men's clothes to go around. Feeding so many has been made possible by a soup kitchen fixed up by one of the men in the house.

Could you help your less fortunate brothers in Christ by attending to the supplying of their needs? Any discarded clothing; an old stove, toys that can be mended—all will be appreciated and remembered by our brothers in Christ.

Please send all the contributions to THE FAMILY, care of St. Joseph's House, 115 Mott Street, N. Y. C.

time now, and there is continually a gang of men coming and going to work.

Stepping out on the porch and looking up at the sky one sees the heavens suffused with a warm red light from the blast furnaces.

The other day, in company of an old war veteran, who was also gassed with the Bonus Expeditionary Forces in Washington, we went through the company town and he regaled me with stories of the Big Steel Strike in 1919.

Machine Guns

He told me of wholesale evictions from company houses and pointed out to me where there had been machine gun nests and barbed wire entanglements to break down the morale of the workers.

But with the advent of the C.I.O. and the changed labor policy of the government it will be different. Bloodshed and murder there will be plenty, but the worker now will have a 50-50 chance of winning.

The steel workers for the most part are good Catholics, and those that have fallen away respect the Church. In the two months that I've been here I have come across no Communists or sign of Communist propaganda.

If Catholics

The steel workers will have nothing to do with the reds. And if Catholics will show their solidarity in the coming strike the Communists will stand no chance. So please don't read Hearst to find out about the steel strike when it occurs.

The November issue of the paper came in today's mail, and it made me more home-sick than ever. I enjoyed Julia's article very much and am glad she is working.

Remember me to everybody.

In Christ,

STANLEY.



ST. FRANCES of Rome
and her Guardian ANGEL

Ade Bethune

We Exhort You

We exhort you...to contribute of your goods, according to your means and willingness, to purposes of charity, that ye may be able to win that blessedness in which ye shall rejoice without end, who considereth the needy and the poor.—St. Leo the Great.

It is but godly and just that we should help others with that which the heavenly Father has mercifully bestowed on us.—St. Leo the Great.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER is anti-Communist, in spite of all you may have heard to the contrary, because Communism claims that "man lives by bread alone"; deifies Comfort; denies religious, political, and economic freedom, though not as frankly as it did once; has replaced the capitalist and aristocrat with the Communist Party, but still enslaves and exploits the peasant and the proletariat; is, in short, no better than State Capitalism.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER is for Christian communism, as practiced in Catholic monasteries and by the early Christians, as an economy of perfection, possible only on a voluntary basis.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER is anti-capitalist, in the sense that it condemns the spirit of greed, of rampant materialism, that has become synonymous with that system and has led to the present abuses in production and distribution.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER is not opposed to private property, but on the contrary works for "the restoration of property" through co-operatives, credit unions, and the back-to-the-land movement. It supports private ownership of the means of production, except where such ownership is incompatible with the common good, as in certain public utilities, but opposes the concentration of productive power in the hands of a few, because that concentration has almost always been destructive of the common good.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER is not opposed to "saving for a rainy day" and for the support of one's dependents, but is more interested in giving, not only because it is the duty of Christians to give their surplus to the poor, but also because it is good economics to distribute idle money among those who will spend it.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER does not condemn any and all war, but believes the conditions necessary for a "just war" will not be fulfilled today.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER admits the importance of political action, but is much more interested in the importance of private action, in the creation of order out of chaos.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER admits the importance of public responsibility for the poor and needy, but is much more interested in the importance of personal responsibility for the hungry, thirsty, naked, homeless, sick, criminal, afflicted, and ignorant.

Great Convert

SOME ASPECTS OF THE INFLUENCE OF ORESTES A. BROWNSON. By Sister Mary Rose Gertrude Whalen, C.S.C., Ph.D. Notre Dame University, Indiana; 1938.

The zeal for holy religion that made Cardinal Gibbons a great churchman was awakened by the convert, Father Hecker. The zeal for Holy Mother Church that made Father Hecker a notable priest was awakened by the American convert, Orestes A. Brownson.

No Catholic has suffered more abuse than this great Brownson. Even his reputation for orthodoxy was taken from him, to be restored but recently by Dr. Sidney A. Raemers. Now Sister Mary Rose Gertrude has published a dissertation most welcome to Brownson scholars. The manuscript letters of Brownson were a principal source of her materials, and that fact alone assures the reader that this is no mere rehash of inaccurate data. Friends of Brownson might say a prayer that this first edition be speedily sold, to encourage the author to give us a bigger book on the subject.

"The sincerity of Brownson's writings will draw admirers," she writes. "They need only to be read, and the time is ripe for the reading world to find them. Brownson being Brownson, his future is difficult to predict."

A Reader.

A LOVE STORY

Mrs. O'Coolidge, our neighbor, is an Austrian Russian and a Roman Catholic and Mr. O'Coolidge is a pure Russian and a Greek Catholic, and on Saturday nights when he is bibacious and pugnacious, she calls him a damn Bolshevik. (O'Coolidge is not really the name, but it sounds as though it were spelt that way and it is what the neighbors call them.)

Barefooted, short and shapeless, Mrs. O'Coolidge stands by the road to talk to us as we stop to buy eggs. She talks about the mushrooms she is going to pick that day, about the blackberry and cherry wine she will do up in wooden kegs later, about the party they had Saturday night, the company from New York and how she played the jews-harp.

"You see my company?" she says. "The company I have on Saturday and Sunday? He is a Russian and his name is Lyon Constanti. She is Austrian like me and my old friend. This is her story:

"Ten years ago when I keep rooming house she live next door to me down on East Broadway near Cherry Street. I have a roomer, the brother of this man Constanti. He is a young feller and many times sick, and he and she fall in love. The brother says he is too young to be married, especially to this girl, she is so ugly. Her lips stuck out and her nose turn up. But she a very good girl. But she so crazy for him, for this young boy, that she say to him, 'All right, your brother say no marry me, so I go drown myself.' And she run down to the river and jump in and everybody pull her out and save her and then she and the young feller get married, a nice wedding.

Very Happy

"Young Constanti have a job, making dolls, but he get only twelve dollars a week. They get a little apartment and she clean in office building and they very happy and pretty soon the children come. Every year one, and then there is four. But they are very happy. No words, no fights, no scandals.

"Then one summer, they go out into Jersey for a week when there is no work to camp and they sleep on the ground under the trees. And she lie with her head on his shoulder and she hear noises and think, 'It is the children groaning,' and they both get up to look around, and no, they can't hear anything wrong. So they lie down again and she hear it again, and he say, 'It is here, in my heart, this music, this noise.'

"So she very worried, and they pack up and go in to the doctor and the doctor say, 'No medicine, no nothin', no work. Don't walk, don't go on the street, just stay in bed.'

"And he say, 'How can I eat if I don't work?'

"But he very thin and funny, and there is no work, anyway, so he stay in bed, and she works nights in office buildings and cleans and earns ten dollars a week.

Light

"In three weeks, he so bad, he crazy in the head and he say, 'I work anyway. How can I lie in bed and you work and we have not much bread? Always I am hungry.' Because he eat, he eat, a whole loaf he tear up and he eat, he so hungry. Then when she come back from store, she find him out in front, with a plate on his lap to take in money from people going by, and she break the plate and pull him back to the house and he punch her in the face.

"He say, 'I never strike you before, but now I must because you won't let me work, you won't let

me get money anyway.' But then he fall back into bed. He can't breathe. It is his heart.

"The neighbors take the children and help what they can. The brother, the older Constanti that didn't like her, he come back from another city and he say to his brother, every day, 'All right you die, and you leave me your wife and your four

THE SOWER



Ade Bethune

children. A fine present you leave me.' But he no believe his brother going to die.

"Then those last three days. She sit by his bed and look at him and look at him and say, 'You can't die.' And she hold him there with her eye. Then there was an awful storm. The rain came heavy and she jumped to pull down the window. She turn her back on her husband and pshhh, his life go out of him. She turn around and see steam like from kettle go out of his mouth and he was dead. It was Saturday and she was there holding him for two day, just holding him.

The Brother

"Then the brother come and sit in a chair and cry. He help after that and he always say, 'You can't marry anyone else ever. You marry me. I take care of you and these four children.'

"She don't wanna marry any more, but another year and she marry him. She love the first one so much she say the ten year they married like ten days. And she love his brother because he big and handsome like the first man. They much alike, only the older brother is strong like iron.

"Then she find he drink. He come home and say, 'You kill my brother, I kill you.' And he beat her and beat her. The police come and take him away. Many time that happens. Many time he in jail. Many time he beat her. One time he throw knife through her but after she be in hospital a time she well again. He in jail a year. Now he no more drinks. He devil before, but now angel. He love her like his brother did. It is a strange thing and she so ugly.

"And now you come and pick blackberries with me and we make wine? Yes? This better than East Broadway, not so? Here we go with bare feet and pick berries and mushrooms. I am happy, and yet not happy because my husband does not love me like that. I am a good-looking woman and she ugly like sin, but two men love her like mad. It is funny."

Day After Day

(Continued from page 4)

second contingent in the rear offices, they came in to be talked to some more.

Letters

The morning mail gives indication as to how the work is spreading. One letter this morning from a Congregational minister out in Portland, Oregon. Another letter from someone in India enclosing an article by Prof. D. N. Sen, M. A., O. B. E., with the note—"How the Catholic Church appeals to Prof. Sen after reading the encyclicals and THE CATHOLIC WORKER of New York. He is a famous head priest of the Patna Temple of the Progressive Hindu sect called the Brahma Samaj."

Another letter comes from an Italian priest in Chicago who tells us not to send THE CATHOLIC WORKER any more, that we should go to Italy to find out about Fascism before writing about it and ends, "Viva Mussolini!" We refer him to his eminent confrere Don Luigi Sturzo, the priest who was head of the Popular Party in Italy, exiled by Mussolini with a price on his head. His book, Italy and the Fascismo, published by Harcourt Brace, is well worth reading.

Still another letter comes from a priest in Nova Scotia who says the coal miners in his parish all await eagerly the coming of THE CATHOLIC WORKER every month.

And so it goes, from all over the world.

Thanksgiving

It was a Happy Thanksgiving. The girls at Cathedral high school, who make up baskets for the poor every year sent us down three baskets of left overs from their supplies and we certainly thank them for their generosity.

One of the girls who used to be in the House of Hospitality and now has a job came over with a turkey for us and it tasted all the better because she is one of God's least and has little or nothing for herself. One of the neighbors contributed a bunch of wood for our fireplaces, which he had gotten from a demolished pier. The Italian neighbors are starting to object because of our coffee line, claiming that we are bringing an undesirable element into the neighborhood. St. Anthony will have to take care of this attitude of theirs.

Visiting the Prisoner

Among the corporal works of mercy that we don't get around to is visiting the prisoner. One of the ways we can do it is by sending papers for distribution. Father Robert J. Booth, Chaplain of Clinton Prison at Dannemora, New York, has suggested to his friends that it would be a great help if they could send gifts to the prisoners under his care.

CHAMPION OF PEACE,
FATHER CURRAN, DIES

In November Monsignor J. J. Curran died. He was 77 years old when he died and his more than three-score and ten had been taken up with God's Own—His poor, and oppressed.

Ordained to the priesthood forty-five years ago and for the last twenty-two years pastor of St. Mary's of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Monsignor Curran's voice was always heard in behalf of his coal-mining congregation and Labor in general.

Monsignor Curran spoke for Labor when to do so made one more unpopular than in these days of social consciousness. Had there been Radio broadcasting in his day he would no doubt have preached Labor's plight and received the label "demagogue" as his reward.

"Pastor Bonus"

His communicants were mostly hard-bitten coal miners who many times appealed to their spiritual Father for his wise assistance when the lash of injustice was laid on their shoulders.

He knew what it was to be a worker. At the age of eight he worked for a Wayne County coal company picking slate from coal. After working all day he studied at night. He knew from personal experience how difficult it was for a worker to get justice.

This priest of God did not heed Big Business' admonition to stay in his own sphere. He knew where a priest's place was in time of his flock's desolation. He did not hesitate to preach the subversive doctrine of Social Justice.

Arbitrator

And soon he was in the forefront of every strike. He became a skilled arbitrator in days when Big Business would not arbitrate. To his plea that

the entire nation was shocked by the spectacle of 15,000 people gathered from many miles to witness the public hanging of a Negro murderer in Owensboro, Kentucky. Here, the hanging of a human being took on all the color of a public sports event amidst the clamor of hot-dog and soda-pop vendors. This spectacle was of the same stuff that motivates mob murder and lynching. How far removed are the impulses that prompted the gathering of this vast cadaverous crowd, from those which drew thousands to witness the spectacle of early Christians being thrown to the lions in pagan Rome?"—*Interracial Review*.

Forecast—1940

A cloudless sky—peanuts! popcorn!—the sun bakes the stands—candy! cigars! cigarettes! A band plays America, the Beautiful... "Oh beautiful for spacious skies... and crown thy good with brotherhood" and the crowd pours into the seats. Big signs scream their captions: "We made the Rope"—"Our Structures Stand Any Strain"—"Visit

Communism and Us

Jacques Maritain says: "It would argue extreme naivete to engage in modern speculation and to sympathize with all the good it contains without first taking care to discern the spiritual principles. On the contrary, once this discrimination has been made, once the constructive work which guarantees the specificity, if I may say so, of our intellectual life has been assured, then and then only may we and ought we to give free rein to the universalist tendency so admirably manifest in such as St. Thomas, which no less benevolent than pacific, inclines Catholic speculation to seek everywhere for concordances rather than oppositions, fragments of truth rather than privations and deviations, to preserve and adapt rather than to overturn, to build rather than to disperse."



Ade Bethune

"Arbitration is a fixed principle in the unwritten law of American Jurisprudence" the owners turned a deaf ear.

He warned Big Business that a "revolution of industrial and political methods" was rising and again it did not heed. He was far ahead of his times. Presidents and national leaders sought his aid.

When the great coal strike of 1902 swept the country, this good priest, striker himself at the age of ten, was named mediator by President Theodore Roosevelt. He mediated in the anthracite strike of 1922. In 1923 he helped settle the railway shopmen's strike. Again in 1925 and in 1933 he threw himself into the fray in behalf of labor, sparing no efforts to settle the fight justly.

Many Threats

Many times he was threatened. Bombs were sent him through the mails as "Easter Gifts" last year and a fire was started in his rectory on Good Friday. Three days later Monsignor Curran suffered a heart attack from which he never fully recovered.

We are sorry to report Monsignor Curran's death, we still need him. We are proud to be able to make his work a little better known. We hope the example he set will not be disregarded by the splendid young men now studying in our seminaries.

LYNCHING FORECAST

Sixth Church While You're in Town," etc.

"Rope" Galloway, president of the A. L. A. (American League for Americanism) chapter in Owensboro, paused before answering our question. "Yes, it was quite a job handling the publicity and advertising," he said, and added, "this year we won't have newsreel 'takes' or the radio hookup we had last year in California," and Mr. Galloway sighed wistfully as he mentioned that sunny state. We showed our surprise at his statement. "Local merchants," explained the A. L. A. president significantly, "they think it cuts down on the attendance" and we recalled the 15,000 people who came from all over the country to witness Owensboro's success of four years ago.

Crime Doesn't Pay

Suddenly the band strikes up a lively military tune and through the gate march the town's school children—high school students leading. "We gave them a half holiday," says the Superintendent of Education, "it will prove to them that crime doesn't pay."

"The Chamber of Commerce convinced me they could save the county money," said Ma Wetherby, county sheriff, and she blushed becomingly when we recalled her bungling attempt to spring the trap four years ago. "I'm letting the boys attend to everything this time," she said. "Reckon they can do a better job."

The "Boys" have done a quicker job at any rate. It is four days since they found the body of "Cab" Carter, wealthy still owner, and Royal Hunt, indicted by popular acclaim, sits in the jail awaiting execution.

Hunt Enters

A shout, "there he is!" and the crowd leaps to its feet as the principal, accompanied by armed members of the Moral Vigilance Committee, is brought to the gallows. Speeches. More music. Hunt has nothing to say. The 70-year-old Negro seems too tired to care. It is soon over as Henry Dawson, chairman of the committee, leaps to his position—shouts "Hot Damn!"—and cuts the trap release.

Police estimated that 45,000 attended the execution and the Chamber of Commerce is jubilant at the volume of business done by the concessions and merchants of the town.

Our lynching forecast was inspired by recent editorial comment on the lynching evil by such prominent Catholic press organs as America, the Interracial Review, the Pittsburgh Catholic. May we also call to attention that the Brooklyn Tablet, and the Catholic News reprinted parts of the aforesaid editorials.

Dangerous Trends

Our forecast was intended to bring to our readers' attention a very possible conclusion of the trends of the day. The KKK, the unchecked flood of lynching, the atrocities of the Black Legion, and the recent public execution in Owensboro are all handwritings on the wall. We agree with the editor of the Interracial Review that... "Catholics, Negroes and Jews should be foremost in the fight to eradicate mob violence of every description."

That a united front of the three minority groups is especially needed is brought out by the fact that lynching is contagious and "...every unpunished lynching encourages other outlaw mobs to violence," observes the Interracial Review. The Review further notes the growing tendency of lawless groups to seek other victims than Negroes.

Call to Action

It is extremely necessary and timely that we voice our opposition to lynching as Catholics. And again we quote the Interracial Review in its call to action:

"The Interracial Review can sum up its present position in no better way than by calling upon the Catholic leaders of America to redouble their efforts in arousing popular Catholic sentiment in support of the enactment of an adequate Federal anti-lynching bill by the next Congress. Again the Catholic Press has pointed the way and there is now every reason why Catholic organizations and Catholic leaders should accept this new mandate wholeheartedly."—Editor, Interracial Review.

"It is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by, or to look upon them merely as so much muscle and physical power."—Leo, XIII, Rerum Novarum.

CATHOLIC CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

I wish to be kept informed about the development of PAX, a group formed to enable Catholics, who feel that they cannot conscientiously take part in any modern war, to band together for mutual protection and the better to agitate against war and war preparations.

Name.....

Street.....

City..... State.....

(Please print)

SPANISH CATHOLIC SPEAKS OUT

(Continued from Page 1)

selves on their antimilitarism, file past rhythmically at the sound of the bugle.

Barrack Law

Even the anarchists have refound the virtue of discipline. What a pity that this discipline means nothing for them but the discipline of the barracks! The vagueness of militarism seizes even the women and children. Brave militiamen pose for the newspapers. The "balilla" and the "young pioneers" follow the bad example of their elders, already deformed by the uniform. It is a very wrong thing to declare oneself unadaptable to a society falling back into the barbarism of warlike peoples!

When all the world takes part, no one is allowed to hold back; but I cannot believe that holding back is to be interpreted in this double refusal which leads some of us to combat on the two fronts at one and the same time. And I am at the same time against the strange mystification and that state of confusion which would make of the Church a moral police force at the service of the vested interests and the powerful of the world and against those who persecute by systemized attack anew the most innocent by making of them victims of injustice and of the faults of others. They are not the worst Christians, with exceptions, but on the contrary the purest exemplars of Christian life who have suffered even unto outrage and martyrdom, religious men and women whose only crime was the one of dedicating their lives to the service of God and to the service of the poor. These are the crimes which dishonor the name of the Revolution, by soiling the heroism of the battlefield by the vandalism taking place in the towns and the populations in the rear.

Greatest Treason

Every alliance which the Christian makes must be conditioned on respect for the only realities that are sacred for him. Now on this side called "red" all guidance is gone by the boards. There is an evident contrast between the purity of a Church poor and persecuted and the corruption which riches and official protection often bring to ecclesiastical and absolutely lawful institutions. But it would be only foolish treason to range oneself among those who rob the treasures of the Church, set fire to temples and even the priests to obtain by those criminal means the purity which they could secure by a reestablishment on ruins voluntarily accumulated. The end does not justify the means. It is not sufficient to improvise those means by counting on an antifascist sentiment which runs the risk of reverting into a kind of fascism.

It is necessary to have a precise idea of what is to be erected afterwards. But the essential unity of thought is not to be found in that momentary unity of action which is the struggle against a common enemy. I do not find it either on the "red" side or on the "white."

What Is the Future?

What is to be expected from the triumph of the government supporters? The tonic of their antifascism is supplied from Moscow, which desires to exercise its tutelary direction over the revolution so as to prevent the anarchists from carrying off the honors. The final probabilities, nevertheless, will be in favor of the anarchists whose actions are more conformable to the Spanish revolutionary temperament. But in anarchy there is a strange medley of two characteristic types: The idealistic dreamer of a perfect society where man become angel, through the miracle of absence of constraint, will live his paradise on earth; and on the other hand, the terrorist by vocation; he whose cry of command is "Up with Dynamite." To this type

there will also be joined all the criminal species which seek in syndicates, in this period of revolution, a safe conduct for their deeds.

How can anything be constructed from this amalgam? Side by side with a God-fearing laity, incapable of wickedness, illumined by an ideal and caught by an utopia, is the dynamiter, the petrol man, the gangster, the common delinquent. Logically these will not be they who will triumph when the greatest violence will decide the fate of a people.

Rule by Terror

So long as the common enemy is opposite the Popular Front remains united in the interest of all. But as soon as the issue is decided, the most violent elements hasten to take command. And they have a chance of success since it is a question of imposing themselves by violence. The example of what has come to pass during this war in several besieged and martyred towns by the attack from without and still more from the anarchy and the terror within is a mirror which presents us a forecast of what Spain will become in the hands of bolshevizing communists or of those anarchists who have adopted the magnificently paradoxical formula "Freedom-giving communism."

Shall we lean to the side of fascism? No, and a thousand times no! We reject the fallacious dilemma, the stupid dilemma "Fascism or Communism." Exactly because the opposition of the Christian to those two regimes is founded on identical reasons. Fascist totalitarianism ignores the human person, corrupts the spiritual in it, mechanizes thought by an obligatory uniformity which it imposes as a condition for expression, covers under dictatorship, with no recourse, all kinds of injustices, and a world organized to favor exploitation by profiteers.

Pharisaical "Right"

Assuredly on the side of the Reds there are more destructions, profanations and tortures, since they add to the crimes of war however cruelly conducted, civil crimes which multiply the savagery of the struggle. Nevertheless we cannot bend to that conformism of the Right which throws all blame on its adversaries, to that inadmissible pharisaism of those who persuade themselves that they are "the good" in opposition to "the bad." From the viewpoint of the Christian there are acts—although unjustifiable—which are explicable on the part of the Godless who are blinded by hatred and who have not received the light of Christian charity.

But justice compels us to a severity in judgment, all the greater if we perceive a like hatred among those who claim for themselves the name of Catholics. For we owe to the Truth of Christ, to the Love that Christ had for all men, the homage of the conquest of souls, not the insult of the massacre of bodies in a hatred which prevents the conversion of souls.

Catholics' Part

Two-thirds at least of the land of Spain lies under the power of the insurgent Nationals. Because they are the probable victors and they call themselves defenders of religion and fatherland, we shall have to place ourselves before them with a Christian sincerity, being persuaded that the day will come when only Spaniards whose hands shall have remained free from blood will be able truly and without remorse to speak of peace.

From this moment on we shall ask of such men: What is your inspiration? Our mistrust of this youth and more so of these regimented ranks of children whose warlike ardor is praised as a virtue, of these "phalanxists" who would willingly abolish the Christian era for the

"year I of the Fascist era," of this "hero" head of the Legion proclaiming the paradoxical word of command "Long Live Death" as the ideal for action.

A weighty question already is pressing on the coming regime. This war has been made a kind of crusade against communism, a crusade declared, moreover, by him who is the least suitable by character to lead it, by this dictator who has begun by folding up the arms of the true Cross, by deforming the sign of salvation, in order to turn it into a sign of oppression.

Fascist Regime

Spain mastered by the military men will become a continuous round of blocs with dictatorial powers with fascist tendencies. It will see itself consecrated to a foreign policy against its interests, to the service of pseudo-mystics who will be able to drag it into a world war of doctrines and by that very reason into a still more atrocious revolution than the present one. Escaped from Soviet imperialism it will be the prey and the instrument of fascist imperialism. The nations according their aid to the combatants do not do so without interest. Soon they will present their note.

And then those other powers, those of money, will come as ghouls over this land strewn with the corpses of brothers. Whence come the resources for a war which is costing so many millions every day? We are well acquainted with this business man, this billionaire, this former smuggler whose prodigious purse has been open to the insurgents. Less is known, however, about those other financiers, or groups of over-the-water High Finance who for some time have been furnishing all the money needed to keep the war going. And capitalists, no more than dictators do not lend their aid in any disinterested manner. What a future for industrial monopolies and financiers, for huge scandalous transactions, the scandal of which will never be brought out, stuffed in the chamber of "indifference to blame!" In spite of all the good will which might rise up in favor of a reign of social justice for the worker, this reign can never happen so long as those influences of the world of money shall rule the State.

Tragic Crisis

Is the Christian tragedy back of this impasse understood? Democratic institutions have been overthrown in Spain before they were known. Two forms of dictatorship are clashing in front of us and around us. If we desire to be freed from bolshevism, if we do not wish to plunge into the chaos of anarchy, it is not to erect new idols like those which threaten us in a fascist future. The present time offers to the Christian the hard need of having to safeguard (against each and if needs be against all) the independence of the spiritual and the liberty of indissoluble man bound to the dignity of the person. It is only in CIVIL peace that this task will succeed. But since we shall have to undertake it, in the middle of a hostile world, let us recall to man the essential truths.

A. M. V.

Concerning Browder

(Continued from page 5)

nials. The point is, they have a sound legal right to lie themselves into Hell, along with that great company of honorable men who have built political platforms in the best American style from the days of the Founders.

If we were to start prosecuting political liars, who would be safe?

The answer is, "No one would be safe except that party, and its friends, who were doing the prosecuting. And it would not be very far along in the proceedings that the test of truth would become, 'Do you agree with the dogmas of 100% Americanism as interpreted by the High Priest of Jingo, William Randolph Hearst?' No? Off with his head!"

Not in so many words perhaps. Not quite as crude perhaps. But the model is clear. German democrats may have been "blind and cowardly" but it is difficult to see how they could have defended democracy with the weapons of tyranny.

Christian poverty is not an abstinence, a renouncement, but a victory, a treasure.

—Paul Sabatier.



FARMING COMMUNE

Every month we have managed to have at least two new vegetables from the farm. This month will be our last in this respect as winter has really set in. Last month our vegetables were sweet potatoes and cauliflower. Rutabagas, too, made their first appearance on our table. Some of our friends made the mistake of thinking our white winter radishes were turnips. Preparing them as turnips, many were surprised at the taste. Dan Irwin was breaking bread with John Curran at the Easton office one day and helped himself to a portion of winter radishes. When Dan finished eating the radishes were still on his plate and he told John that he believed they had turned a little bit sour. When John and Dan were told what they had been eating Dan had more respect for John's cooking and John had a relieved mind.

The Last Vegetable

The last vegetable is salsify and we have had just as much trouble finding out how to prepare this as we had in the past with kohlrabi. Mr. Ryan, a newcomer to the farm, knows all about salsify (sometimes called pyster plant, as the seed catalogue says). To him will fall the honor of preparing it for our festive board. We will know later whether we will include it in our planting next spring. Experimenting with all kinds of vegetables this year we will eliminate some next year. We will have fewer in number of varieties but more of the useful and enjoyable kinds. One of the girls knows something about root cellars and will, no doubt, advise us how to construct such a necessary storage place. Up in Vermont, where Miss Ahern comes from, every farm has its root cellar and the contents, naturally, make quite a difference in the cost of living. Our cellar under the house is quite small and will probably be full of jars of preserves and such which the girls are going to do up as the seasons roll around. Sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, carrots, beets, turnips, rutabagas, and the like, keep very well under favorable conditions. This year we weren't able to raise near enough Irish potatoes because of the high price asked for seed potatoes and due to our usual low funds on hand. We pray for better breaks next year.

A Birthday

November the tenth was the birthday of Bessie, our cow calf. Bessie looks like her ma but is marked a little differently. No doubt Bessie will be a spoiled young 'un, but we aim to raise her as best we can. A friend of ours has a cow which was petted much more than was good for her. Now, instead of eating to make lots of milk, she follows anyone she can around. Nevertheless we are going to try to raise her. Mr. Ryan says that it doesn't pay to raise a calf but we have decided to do it anyway for the experience there is in it.

During November we brought the pigs, which we bought some time ago, to the farm. They are nine weeks old and quite healthy. John Filliger or myself will vouch for their health as we had to chase two of them and we weren't fortunate

enough to have a blind alley to chase them into. During the winter the pigs will reside at the former home of the ducks. The ducks weren't put out or told to vacate but moved of their own accord. Whether the janitor service was unsatisfactory or the urge to move, which gets some of our apartment house friends, was responsible for the ducks taking the new quarters we will never know. Regardless, the pigs appreciate the home and will spend the winter there. In the spring we have larger quarters for them. In April we will butcher one and in the fall we will butcher another. Two we will keep for breeding.

Paul Cort has promised to pay us a visit when he can get away from New York. At present he is continuing his studies at an architecture school. This will be his first visit since leaving last September. While here this summer Paul drew plans for our men's bunk house. When he comes out he is going to tell us what materials we should buy with the money we have left. We can get what materials we can and store them to be used when weather permits. He estimated the entire cost of materials would not exceed three hundred dollars. We will spend what we have now as we hear that the cost of building materials will be much higher by spring.

Good Luck

We had our first two accidents this month and although they were trivial they could have been very serious. John Filliger figured in the first one, and Mr. Ryan in the second.

While painting the barn John Filliger lost his footing and fell about thirty-five or forty feet. There was only one spot he could fall on without being seriously hurt and John fell right there. This spot was the manure pile and all around it was broken slate and old boards with rusty nails in them. It would have been pretty nasty if John's guardian angel hadn't pushed him in the right direction.

Mr. Ryan broke the fall of a heavy beam with his head. While knocking down an old shed one of the timbers fell the wrong way and Mr. Ryan was hit but by quick stepping avoided the full force. Ryan said he learned how to step lively when he used to dance Irish jigs.

We believe that the old saying, "God takes care of children and fools," should be rewritten to read, "God takes care of children, fools and Catholic Workers."

By JAMES F. MONTAGUE

Private Property

Community of property is attributed to the law of nature, not because that law dictates that all things are to be held in common and nothing is private property, but because the law of nature does not make any distinction of property: that is done rather by human arrangement which belongs to positive law. Hence private possession of property is not contrary to the law of nature, but is added to it by a device of human reason.

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS.

SANCTUARY

Tonight let us beg a respite from it all—

The clamor of words and 'isms,' the loud unbelief;
Let us kneel with the dumb things here at a lowly stall,
Dumb, too, with wonder and love and a deep relief.

Tomorrow we speak for His sake with an eager tongue,
But gentle whispers, then silence and rest tonight;
Only the echo of song the Elect have sung,
Darkness and dream and the Uncreated Light.

MARY H. DWYER.

Catholic Worker Program of Action

I. Clarification of Thought through

- 1—The Catholic Worker; Pamphlets, Leaflets.
- 2—Round Table Discussions

II. Immediate Relief through

- 1—The Individual Practice of the Works of Mercy
- 2—Houses of Hospitality
- 3—Appeals, not demands, to existing groups.

III. Long-Range Action

Through Farming Communes providing people with work, but no wages and exemplifying production for use not for profits.

ALLIED MOVEMENTS.

- 1—Cooperatives
- 2—Workers Associations (Unions)
- 3—Maternity Guilds
- 4—Legislation for the Common Good