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Priest Favors Unilateral Disarmament

"When you are in a runaway car going down a steep winding hill towards a precipice," Fr. Herbert McCabe, an English Dominican, declared in the current issue of *Blackfriars*, "you can either devote your intelligence to keeping it on the road as long as possible before the inevitable smash, or you can take the risk of jumping out now and perhaps being killed, but perhaps being permanently safe. The unilateralist wants to take the risk now. If I may declare an interest, on balance I think he is right."

In his article, "Morals and Nuclear War," he stressed the importance of remembering morality "is not immediately concerned with what happens but with what people do." "It is important to restate this platitude because nearly all muddle in questions of morality comes from forgetting it."

Criticizing the theory that having nuclear weapons deters from there being used he said, "This is the argument that deterrence involves a paradox. If you have nuclear arms you either intend to use them or you do not. If you intend to use them then you are not relying on deterrence to justify your possession of them; if you do not intend to use them they will not be a deterrent. In order for them to be deterrent you would have at least to pretend by lying that you would use them, and lying we know is a sin."

Christmas Epistle

Beloved: The grace of God, our Savior, has dawned on all men alike, schooling us to forgo irreverent thoughts and worldly appetites, and to live, in the present world, a life of order, of justice, and of holiness. We were to look forward, blessed in our hope, to a day when there will be a new dawn of glory, the glory of our Savior Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, to ransom us from our guilt, a people set apart for himself, ambitious of noble deeds. Be this thy message, this thy encouragement in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Titus 2. 11-15



Bishops Go Left:—Latin American Crisis Joint Conference Called

By IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER

Grim warning of the necessity for a change of front in Catholic approaches to Communism in South America was given by the Most Rev. Bernardo Pinera, bishop of Temuco, Chile, in a number of interviews and public appearances in Chicago during October. The bishop was on his way to Canada, where one diocese, that of St.

John's, has adopted a diocese in Chile—Santiago.

"Communists fight with tenacity and determination for and with the working poor to better their lot," said Bishop Pinera. "If bishops or priests forthrightly condemn the Communists, who seemingly are trying to help the poor, the workers will distrust the clergymen, and bracket them with the rich classes and impersonal rich countries like the United States."

Telling the worker that Communism deprives him of the right to own private property is no threat to a man who owns nothing, never has, and never hopes to own anything under conditions now existing. Likewise talk of "freedom," or slogans like "Better dead than Red" make no impression on starving and hopeless people.

Peru

This warning by Bishop Pinera is one of a startling series of utterances which have come from the South American hierarchy within the past year. Archbishop Leonarda Rodriguez Ballon, O.F.M., of Arequipa, Peru, in a pastoral letter issued Aug. 1 in connection with Peru's Catholic Social Week, outlined five steps to promote the common good:

1. Nationalization of big business
2. Encouragement of Production cooperatives
3. High inheritance taxes
4. Business reform to coordinate production
5. Expropriation and redistribution of private property.

The archbishop explained; "Effective action by a government truly representative of the common good, to bring about general redistribution of property in Peru, is urgent. It is necessary to limit the right of ownership to force it to fulfill its social function."

He pointed out that in Puno (Continued on page 7).

THE RACE PROBLEM AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

By FR. PHILIP F. BERRIGAN, SSJ

Recently, in New Orleans, a young priest was sent to a "White" parish to offer two Masses on a Sunday. (In New Orleans, parishes are usually distinguished as White or Colored). In the Gospel, Our Lord was tested by a Doctor of the Law, and from the encounter

came the two great Commandments of Love. The priest came armed to preach on this text with an application to the injustice of segregation. He quoted his text and the words of Christ saying that on these two commandments depend the whole Law and the Prophets, and was getting nicely launched into his sermon, when suddenly there came an abrupt disturbance from the congregation. A man was on his feet in the middle of the church, waving his arms excitedly and shouting toward the pulpit, "Hey! I didn't come here to listen to this junk. I came to hear Mass." The priest stopped talking and waiting quietly. His action made the parishoner even more provoked; he cried out again, adding that he would leave if the sermon were not terminated. Here and there, he got support.

Another gentleman made himself heard, and to be original, said that he would not endure this "crap," emphasizing too, that he would leave the church if the priest did not return to the altar. The priest still waited. Whereupon, the two men, followed by about fifty other Catholics, left the church, amid confusion and somewhat bitter recrimination, the first gentleman administering the coup de grace, "If I miss Mass today, you're responsible."

Basic Problems

I tell you this story for several reasons; first, to illustrate the enormity of the White problem to conscience; secondly, to bring attention to the vacuum of teach-

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Advent and the McCarren Act

By JAMES FOREST

"An injury to one is an injury to all," goes the old Wobbly saying. As we are members in Christ's Mystical Body, to which all are called, this should be especially meaningful to us, making us particularly aware of the basic demands of justice which are a prerequisite to love. But it has even added significance at this moment in the liturgical year as we are now entering into the season of preparation for Christ's coming, Advent, which reminds us that we must be doing just that—preparing for Christ, building His Kingdom.

In June of this year, in a tight 5 to 4 decision, the Supreme Court upheld the McCarren Act. This law requires groups labeled by the Government's Subversive Activities Control Board as "subversive," to register as such, identify all their mail and literature as "subversive" and face fines up to \$10,000 and five years in jail for each day of non-compliance. The Department of Justice specified a date by which all subversives must register, the days of non-compliance being figured from that date. As was stated in the dissenting opinions of four Supreme Court Justices, and has been made even clearer by the subsequent action of the Justice Department, the basic purpose of the McCarren Act is the suppression of the Communist Party and its "action" units.

Explaining his reasons for dissent, Justice Hugo Black stated, "... it can [not] be too often stressed that the freedoms of speech, press, petition and assembly . . . must be accorded to the ideas we hate or sooner or later they will be denied to the ideas we cherish. The first banning of an association because it advocates hated ideas . . . marks a fateful moment . . . That moment seems to have arrived for this country."

We are hearing more and more about the Communist threat, the war threat, military preparedness, "first strikes" and Communist gains and we can expect, too, to hear more justification for limiting basic freedoms only to those who are "on our side" or "who agree with us." The same logic as used in the McCarran Act says, "If you want peace, prepare for war," (it hasn't worked yet) and now adds, "If you want freedom, prepare for fascism."

"The Communist," says Berdyaev, "is the expression of the Christian's failure." We are all one in Christ, "neither Greek nor Jew, slave nor freeman," and as Advent reminds us, we are all laborers for Christ's Kingdom. For the evils of both Communism and Capitalism we are responsible, we bear the guilt, the failure is ours to share in common. Our Christian faith is on trial; can we as Christians hope to suppress with laws, ideologies which have come about through our own failure to respond to Christ?

As members of the Mystical Body the only answer we can give is the witness of Christ's Life in our own. In our witness we build the Kingdom which on that last day will be ours for eternity; our tools, the Works of Mercy on which we will be judged:

"Then shall the King say to those on his right, 'Come, you blessed

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A Call To Action

As the civil rights movement extends itself into the rural South, an area still largely unaffected by civil rights gains, it will shift its major concern from desegregation of social facilities to attack the economic and political bases of discrimination and segregation. It will also work closely with unions and groups of a progressive nature. The movement will have an increasing need for independents who can pull up their roots and live for periods of time with families in depressed Southern rural areas. This will entail working with them in the fields and sharing all their life conditions.

The following problems appear the most acute in the rural South:

- 1) the continued existence of an exploitative tenant system which is not amenable to the older legalistic means of change;
- 2) displacement through mechanization, a process which through forced migration threat-

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On Pilgrimage

By Dorothy Day

AND MORE ABOUT CUBA

To cure unemployment and poverty in Puerto Rico, the United States has advocated birth control in Puerto Rico. The Castro government has not done this in Cuba.

Abortion and sterilization clinics have been set up in Japan to handle overpopulation problems and unemployment, with the tacit (?) approval of the United States. This has not happened in Cuba.

This last month, Archbishop Bernard Mels, Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and four of his missionaries were imprisoned in Leopoldville, after they had been manhandled and insulted, and twenty other priests beaten. There were reports that thirty of the 120 nuns of the archdiocese were manhandled. A third of the Congolese troops ran amok and there was widespread rape in Luluabourg, Albertville and Kindu.

Nothing like this has happened in Cuba, though half the priests were deported and (we do not know how many nuns) and all the church property nationalized. None of the priests or nuns are leaving the archdiocese in Africa, although there is almost a complete exodus of teachers, recruited over the last few months, according to an account in the diocesan press.

The killing and dismemberment (Continued on page 2)

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We Urge Justice— Release Morton Sobell

Ten-and-a-half years ago, in the height of the McCarthyite "scare," Morton Sobell was convicted as a co-conspirator in the Julius and Ethel Rosenberg atomic espionage case and sentenced to thirty years. Though eligible for parole last April he is still imprisoned in the federal penitentiary at Atlanta.

Several facts concerning Mr. Sobell's conviction continue to plague the minds of those concerned with the demands of basic justice:

- Federal Judge Irving Kaufman's instruction to the jury that Morton Sobell be judged solely on the basis of Max Elitcher's testimony (which was uncorroborated by any other witness). Max Elitcher was an admitted perjurer on another matter.
- The Supreme Court's refusal to review the case, which many jurists both here and abroad say was unfair and, on the basis of the court record itself, Morton Sobell was not guilty. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black stated, "The U.S. Supreme Court has never reviewed the record of this trial and therefore never affirmed the fairness of the trial."
- Ruth Greenglass, who admitted a role in the conspiracy, never being prosecuted and Max Elitcher never being tried for his admitted perjury. The Rosenbergs, on the other hand, were executed protesting their innocence (with even the Pope asking clemency) and Sobell, still maintaining his innocence, continues to remain in prison—seemingly the victim of a period of Right Wing terror in this country.

Tuesday, December 12, a Methodist minister from North Carolina, David Andrews, is beginning a non-violent protest of kneeling in prayer before the White House in an appeal for Presidential clemency. He will be joined in his civil disobedience (as it is against the law in Washington to demonstrate in such a way) by others. Those who cannot risk imprisonment will join in a picket. On the 16th and 17th a "round the clock" vigil will be conducted in front of the White House starting Saturday morning and ending Sunday night. Buses from nearby cities will support the demonstration.

Further information is available from the National Committee for Justice for Morton Sobell in New York City (AL 4-9983).

Joe Hill House

Rt. 3, Box 3086
Auburn, Calif.
Nov. 28, 1961

Dear Fellow CW's:

Had a good trip back to California and a brief, but interesting visit with Ammon in Salt Lake City. I got into Salt Lake late at night and left at 7:00 the following evening, but spent most of the time at Ammon's Joe Hill House and got a good look at what he is doing there. In his usual well organized and efficient manner Ammon has contacted wholesalers and other people who give him all the food he needs (with the exception of a few items like eggs and margarine). A coffee company gave him 24 pounds of coffee. He begged and salvaged all the furniture, blankets and equipment for the place. He feeds about 65 or 70 men a day and has 12 regular beds in the back for himself and the kitchen staff and whoever else is staying on. In the front each night the fellows who usually have bedrolls and only need a place to get in out of the cold, sleep on the floor. The men who need hospitality in Salt Lake City are mostly transient workers going through on the freights. Most of them may drink but they are not complete and helpless alcoholics. There isn't any other place in Salt Lake where a man can get a meal and a place to sleep if he is broke, though Ammon says a "mission" of some kind will let them stay once in 30 days

for overnight. Beside the house of hospitality I think Ammon's influence is needed in the conservative and complacent atmosphere of Salt Lake. He has been picketing against capital punishment for one thing and he may even wake some Catholics up along with a few Mormons. I was dubious of his wanting to go to SLC until I saw what he is actually doing. I think it is a good choice on his part. You would admire the cleanliness and homelike atmosphere of his Joe Hill House. I think I hope that you can see it sometime.

With affection and prayers,
Carol Gorgen
P.S. From a Catholic Dictionary by W. E. Addis and T. Arnold:

"Two great principles concerning conscience are laid down by Catholic divines. First, a man is always bound to follow his conscience, even if false and erroneous . . . The reason is obvious. We apprehend the law of God in the particular case through the dictates of conscience, and here a disobedience to conscience is an act of rebellion against God . . . Nor can any injunction of any authority, ecclesiastical or civil, make it lawful for a man to do that which his conscience unhesitatingly condemns as certainly wicked. God Himself, Billuart says, cannot make it lawful for a man to act against his conscience, because to do so without sin is a contradiction in terms."

ON PILGRIMAGE

(Continued from page 1)

of the thirteen Italian airmen which took place during the month was because they were taken for Belgians. They were flying supplies to a U.N. garrison of 200 Malaysians in Kindu, in the Kivu province. A drunken group of 80 soldiers of the central government perpetrated the crime. None of the 200 or so Europeans living in Kindu were harmed.

To Overcome Fear

On the one hand the Holy Father and the hierarchy of the Church are begging for lay missionaries, for a papal peace corps, for skilled teachers, doctors, technicians to go into missionary areas and we are wondering if these new recruits are getting any teaching about the necessity of laying down their lives for their brothers.

We have reached that stage, in the evolution of peace in England and America when it is not expected of a priest or sister to take up arms to defend themselves on missionary work in foreign countries. (On the other hand, the seminaries are half empty in France, due to the Algerian war, and eighty-five priests on active duty in the army signed a protest against the torture of Algerians by French troops last year.)

On the one hand missionaries go forth ready to die. And on the other hand, we have now a priest defending the right of man to defend his life, to ward off intruders from his family air raid shelter by force of arms. Of course a man is not going to hell for defending himself with a lethal weapon when he has never been taught non-violence, love of enemy, bearing wrongs patiently, doing good to those who spitefully use him, giving up his cloak when his coat is taken, laying down his life for his brother, in other words, living the Gospel way. To speak of men making the supreme sacrifice when they have been trained to kill, to drop bombs on unarmed men, women and children, the sick and old, is blasphemy if we seriously considered it.

A new commandment (not a counsel) was given us by Jesus Christ when he said we should love others as he had loved us, and forgive those who tortured and killed us.

It seems to me a part of the training of all who are in the papal peace corps or in any peace corps, should be in overcoming fear, the fear which paralyzes the flesh and would lead a man to take to any implement handy to wipe out his opponent's threat.

The theologians who justify a man's right to defend himself, are preaching casuistry, dealing with cases which should be dealt with in the confessional, not in the pulpit or the press.

In Jail

Forgive me if I again speak of my paltry prison experiences. I do not mean to boast, but one must speak from experience, and one only meets closely those who have confessed to, or been accused of murder, in our prisons. We may have murderers around us, among the hundreds who come in from the Skid Roads of our country to eat with us, but we ask no questions—a man has to eat. One has felt violence imminent, when a crazed Negro threatened to go berserk when a Bowery woman pushed off the table his new hat which a relative had bought him to attend the funeral of his son who had died the week before. And murder was committed by accident in our Troy New York house of hospitality years ago when one man knocked another man down in a sudden brawl.

But it was in jail I met a gentle woman, mother of five children, who had endured countless beatings from her husband. She was in the cell opposite me, crowded in on an extra bed, which took up all the available room in the cell which was meant for one cot, and she lay there with a look of utter despair on her face and did not

eat or move, hour after hour.

That was the last year we were imprisoned, and since we refused to pay bail, we were placed on the floor with women awaiting trial. In our corridor there were two kidnappers and five women accused of murder.

Murder and Kidnapping.

There was a kidnapper down the row who knelt down each night by her cot and said the rosary and some novena prayers, and she urged any of the other women there to join her. By the time Deane and I were imprisoned, there were eight or ten, kneeling around the bed.

It was only this praying which drew the new prisoner out of her despair. That touch of beauty in the midst of this place of horror in which she for the first time in her life found herself, drew her back into the current of life around her. She told me later of her crime, her terror as she felt her husband's hands close about her throat and before breath was choked off completely her clutching at the knife she had been using to cut bread with for her children, and her stabbing him in the side, to make him release his hold on her. It was instinctive, this seizing of any weapon. Could she be considered guilty? I don't know what disposition the judge made of the case, but I am pretty sure, with



Who shall separate us now
from the love of CHRIST?

the testimony of neighbors and with good counsel, if she had it, her crime could have been called self defense. Certainly any priest would have absolved her in the confessional. It takes three things, all of them combined, to make a mortal sin, serious matter, deliberation and full consent of the will.

I am sure it was of these things that Fr. McHugh was thinking as he wrote his articles in America. Frantic with fear for his loved ones at an impending raid, and undoubtedly for himself, having sacrificed much to build, at the persuasion of our "leaders," our own Governor of New York, even our President, what he considered an adequate shelter, a dungeon where he and his family were to be imprisoned for weeks, a man pretty certainly would kill when others, as frantic as himself, and without money to build tried to crowd in with him. I can only think he is as likely to be shot as to shoot. But providing he does kill the intruder, and does get out finally and find a priest, undoubtedly that priest, with his moral theology, will find him innocent of mortal sin and not in danger of hell fire, or rather of any more hell than the hell he comes out to. We are now living in a hell with our fears, our despairs, which are filling our mental hospitals, and skid roads around the country.

Unemployment

We have a good article by Ed Turner on Peter Maurin this month and Peter was more preoccupied with unemployment than

with any other issue and certainly if you consider the old adage, "the devil finds work for idle hands to do," we can apply it to our present arms race. It is only war and the threat of war that keeps as many people employed as we have today. And yet there is enough poverty and destitution in the world to keep our own economy busy providing for others and keep everyone here employed. "From each according to his ability and to each according to his need," Karl Marx said. And St. Paul said, "Let your abundance supply their want." "Bear ye one another's burdens." Love one another, for love is the fulfilling of the law."

Peter talked about a philosophy of work, which would mean, I take it, that we would accept dull work, and monotonous work, which was nevertheless useful work, as part of our human condition, necessary for the common good, and doing penance for turning from God by earning our living by the sweat of our brow. It would mean also that man would seek creative work too, and so fulfill himself as one made in the image and likeness of God Who is Creator. Fr. de Menasse said once that emphasis on sex is the result of man not being able to satisfy his creative instinct in work.

Chekhov

This last month I have been reading a lot of Chekhov, beginning with an article by Thomas Mann in which he quotes Chekhov as saying continually "am I not deceiving my readers, in not being able to answer his most important question?" "No other utterance ever had such impact on me; in fact it prompted my close study of Chekhov's biography," Mann writes. That question which Chekhov brings out in all his stories is "What is to be done?" What is life for? Chekhov's conclusion is that we are here to work, to serve our brother, and he was a doctor and wrote on the side in order to support himself through medical school and to support also his father, mother and brothers. He said toward the close of his life that much had been done for the sick but nothing for the prisoner so he set off to visit the far off prison island of Sakhalin, traveling by carriage over flooded country side, and finally spending three months with the convicts, in the convict colony north of Vladivostok, a visit which resulted in many reforms.

Not to be a parasite, not to live off of others, to earn our own living by a life of service, this answered the question for him. And we have too that sureness of an answer—We must try to make that kind of a society in which it is easier for man to be good. "If you love me, keep my commandments," God says.

Man needs work, the opportunity to work, the tools to work with, the strength to work, the will to work. And when we see a Castro dealing with the problem of unemployment and poverty and illiteracy, we can only say—"We will see this good in him, that which is of God in every man," and we will pray for him and for his country daily.

Warships South of Cuba

I do not wonder Cuba protested the presence of warships in the waters near Cuba, facing the Dominican Republic. And that protest took the form of an assertion by Premier Castro that he was a Marxist-Leninist, and that he would work for a consolidation of his own party with that of the Communists. But even in the reports that came from radio and press there were discrepancies, and I should like very much to read the entire speech. The radio stated that he had been a communist all along, throughout his college years but did not wish to come out openly. The New York Times spoke of his "conversion" as recent. I should say it was as

(Continued on page 7)

Twelve years ago this past May 15, on the Feast of St. John Baptist de La Salle, Peter Maurin died. The Academy Guild Press of Fresno, California has issued the ultimate and authoritative edition of Peter's "Easy Essays" under the title: *The Green Revolution, "Easy Essays on Catholic Radicalism."* The illustrations are by Fritz Eichenberg with introduction by Dorothy Day and foreword by John Cogley. Because his collected works have been out of print these past eight years and aside from the lack of an index, we have in our hands a fitting memorial to this remarkable man. Remarkable if for nothing more than having shown the American Catholic layman how to speak out and act effectively within the Church, however eccentric some may have thought him.

Peter, peasant, sometime Christian Brother—observer of the French lay Catholic movement—Canadian homestead immigrant— itinerant day laborer and philosopher, always teacher, was fifty-seven when he met Dorothy, whose journalistic abilities gave him the platform that made his a national voice. For eleven years from 1933 one or more of his "Easy Essays" were to appear in *The Catholic Worker* month after month expounding his message on man's social condition, till the use of his mind was taken from him in the long five year illness that preceded his death.

In this review I wish to present an outline of the content of Peter's thought. Later articles will approach Peter's thought by comparing it with Ammon Hennacy's and a critique of my own. I will prescind from comment on his literary style—his stylized prose—even in the quotations, deplorable though this is, for the sake of space, noting only that an excellent Doctorate thesis on this aspect has been written by Brendan O'Grady considering its phrased format, simplicity, popular diction, conciseness, repetition, definitions, orderliness, use of authorities and witnesses, recommended readings, and humor. Soon, we hope, someone will publish this worthy thesis for general circulation. Nor will I have much to say of Peter's biography. Anyone interested should see, *Peter Maurin: Gay Believer* by Arthur Sheehan, Hanover House, New York 1959.

Peter did not begin publishing till he was fifty-seven, after a long, varied career and his last essays were written eleven years later. The whole period was dominated by two considerations: The Great Depression, Unemployment, and The Second World War. By and large, what he said in 1933 we find him still emphasizing in 1944. He had a definite point of view and saw himself in the role of propagandist, or more properly agitator.

We do not have to look far to find the origin of his point of view. Having been a teacher, he learned to repeat himself: to emphasize his points and to make himself understood. The French social movement of de Mun, La Tour du Pin, and Leon Harmel and the Sillon Movement of Marc Sangnier gave him his four step plan of action: investigate, cogitate, agitate, instigate. The homestead experience stressed for him the inadequacy of rugged individualism on the land. He knew first hand the sufferings of the day laborer in twentieth century industrialized America. But above all else The Great Depression and the preparation for the Second World War, marks of our society's failure, caused him to reach into his own experience and suggest something: peasantry. His was to be a humanism against the inhumanism of the rugged individualism of the twenties: "Service for profits; time is money; cash and carry; business is business; keep smiling; watch your step, how is the rush? How are you making out? How is the world treating you? The law of supply and demand; Competition is the life of trade; your dollar is your best friend; so is your old man."

Against this he offered the Christian humanism of the Gospels: "feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, harbor the homeless, clothe the naked, care for the sick, visit the prisoner, bury the dead, console the sorrowful, instruct the ignorant, counsel the perplexed, admonish the sinner, bear injustices patiently, forgive all injuries, pray for the living and the dead." All at personal sacrifice. And the humanism of St. Francis: "Lord make me an instrument of your peace! Where there is injury let me sow pardon, where there is doubt—faith, where there is despair—hope, where there is darkness—light, where there is sadness—joy. O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek: to be consoled as to console, to be understood as to understand, to be loved as to love. For: it is in giving that we receive, it is in pardoning that we are pardoned, it is in dying that we are born to eternal life."

Peter did not see himself as offering a panacea nor that a panacea would be desirable: "The Catholic Worker is a free-lance movement not a partisan movement. Some of the Bishops agree with our policies and some don't. We are criticized by many Catholics for some of our policies and especially our Spanish (Cuban?) policy. The Communist Party has a party line. The Catholic Worker has no party line. There is no party line in the Catholic Church" and again: "People learn by doing. The trouble is, people want blueprints. I don't want to give blueprints. Let them struggle with it. As they face problems, they get light."

At the center of Peter's thought is: "The present would be different if they had made the past different. The future will be different if we make the present different." This is what he meant by going to the root, being radical. But he constantly insisted only this radicalism is logical and that "what is not logical is not practical even if it is practiced." And he elaborated on this: we must know "why things are what they are. What is wrong with things as they are. How we got that way. The way out. How things could be if they were as they should be. How a path can be made from things as they are to the things as they should be." This sixfold logical construction of his thought is what Peter always returns to in all his essays and what we will discuss.

Why things are what they are

Capitalism is rugged individualism; Fascism is rugged nationalism; Bolshevism is rugged collectivism (21, 43, 53,

Peter Maurin

By ED TURNER

141 numbers are page references in *The Green Revolution*). College professors do not profess anything but teach subjects (26). Liberals do not know how to liberate, conservatives do not know what to conserve (61, 108). Communists are not communists but socialists (152). Christians pass the buck (111). Non-Catholic Catholics are a scandal (153). New England is bankrupt (161). No one wants pie in the sky so we get Hell here and now (173). The national thinking of Mussolini, the racial thinking of Hitler, the mass thinking of Stalin (120).

What is wrong with things as they are

Usury (215, 63, 17-20, 19, 76)

"The sex problem, the marriage problem, the crime problem, the problem of armaments and international trade, all those problems could be solved if we would recognize the necessity of abolishing trade in money, and especially the international trade in money; that is to say, the usury, the legalized usury, practiced by the banks under the protection of their charters with the support of the so-called orthodox economists. That is the first thing to be recognized." Eric Gill. "Modern society has



made the bank account the standard of values and the banker has the power. So: the technician has to supervise the making of profits; the politician has to assure law and order in the profit-making system; the educator trains students in the technique of profit-making; the clergyman is expected to bless the profit-making system or to join the unemployed; the sermon on the Mount is declared impractical; we have an acquisitive society."

"The Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church forbid usury. They did not consider usurers gentlemen. They could not see anything gentle in trying to live on the sweat of somebody else's brow. John Calvin legalized money lending at interest. He made the bank account the standard of values. So: people ceased to produce for use and began to produce for profits; they became wealth-producing maniacs; they produced too much wealth; they went on an orgy of wealth destruction and destroyed ten million lives besides; and fifteen years after a worldwide orgy of wealth and life destruction millions of people find themselves victims of a world-wide depression brought about by a world gone mad on mass-production and mass-distribution."

"Because John Calvin legalized money-lending at interest, the State has legalized money-lending at interest."

"So: home-owners have mortgaged their homes; farmers have mortgaged their farms; institutions have mortgaged their buildings; congregations have mortgaged their churches; cities, counties, States, & The Federal Government have mortgaged their budgets; and people find themselves in all kinds of financial difficulties."

"Some people say that inflation is desirable. Some say that inflation is deplorable. Some say that inflation

is deplorable but inevitable. The way to avoid inflation is to lighten the burden of the money borrowers without robbing the money lenders. The way is to pass two laws, one making immediately illegal all interest on money lent and another obliging the money borrowers to pay one percent of their debt every year during a period of 100 years."

"When people save money, they invest money, which increases production, which brings a surplus in production, which brings unemployment, which brings a slump in business, which brings more unemployment, which brings a depression, which brings red agitation, which brings red revolution. To give money to the poor is to enable the poor to buy, which improves the market, which helps business, which reduces unemployment, which reduces crime, which reduces taxation. So why not give to the poor for business' sake, for humanity's sake, for God's sake."

Secularism (6, 50, 165-168)

"Modern society believes in separation of Church and State. The Jews, The Greeks, The Medievalists, The Puritans did not. Modern society separates Church and State but not State from business. It does not believe in a Church's State but in a businessmen's state. 'And it is the first time in the history of the world that the State is controlled by business men,' James Truslow Adams wrote."

"What ails modern society is the separation of the spiritual from the material' Glenn Frank. 'Secularism is a pest' Plus XI. When religion has nothing to do with education, education is only information; plenty of facts but no understanding. When religion has nothing to do with politics, politics is only factionalism; 'Let's turn the rascals out so our good friends can get in.' When religion has nothing to do with business, business is only commercialism; 'Let's get what we can while the getting is good'."

"To secularize is to prostitute: In Marriage: Birth control is prostitution of marriage. Prostitution of marriage is prostitution plus hypocrisy. In Education: The teaching of facts without understanding is prostitution of education. In the Press: To give people what they want but should not have is to pander, to pander to the bad in man is to make men inhuman to men. In Politics: By making a business out of politics politicians have prostituted the noble calling of politics. Of Property: To use property to acquire more property is not the proper use of property. It is a prostitution of property. The Theatre: Pandering to the crowds has brought the degradation of the theatre. The theatre has ended in the gutter. In Art: Now that the artists no longer believe in the doctrine of the Common Good they sell their work to art speculators. As Eric Gill says, 'They have become the lap-dogs of the bourgeoisie.'"

Industrialism is evil. (58)

How we got that way

Peter believed in a causal relationship in history. "The present would be different if they had the past different." And he made several outlines of this view which I will indicate. "For A New Order: The Age of Reason, The Age of Treason, The Age of Chaos, The Age of Order." (181) "Five Forms of Capitalism: Mercantile Capitalism, Factory Capitalism, Monopoly Capitalism, Finance Capitalism, State Capitalism" (199). "In The Light Of History: 1200—Guild System, 1400—Middle Men, 1600—Banker, 1700—Manufacturer, 1800—Economist, 1914—World War, 1929—World Depression, 1933—New Deal, 1933—Catholic Worker" (79). "Utilitarians, Futilitarians, Totalitarians: Utilitarian Philosophers, Utilitarian Economists, Fascism and Marxism, Capitalism, Fascism, Communism" (139).

There were some others that were not included in this collection because they seemed out of date or repeat thoughts already expressed. Some of these were: "Colonial Expansion: Protecting France, protecting England, Civilizing Ethiopia, League of Nations." "From Richelieu to Hitler: 100% Frenchman, thirty years war, Treaty of Westphalia, Birth of Prussia, Seven Years War, Place in the Sun, United Germany, Nations and Nations." "Pax: Pax Geneva, Pax Romana, Pax Germania, Pax Moscovia, Pax Britannica, Pax Hibernia, Pax Vaticana." "For Protections Sake: Protecting France, Protecting England, Protecting Japan, Protecting Russia, Protecting Italy, Protecting Germany, Protecting Humanity." "Revolutions: The English Revolution, The French Revolution, The Russian Revolution, The American Revolution." "Wreckers of Europe: Philip the Fair, Machiavelli, Luther, Richelieu, Adam Smith, Napoleon, Hitler."

The Way Out

"The Catholic social philosophy is the philosophy of The Common Good of St. Thomas Aquinas." (37) "Industrialism started with England. R. H. Tawney said that the Englishmen wear blinkers. A few Englishmen got rid of their blinkers: William Cobbett, John Ruskin, William Morris, Arthur Peaty, Hilaire Belloc, G. K. Chesterton, Eric Gill." (215) "The guiding principles of social reconstruction are in the social teachings of the Catholic Church through the centuries, in the encyclicals of Pope Pius XI, and Pope Leo XIII and in the writings of churchmen, sociologists, and economists such as: Cardinal Manning, Bishop Von Ketteler, Professor Toniolo, and the Marquise de Tour du Pin." The Franciscans in Texas, New Mexico, and California (146). The Paraguay Reductions (169). St. Benedict on 'Labore et Orare' (29) What St. Francis Desired (38). The Prophets of Israel and the Fathers of the Church (17 & 24). The Greeks on Hospitality (6). The Koran on Hospitality (8). and St. Thomas More who believed that the Common Law was rooted in Canon Law (88) are all guides to the way out. This is expressed in "the sociology that has something to do with theology, the sociology of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Thomas More." (52)

How Things would be if they were as they should be

"The social order was constructed by the first Christ-

(Continued on page 8)

(Continued from page 1)
ing on the subject; thirdly, to insist that a courageous and unequivocal approach is essential if error is to be eradicated and truth implanted. For in the long run, the majority of American Catholics will accept truth if it is properly presented. And the rest we must leave to Heaven, as they say, for the "hard sell" of Christ has never won 100% adherence.

The Silent Moderates

Perhaps the greatest factor in the painfully slow progress of Race Relations in this country is not the lack of governmental action, not the opposition of the Southern "bloc" in Congress, not the racists common to both North and South, but the silence of the "Moderates," the fact that many good people sit on their hands in a position of safety, watching the life stream pass them by, apprehensive, unconvinced, uncommitted, merely "good."

Even the Whites who are running to suburbia in New York City, in Washington, D.C., in Philadelphia, Detroit and Chicago are finding that they are taking their consciences with them and that running merely puts off meeting themselves a little longer.

I remember the Sec. of State of Louisiana shout (everyone in the South except the Negro seems to shout when they get on this issue) at a White Citizens Council Meeting, "All them Yankees can run outa New York to the Island or up the river, or they can run outa Washington to Maryland or Virginia. But where we gonna run, into the Gulf of Mexico? Ah'm gonna stay and fight." These attitudes, both North and South are questionable, but which of the two, we might ask ourselves, is the more honest?

Problem of Conscience

But to get down to issues a bit more, I would like to tell you a story which could exemplify the typical American attitude toward the misnomer called the Race Problem, more precisely termed, the White Problem of Conscience. A sociologist happened to be visiting an art museum in one of the cultural centers of the Old South. There, he was particularly taken with a striking sculpture in terra-cotta called "Soldier in the Rain," a statue which really represented a Colored Man lynched by hanging. He was absorbed in admiring the statue with two elderly ladies, who volunteered their time as guides for tourists, offering explanations and supplying historical data. When he remarked to them that the statue was a most remarkable example of its subject, a lynched Negro, they became emotionally wrought, said that it was a simple portrayal of an executed soldier and even brought forth newspaper clippings to prove their point. Rather wryly, the man countered with the fact that soldiers are never executed in war or during peacetime by hanging, and at this, their confusion became more apparent, being well on the way to anger.

Seeing this and that the situation was worsening, the sociologist left them, but his curiosity aroused, went to look for the artist, a local man who lived and worked nearby. Now the artist was a Latin American of almost purely Indian descent, and hence, very dark. His complexion sometimes made things embarrassing for him as it had recently, when he had been caught on the street with a White woman, and unrecognized by the police, he had been given a severe beating.

The visitor opened the conversation by complimenting him on his work and then telling him of his experience at the museum, finally asked him to clear up the matter. The artist casually remarked that there was nothing to clear up, his work was merely an abstract piece representing a soldier, "any soldier."

The sociologist became exasperated at this and heatedly insisted that the statue was a lynched Negro and that it was an odd situation when a spectator happened to

be more familiar with a piece of art than its creator. This broke the resistance of the artist and he admitted very frankly that he intended the statue to be what it was all the time. His answer perplexed the sociologist and he asked, "Aren't you aware that everyone will know it for what it is?"

"Yes, they'll know it," said the artist, "but they don't want to

patterns of law, and of security on a problem which we have taken pains to avoid. We have generally been aghast at Little Rock, at the bombings at Clinton and in Atlanta, at the gerrymandering in Tuskegee, at the mob scenes in New Orleans and on the University of Georgia Campus, and at the jail sentences given the Freedom Riders in Jackson, Miss. Yet we forget that within our

Puritans, and who now left the coastal areas to seek the clean slate, the new beginning and the new land, where they could, above all, determine their own lives. They were tough and hardy, as determined by their acclimation to the changeable, hot and humid climate of the new country and by their quick adaptation to new soil, new food and crops. They were brave and reckless

sometimes violent approach to life and its problems. Far from interpreting life in terms of religious belief, the average Southerner often adapted, and still does, religious belief to fit the framework of his life, and when this became difficult, morality, though square, was made to fit the round hole. The class system, miscegenation before and after the Civil War, ruthless economics, slavery, the suffrage for the Negro, politics, all became occasions for the application of a situation ethics, and in the mind of the Southerner the question became reduced to this, what morality will best serve the Way of Life decided upon as best for us?

The Changeless Society

Somewhat in line with this, a Southerner, James McBride Dabbs, said with his usual honesty, that the South has long been the most politically minded section of the country, because "it has had the impossible political job of keeping a changeless society in a changing world."

Or as James Cabell, another Southerner, puts it, "Our actual tragedy isn't that our fathers were badly treated, but that we ourselves are constitutionally unable to do anything except talk about how badly our fathers were treated."

The Southern "Way of Life" then, is not a recent creation, it is the almost universally practical decision of the Southerner to keep the status quo and resist with singular and sometimes violent energy, any effort at change.

A Status Seeker Too

It would be quite incomplete to overlook the part that slavery played in the makeup of the Southerner, so a few ideas might suffice. I think that it's accurate to say that slavery provided the South with, so to speak, a claim to fame, the only institution that would allow her to hold up her head economically and obtain the generally equal status that Southerners so fiercely desired in economic and national affairs.

Forced Farming

The South had no choice but to promote an agrarian economy, for land was her greatest resource, underpopulation a fact to be lived with, labor her greatest need. Her large cities, even Atlanta, New Orleans, Richmond and Natchez were little more than overgrown rural centers. At the time of the Civil War, the North possessed 95% of the heavy industry, the South had but two foundries, one in Richmond, the other in New Orleans.

The North claimed 75% of the nation's railroads and all of its locomotive shops. The South itself produced almost no coal, iron or steel; she had no Navy and but 10% of the nation's shipping.

To Live, Labor, Suffer

But the South did have her rich coastal and delta lands, her "Black Wealth," as the Negroes were often called, her cotton, corn, tobacco, rice, indigo and flax. All things considered, agriculture provided the South with the only prominence available to her, and she was human enough to take it, develop herself at the expense of the Negro, fight for an institution on which depended her whole economic existence, and finally, in the typical fashion so characteristic of her way of life, live and labor and suffer over the effects as she does today.

Charles Sellers, Jr. remarks in his fine book, "The Travail of Slavery," "Slavery simply could not be blended with Liberalism and Christianity, while Liberalism and Christianity were too deeply rooted in the Southern mind to be torn up overnight." And he goes on to say that social psychologists explain that such value conflicts make a society suggestible, i.e., ready to follow the advocates of irrational and aggressive action. "Inflammatory agitation and revolutionary tactics succeeded because Southerners had finally passed beyond the point of rational self-control."

But at any rate, growing up comes hard, and in the case of the South, has been consistently re-

RACE PROBLEMS

know it." "Then why did you make it, no one will dare to buy it, no one will dare to have it in their house?"

"I know that," the poor man answered sadly, "I made it for myself and I'm going to put it in a closet. It shouldn't be called 'The Soldier in the Rain,' but 'The American Skeleton in the Closet.' It's the great deception between the public and myself."

The trouble of the artist then, is symbolic and even symptomatic of the trouble of American society in regard to Minority Groups, and especially the Negro. The principles which should control our approach are crystal clear and most emphatic: our Christian heritage, the admirable provisions of our law, and finally the tenacious adherence of all of us to what has been called the "Great American Experiment." For we believe, having been a part of the process, that the success of the experiment depends on the fusion of all peoples in the country into a national whole, and assimilation of succeeding waves of immigration, the sooner the better. The principles are there, but in the case of the Negro, they are largely ineffectual. He is in our house, but in a closet, and we fear to bring him forth into polite company.

Northern Hypocrisy

The temper of the average Southerner, like that of most of us, is much the product of religious, social and economic influences. I venture that we of the North, especially those of us who possess strong moral convictions on the matter of Race, sin through oversimplification in regard to the Southerner—we are far too prone to categorize his action into areas of black and white, right or wrong, the thing to do and the thing not to do. I am not suggesting compromise here nor that we should squirm when such a moral issue raises its head—I'm merely saying that an accurate understanding eludes us and that our judgements as a result are subjective, unrealistic and very often, highly offensive. The Northern Press has especially sinned in this—editorials and general news coverage since 1954 have been scathing and even hypocritical, betraying by their lack of sympathy and objectivity an intolerable ignorance of Southern history and mores.

Southern Response

Naturally, the Southern Press has replied in kind, sending its reporters to the North for ammunition, pointing to Harlem, the Black Belt of Chicago, the Detroit Race Riot, the ringed cities of Philadelphia and the ghetto life of Negro migrant workers who choose to remain in the North and thereby learn a new type of segregation.

Northern tourists too, (for the South is making increasing efforts to entice road-minded and flush Northerners) have often generated more heat than light while in contact with their Southern neighbors, and many a Southerner still spits out the word "Yankee" with as much unspoken disgust and animosity as in Civil War days or during the Reconstruction Period. We have, too often, fallen victim to a very human failing, that of pontificating from the ivory tower of moral conviction, of established

own back yard is a situation potentially as explosive, and that the Negro has left the South to find a lack of understanding and a segregation even more stringent in some areas than that he left behind. We forget that the old vicious circle of segregation has merely changed geographical boundaries and the discrimination, of whatever kind it is, or whether it be North or South, still breeds hopelessness, inertia, lack of responsibility, resentment and even hatred. We forget that a tremendous national potential is wasted, that local communities suffer through a dry-rot of complacency, that the Negro can't contribute to the commonweal because he has no average chance to be a man, and that our contribution is much limited by the fact that we refuse to be men.

A People Within

But to return to the Southerner. People below the Mason-Dixon Line have always been, in a very true sense, something of a people within a people, and they have built there a country within a country. Their society has been

fighters, as witnessed by their contribution in the Revolutionary War and in the War of 1812, by their astounding struggle against the North and by their work in settling the West. And yet, by a concatenation of circumstance and national trait, every facet of their lives,—religious, social, economic and geographical, worked to make their society a closed one,—personal, introverted and quite effectively removed from outside influence.

Religion in the South

First of all, there is the religion of the South. With rare exceptions (and these exceptions were far more influenced than influencing), the South's religion has been Fundamentalist, believing in the literal interpretation of the Bible, Calvinistic in theology with its emphasis on the good things of the world, Baptist in worship with its pronounced stress on emotionalism.

Southerners have long been known as the most religious people in the country and it is no accident that much of the intense religious culture of the Negro can



classified by sociologists as aristocratic, class, folk and closed, something quite phenomenal in the normal American picture. The French and Spanish left their mark on Southern Louisiana and the Spanish somewhat in Florida, but the greater part of this vast area known as the South was settled by Anglo-Saxons, by pioneers from the Eastern Colonies; by ex-indentured servants, who, having gained their freedom, moved West with the expectation of free land; by the descendants of the original penal colony of Gen. Ogelthorpe in Georgia.

For the most part, these pioneers were English, Welsh, Scotch and Protestant Irish. Imagine them, a proud, highly individualistic and self-sufficient people, whose forbears had fled Europe for much the same reason as the earlier

be traced to their former masters. But what a religion! With its theology vague and unsystematized, morbidly emphatic about sin, viewing Christ as an extension of the avenging Old Testament God, claiming no practical ethics, a religion that provided an outlet for inner strivings and emotion, keeping the Southerner's conscience salved by periodic brushes with the spirit, convincing him in quite astounding fashion that Jesus would "do all."

The religious revivals that began in earnest about 1800 were avowedly orgiastic, tumultuous and principally social in their effects, they provided the people with an opportunity to meet and eat and court, and there is no evidence that the last was neglected. The net result of all this was a confused, emotionally charged and

sisted as a threat, so that even today, she does not have the maturity to realize the full import of her mistakes.

Brutal Post-War Years

In 1865, the South collapsed, exhausted, pillaged, hungry, terribly in debt, a people not only forced to bear the ignominy of defeat, but also endure the brutal and stupid Reconstruction. In addition, there was the burden of providing for some four and a half million freed Negroes. The South had had a little experience with free Negroes, in 1860 there had been a quarter of a million of them and they were a hated and feared minority, a threat to the poor Whites and a constant source of incitement to the otherwise docile slaves.

Now the situation was general, and since the South's greatest problem was one of existence, she meant to stay alive by the only means known to her, the production of foodstuffs. And she could not do this without the help of the colored man, preferably in as close a state of slavery as was legally possible. The Black Codes were the result and their object was not so much an act of discrimination against the Negro, but a move to keep him the laborer that he was, for the South had need of laborers.

The Southern approach to the problem of the freed Negroes continued as a purely economic one until Congress rejected the enlightened Reconstruction Plan of Lincoln and Johnson and adopted the measures of the Northern Radicals. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were pushed through, Whites were disenfranchised, all Negroes given the vote, some States were actually controlled by Negro politicians, and certainly, they exerted heavy weight in all.

Think of the terrible reaction in the mind of the Southerner. The causes that put the Negro in the driver's seat were quite unimportant, plus the fact that he didn't govern as badly as some thought he would. What was bitterly resented was that he governed at all. Imagine an intensely proud, autonomous people recently crippled by the staggering loss of war, treated by their countrymen as a conquered nation which must pay for its opposition by a monumental price of ruin and humiliation. Economically, Southerners were bankrupt, the war had devastated field and city, their manpower was decimated, their trade ruined, their former slaves now ruled them, wore fine clothes, ate rich food and quickly learned the condescending airs of their former masters.

Enter White Supremacy

All factions and classes, planters, tradesmen, shippers, poor whites, by an unsurprising unanimity, came together with a certain, passionate conviction, White Supremacy must be reestablished. Before the War, there had been little need for this, the classes had been too stereotyped by slavery, but now new conditions demanded a new emphasis.

For some 30 years after 1876, the position of the Negro grew steadily worse, both segregation and disenfranchisement bloomed side by side, assuming a more and more effective pattern.

Before the War, freedmen and whites had used the same transportation and for some time after the Reconstruction, both white and colored ate at the same restaurants, attended the same theatres and generally shared the same public facilities. But now the weaknesses of such a system were only too apparent to the Whites and the law was soon used to remind the Negro of his inferior status. As for the vote, Negroes were so discouraged by the success of the Democrats in 1876, that not a great number of them even attempted to vote after this time, and those who did were handled in a highly effective manner, first by illegal means, later by law.

Threats, violence, failure to even count Negro votes came first, later, skilful rewriting of State Constitutions, since the violence came as an unpleasant shock to

tender Southern consciences, while the mere enforcement of law, however unjust, had the usual soothing effect.

The Solution: Segregation

With the majority of Southerners, then, segregation was a final solution to the problem of the Negro, it aimed to provide the only possible substitute for slavery, it aimed to provide insurance for the present and the future.

Unfortunately, the desires of the Negro were not consulted, nor was any reckoning made with the multiple influences imposed by the outside world. The southerner thought himself invulnerable to all of these.

The Arrival of Fear

This is the southern embarrassment then, taken with mother's milk, bred in family life, engendered further by tradition and social custom, complicated by emotionalism, confused by a philosophically and theologically barren religion, fed by hard-headed Yankee pragmatism and economic know-how, and generally resting upon a foundation of fear. Fear of justice, I suppose, fear of retribution, fear of competition, fear of a hated and misused rival whose surprising strength and resiliency rests upon weapons that the southerner does not understand because he has never learned them.

And finally, and most terribly, fear that cannot be diagnosed because it involves the unknown present and the hidden future. The cry for states rights and the purity of the races are rather pitiful gestures, inept attempts by the southern white to be reasonable, and he is not very good at it, never having had much practice.

The tenets of Christianity, the deliberations of law, the determination of the Negro, the pressure of national and world trends, these he does not understand, for his gaze is riveted upon his own person and he cannot understand the larger vision of others.

I heard the head of the Louisiana State Sovereignty Commission make the incredible statement that the only hope for the South was to undertake the education of the whole remaining country to convince it that Federal insistence upon integration was masking an attempt to completely strip the states of their powers. He spoke at a White Citizen's Council Meeting, and the applause was light, for after all, he was attempting to be reasonable and the people had trouble understanding even an attempt at this.

To the North, To the West

Let us take a look at the North and the West, for both sections share roughly the same approach to race relations as the South. It is a fact that the North, regarded by the Negro as a somewhere which will acknowledge his right to be a man, has its own peculiar attitude toward the colored. The Negro, fleeing today in progressively greater numbers to the urban centers of the East and mid-west, and to California especially in the West, invariably meets a rank order of discrimination all the more odious to him because he is unfamiliar with it, because it is often unexpected. Why does it exist and what conditions caused it?

First of all, it is well to realize that the Negro race does not qualify as a segment of the so-called minority groups, and for many reasons. When the great waves of immigration hit America after the Civil War and extended themselves over the 1900's into the present century, they were generally looked upon by Americans as an advantageous means of populating and developing the country.

Once the settling of the West became complete, however, the lot of national groups became harder, for the land having been settled, the immigrants were forced to congregate in the slums of the large cities of the East and mid-west. Their situation there was close to tragic, as the history of New York's East Side can witness, but there was still much in their favor. The American theory of

equality, never quite denied in the North, the gradual disappearance of the language barrier, the often overlooked job of public education, the thrift and toughness of the newcomers, the hope for the future that the national character subtly imparted to them, all contributed to make the immigrant quite thoroughly American in two or three generations. So in spite of the prejudice, in spite of the resistance given the newcomer because he was "different," in spite of the derogatory names attached to national groups, (Mick, Kraut, Polack, Wop and Spick)—Americans have long held that the nationals of Northern and Southern Europe, the Near East and even of Mexico will be incorporated sometime, will become part of the fab-

is a remarkably universal folklore, a belief that there is no niche in American society for the Negro because he cannot be assimilated and he cannot be assimilated because he is inferior, and he is inferior because he is colored. Reductively, the badge of inferiority rests almost wholly upon skin pigmentation, which has, in the American mind, connotations of base origin, strange custom and superstition, and for want of a better word, downright "otherness."

In a way, it is condemnation by association, for the person of the Negro is refused because it is housed in dark lineaments which suggest obscure beginnings and a local history no less odious for having been caused by the white

anything more damaging to the human spirit, I would crave hearing it.

Northern Outlook

But to particularize the problem a bit more in terms of the Northern outlook. Until recently, there have been other concerns in the North which kept race relations apart from close scrutiny. The more rapid tempo of life, the labor problems so much a part of an industrial society, the articulate demands of the Northern farmers, the continuous mass immigration of foreigners, and the fact that numerically, the Negro formed such a slight percentage of the population, all these thrust the question into the background and robbed it of some significance.

Not so now. The Negro today is being pushed from the land by world competition with Southern agricultural products, by his own increasing refusal to tolerate the rank discrimination of the South, and by a national agricultural policy severely prejudicial to the Colored.

Consequently, there exists a mass exodus to the North and to the West. The Creole Negroes of Louisiana and Texas move to California in great numbers; their darker brethren of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas migrate to Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland, while the Georgia, Florida and Carolina Negroes have mostly transferred to Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York City. (Los Angeles receives 1,700 Negroes monthly; Chicago 2,000 every month; New York City, 1,400.) It consoles the Southerner considerably that what has been a sectional question is now a national problem, and the Northerner has come to realize this with reactions that are quite predictable.

Some people here feel that if too much is done for the Negro, the word will spread, the colored will receive encouragement to move North, making the present burden intolerable. Others are resentful over the shouldering of an onus supposedly Southern, and these people point with righteous pride to attitudes that they consider instrumental in drawing the Negro North.

City officials maintain widely that Negroes should be educated to remain South with a view, of course, to have them abstain from coming North. Back and forth the buck is passed, the most amazing rationalizations are employed, the pot calls the kettle black and the kettle responds in kind.

We Are All Guilty

The South is guilty, introspective and sensitive, the North self-righteous, hypocritical and quite unwilling to get involved in a problem that it says it fought the Civil War to solve. The Northern position is as nearly an escape notion as is consistently found in the South, and it can claim no merit at all because its attitude is less charged with emotion. So invariably, Northerners are avid to hear of Southern racial strife, but minimize all local colored news except crime.

They will allow the most serious breaches of justice in housing and economic opportunity in their own cities, while vehemently decrying the segregation of education in the South. The North has very cleverly educated itself to the conviction that here no problem exists, and the barriers erected to keep it from sight have been ingenious, ruthless and highly effective. The Negro simply does not exist locally, there is an education here to ignorance, one furthered by a cold and dispassionate decision.

"God's Mistake"

Very simply, nobody wants to get involved. So if we were to sum up the attitude of our country, we could say that it is a mixture of emotional rejection and callous indifference. As one Southern writer claimed, "We act as though the Negro is some kind of inferior mistake by God." And this situation rests largely on the surprising fact that an educational offensive against racial intolerance, one going deeper than the

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ric of American life, will be, in the fullest sense, American.

The Insurmountable Barrier

Not so with the Negro or with other colored peoples, especially the Chinese and Japanese. With them, instead of efforts to assimilate them, considerable talents and ingenuity is exerted to resist them, to herd them into groups and ghettos and even to advise them to develop a racial pride of their own. But unlike the Chinese and Japanese, the Negro has no national culture to fall back upon for support, he is the prisoner of the culture of the white man, who yet refuses him wholesale entrance into that culture. And at the basis of this consistent and widespread rejection of the Negro

man. The common attitude is this, "It's tough, but that's the way it is."

So a summary of this terrible tragedy would run something like this, the whites have forced the Negro into their culture, and the whites have standardized the credentials for acceptance, and when all other qualifications have been met, withdrawn the prize for want of the one thing lacking, the white skin. It is enough to blast the sensibilities of all but the most callous to see the Negro grope with frantic singlemindedness for all the materialistic trivia of white society, status seeking, credit buying, family limitations, Madison Ave. jargon, and be laughed at for his efforts. If you can imagine

To Kropotkin In Prison

"Place your factories and workshops at the gates of your fields and gardens and work there."

To each toiler his own acre.
What was the harvest?
Bare and small are the Channel Islands.
There will be cabbages Under glass in April.
Stone walls holding the sun
For peachtree and pear-tree
Grape and plum.

What was the harvest,
Sweet anarchist?

In the fields, factories.
What did they spin?
Manchester lies under a hill
Of smoke; Leeds over a black river.
Twenty box-makers to a mill.
There will be cutlers and clothiers
Going home through poplar
To pick beans for supper.

What did the looms spin,
Gentle utopian?
What was the harvest,
Sweet anarchist?

Only the prisoner's hands
Shuttling in the gloom.
Only those white pearblossoms
Of thoughts in the prison room.

—Robert Nichols

THE RACE PROBLEM AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

(Continued from page 5)

platitudes and generalities from the Bill of Rights that Americans love to quote, has never been seriously attempted in America. The Churches have made only a limited impression in this area, and our educational system, even private schools of religious affiliation, despite the general emphasis on the so-called Social Studies, have accomplished only negligible success in teaching what it is to be American and Christian. Finally, the Federal Government, before President Truman's integration of the Armed Forces and the Supreme Court Decision of 1954, conveniently concerned itself with more important matters.

Christ's Church

And now we come to a facet of the Race Question which intimately concerns the Catholic, namely the inadequate attention given by the Church to a question of such crucial importance. Here, I hope you will forgive me if I lapse by oversimplification, but it seems to me that some attempt must be made to expose causality, for a great deal of it exists. Why is it that Catholics were largely involved in forming a cooperative school system in New Orleans?

In this same place, why would a group of Catholic laymen be so little awayed by the just authority of their Bishop as to protest integration directly to Rome?

Is it accidental that the greatest foe of integration in Louisiana, is a man who has spared no effort to label integration a Communist plot, is it accidental that he is a Catholic?

Why would a Southern Bishop forbid his Priests to preach on racial justice, and threaten them with removal if they dared?

Why would a Southern Pastor shrink from burying a Colored woman, a daily communicant at his church, and when he had no choice, keep the body from the Church and say a private Mass for the repose of her soul, rather than risk the displeasure of his parishioners?

Why would another Pastor, though short of priestly help in his parish on Sundays, refuse a Catholic Priest, who happened to be a Negro?

Why isn't the New Orleans Catholic school system integrated, when the promise was, "We will integrate at least as soon as the Public School system of New Orleans Parish?"

Why must Louisiana Negroes go North to attend a Catholic college that is integrated, or to Texas or Alabama?

Why must the action of Fr. Robert McDole in the Sit-in Demonstrations in Oklahoma City evoke such fierce controversy, or for that matter, be considered anything more than a desperately needed protest by a man whose vocation it is to protest injustice?

Why would Catholic Bishops forbid participation of Priests in the Freedom Rides, or why were such a limited number of Catholic laymen a part of this movement?

Why is the Catholic appraisal of the injustices done the Negro the most comprehensive and the most true, but in shocking variance to our timidity and inaction?

Why will Catholics in the North panic as readily as their non-Catholic neighbors at the mention of an integrated neighborhood?

Why will our pulpits so commonly interpret the life of the Christian as a succession of "don't's," rather than repeated challenges and opportunities? There are certainly reasons for all of this, and the reasons go deeper than references to human frailty, lack of vision or the difficulty of reconciling the demands of growth.

Defending, Not Building

For the most part, American Catholics are of European origin,

and the faith that our ancestors brought to America was characteristically European. For example, it was still in reaction against the pressures of the Reformation, it was still fighting laicism and anticlericalism, its catechesis and apologetics were still those of defense, it was still bent upon inner consolidation as a means of preserving existence.

And paradoxically enough, it still had a superiority complex, still regarded itself as the sole possessor of truth and goodness, still sent out its foreign missionaries with the conviction that European culture and Catholicism were inseparable and that the interests of Church and State were quite identical.

It was this attitude that clashed with the double opprobria facing the immigrant on these shores, that of being Irish or German or Italian, and that of being Catholic. The only immediate solution for the newcomer was to dig in and hold, and when the strangeness of the new land had disappeared, begin to fight—learn the language if necessary, work like slaves, get the vote and representation, go to school to compete with the natives, hope for one's kids, grow old and die.

Priests came with the immigrants, pioneers like their people, often the only educated men among them, and therefore their acknowledged leaders. And so the familiar pattern of double citizenship appeared, that is, to make life liveable by insuring Catholic interest, and as an action only loosely related, to save one's soul. If anything, the fight for survival and the other worldly cast of mind that they had known as Europeans solidified in adapting itself to new surroundings and a new set of social conditions. And in return, the Church asked little, requesting only that her children be obedient, that they draw upon her largess and that they support her.

The Mother Hen Concept

And so an approach to life in this country was formulated, in the most practical of terms. The Church was to act as sort of a social and spiritual mother hen, the parish would be the local refuge where the protection and consolidation of both the secular and eternal orders would go on. There was no doubt in anybody's mind who the Church was for: Catholics were her favored children and favoritism had its own rewards. Catholic schools were set up, partly to capitalize on freedom of religious instruction, mostly to protect the young who would form the next generation.

Church architecture was essentially European and had about it elements not only national, but period as well, Romanesque, Renaissance, Gothic, Baroque, combinations of all of these, and variations of the combinations. Mostly, they suggested a divorce from the drab and hard community and an uplift to the other world, they were a foreign import, and after all, Heaven was a foreign country open to few without the Catholic trademark. Worship was an awesome and remote drama, the sanctuary a Holy of Holies where the priest would entice God to the al-

tar by inexplicable variations of voice in a foreign tongue.

Obligation vs. Opportunity

The Mass was an obligation rather than an opportunity, the Sacraments defined the Catholic as good or bad, depending on the frequency of reception, for they were means to get friendly with God and stay that way. Preaching was mostly catechetical, involving a formidable series of prohibitions, and the relationship with God was frequently portrayed as a personal affair which the Catholic promoted by adroitly avoiding the many pitfalls of life.

If anyone had a vocation, it was

for a course of action, there always seemed to be more immediate problems.

Moreover, we knew nothing of the layman; the Church operated on the clerical level rather than in corporate areas where the great questions lay. As a result, the great fights for social justice; child labor legislation, woman's suffrage, labor, all of them were won without concerted Catholic involvement, all of them accomplished without a Catholic vanguard. Secular forces, other Church groups, Constitutional interpretations of law, all of these have educated us in the most embarrassing fashion as



to the married life or the religious "call," and anyone who happened to fall in between was viewed with askance, to say the least. And in higher education, Catholics were trained to professional competence, for this was a strong argument to acceptance, but their religious training went little beyond an intensification of the traditional mold, since the role of the layman meant doing what he was told, by reflex, preferably. Generosity was always stressed, and a remarkable response was evident, but it was chiefly of a material kind, or negatively, a Stoic endurance of the variables of life.

And the net result of this was a native Catholicism quite magnificent for its cohesion, its support of Church building expansion, its steady numerical growth and the increasing group interest demands that it made in community and national life.

But it also shared the common American distaste for intellectualism, it had little knowledge or appreciation of esthetics, ie, architecture, sculpture, good music or painting. The mission of the Church was the concern of the Clergy, and even with them, the vision was limited, the Church set up a private concourse between God and the individual and salvation was the logical culmination of a successful relationship. American Catholics were as isolationist as their neighbors, and though fighting with singular dedication in the great wars of this country, their desire was as intense to finish up and get back home.

In spite of the great social theologians who were Popes, social action was not our cup of tea, we knew too little about reconciling authority and freedom of action and speech.

Problems Seen, Not Answers

Our morality was competent to diagnose evils, in fact, our official interpretation of the various spheres of the human scene has been, invariably, an admirable appraisal. But we seemed incapable of providing a theological basis

to what it means to be Christian and Catholic.

And even now, segregation is proving that the implications of the past are largely lost upon us, since the same ignoble pattern is well on the way to becoming fact. We have hopped on the bandwagon in the past, and are doing it today, and though we may help with a few side skirmishes, we're doing little to the popularly correct notion that we are safe, hide-bound and conservative, illustrating admirably in our lives the great misinterpretation, "The Church moves slowly."

The Negro and the Church

The history of the Negro in the American Church is certainly the outstanding example of our lack of social awareness. After the numerous defections of Negro Catholics following the Civil War, due mostly to cleavage from Catholic slaveholders, to the gross discrimination practiced in Catholic Churches, and to the active evangelism of the Baptists and Methodists, Foreign Missionaries, requested by the American Bishops, came to this country to labor among the Colored. The story of these men, the Mill Hill Fathers, Dutch, Irish, English and French nationals, will probably be never fully known, their identification with the Negro and the ostracism it implied, their dire poverty, the bitter and seemingly hopeless battles they fought for human rights, the fact that like their people they were ignored and forgotten, and when this failed, resisted and silenced.

As time passed, the American Jesuit Fathers broke off from this original foundation and slowly grew with the help of native vocations.

Mother Katherine Drexel founded the Blessed Sacrament Sisters and directed their apostolate to the Negro and to the American Indian. And other Societies appeared on the interracial scene, notably, the Society of the Divine Word, the Missionary Servants of the Blessed Trinity and the Jesuit Fathers.

Concerted Effort Lacking

But for the most part, the Church pursued a parallel course with the overall approach of American society, no widespread or concerted efforts were made on behalf of the Negro.

This fact is strikingly illustrated by the present 1% of American Negroes who are practicing Catholics, by the 3% who are baptized Catholics, by the some 100 odd Negro Priests presently ordained, and by the refusal of many American Sisterhoods to accept Negro vocations.

There are powerful and often-

employed arguments that the Negro Catholic is a second-class Church citizen and that the Catholic Church deserves the label, a White Man's Church. (This is substantially the message of the Black Muslim Movement, which has spread its hate into the Black Belts of 30 major U.S. cities, where it fights White Supremacy by measures to promote a counter-supremacy of its own.)

Integration

Finally, we can recall as further demonstration of this point, that only three so-called Southern dioceses were integrated prior to the Supreme Court decision, St. Louis, Washington, D.C. and San Antonio. The first two are Northern as much as Southern, and the third possesses more of a Mexican problem than a Colored one.

Within the Church, whether North or South, the Colored are the last considered, the last listened to, the last for whom anything is done. There is the story told of a Southern Diocesan School Board meeting where school integration was the topic of discussion. The Bishop observed that if school integration became a fact, offense to the white conscience would result and whites would be lost to the Church.

A member of the School Board, a white woman who had long fought for the interests of the colored asked, "What about the offense to the conscience of the colored, and what about the loss of Negroes to the Church?" Whereupon, the Bishop asked her quite pointedly for statistics to prove her contention that Negroes were offended, and that they had been lost to the Church as a result.

The implication here is obviously the one so common in official quarters, that Negroes don't "feel" as others do and that consequently, they are indifferent about the Church's neglect of them going through life in a sort of Nirvana, dumbly satisfied with their lot. As might be expected, the direct opposite is true; the Negro takes serious scandal at an attitude which precisely contradicts what the Church stands for and teaches. And always, when the Church is consistent with her teaching, the Colored flock to her and beg to be members.

"As You Sow . . ."

In Washington, D.C., where the Negro has ample evidence that we want him, the response reminds one of how the early Church must have been. As one of our priests put it, "You can make as many converts as you're able to work for."

But to return to another example. The Chancery office of a Southern diocese was contacted by a local Federal Judge, a Protestant who had fought gallantly for school integration against threats of violence, incessant libel and the general vilification so common in such a situation. He asked the Chancery to give moral weight to his decision that the local Public Schools must integrate for the coming Fall term. The Chancery refused, and later, a Church official connected with the incident remarked that it was an odd twist of events when the Federal Courts would ask the Church to carry the ball for them. Note the amazing irony here, for the Federal Courts were doing exactly that, since segregation, however you look at it, is a moral issue and the Church's business is moral issues.

Perhaps it is now clearer that the general Catholic approach to the world, or to society, or to a social disease like segregation is not necessarily wrong, but rather lacks a proper dynamism that will cause it to register outside itself, causing a net product of stupidity, lost opportunity and even injustice. The fight for identity in America, an historical course of action defensible years ago, but lacking pertinence now, the bourgeois spirit of having "arrived,"—all these and other factors have combined to give us cheap values and enervated action.

Our ideals are not theologically sound enough nor flexible enough (Continued on page 7)

The Poor Man

"Whether or no the poor man profits more from grace because he is poor, poverty is a state to be venerated as such, because it was Christ's state. This is a most mysterious truth. Whatever his spiritual dispositions, whether a given poor man is holy or otherwise, whether he is well or badly treated—look at him simply as poor, as lacking what he needs, as wretched, and by itself this has a sacramental value. Bossuet calls it "the mark of Jesus Christ" . . . He may bear this "mark of the voluntary self-abasement of God incarnate" with bitterness and rage. If so, he is turning it into the most tragic paradox; he does not want for himself something Christ wanted passionately, and which, therefore, all men are called at least to consent to. It makes no difference; it is still Christ who begs, Christ who suffers, Christ who, in him, needs everything, even if he, poor wretch, fails Christ."

Poverty—Pie-Raymond Regamey, O.P. (Sheed & Ward, 1950).

On Pilgrimage

(Continued from page 2)

recent as the gunboats off the Dominican Republic.

Bishop Sheen's Quotation

I heard Bishop Sheen tell once the story of the two sons in the Gospel, a story which Jesus himself told. There were two sons, and the Father told them both to go out to certain tasks. The one son said "I will," and then failed to do the work assigned him. The other said "I won't," and yet went away and did the Father's will. And which of the two sons found favor with the Father?

Marjorie Hughes was reminded of the parable in the Gospel of the man born blind who said to his questioners, after he had been healed, and badgered by men who said, "Give glory to God. We ourselves know that this man is a sinner." He therefore said, "Whether he is a sinner, I do not know. One thing I do know, that whereas I was blind, now I see."

The Cuban people are in that state now, and so are the poor and oppressed of South America, of all Latin America. One thing they know, and that is that work and schooling, land and bread are being provided, and that the Colossus whom they feared and hated, the Yankee of the north, had been defied.

We are not going to win the masses to Christianity until we live it.

Christmas Just the Same

One of the most cheerful things about Christmas is contemplating the Babe in the crib, in the cold stable, worshipped by Joseph and Mary, and to realize, "the government is upon his shoulders."

Statement required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 2, 1933, and July 2, 1946 and June 11, 1960 (74 Stat. 208) showing the ownership, management and circulation of The Catholic Worker, published monthly at New York, N. Y. for Oct. 1, 1961.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher Dorothy Day, 175 Chrystie St., N. Y. 2, N. Y.; Assoc. Editors C. Butterworth, E. Forand, J. Forest, D. Gammon, J. Gregory, P. Haver, W. Keren, R. Madsen, K. Meyer, D. Mewer, S. Sandberg, A. Sheehan, A. Tallefer, E. Turner, 175 Chrystie St., N. Y. 2, N. Y.; Managing editor, Dorothy Day, 175 Chrystie St., N. Y. 2, N. Y.; Business manager, C. Butterworth, 175 Chrystie St., N. Y. 2, N. Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.) Dorothy Day, 175 Chrystie St., N. Y. 2, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required by the act of June 11, 1960 to be included in all statements regardless of frequency of issue.) 61,500.

Charles M. Butterworth
Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2nd day of October, 1961.

(Seal) Hyman Levine
Notary Public
State of N. Y.
No. 24-2320225
(My commission expires March 30, 1963).

God knows whereof we are made. He knows we are but dust. He knows what we have need of. He holds us in the hollow of his hands. Even though He slay me yet shall I trust in Him. Underneath are the everlasting arms. All these echoes from Scripture are of comfort. All power is His, weak though He appears. This I do believe, help Thou my unbelief, dear Lord.

Last year we had a snowy Christmas, some of us from the Catholic Worker, at the Peter Maurin farm. Helene Iswolsky was with us, and others came in during the day. My diary says "There is a Belgian crisis, a general strike because of the austerity regime." "Wealth used to pour into Belgium from the Congo, and this wealth was used to employ the unemployed," one newspaper commented. Now where there were 20,000 Belgians in the city of Leopoldville, there are 4,000. The rest have gone back to Belgium to swell the ranks of the unemployed."

And my diary goes on to recount our guests, Jones and Larry Evers, Larry coming down at four o'clock in the morning, walking

down icy Bloomingdale road with all his clown paraphernalia. After breakfast he put on his clown costume, and went into all his clown tricks, making bird noises, playing the shell game and a Punch and Judy show. He also had a bird and a mouse and he left with a kitten and some homemade bread. Helene said it was like a medieval player arriving on a holiday. Beth and Frances came last year and will also this year, and there was Anne Marie and others, and we feasted. On a holiday like this I comfort myself for our abundant board by remembering how the poor with whom I have lived in slums for many years, know food and how to prepare it, food bought off pushcarts, Italians, Puerto Ricans, Jews, all live well around holiday time and their kitchens smell delightfully. Feasts are truly feasts with them. At the farm, Deane has the gift of making a meal of blackeyed peas (with garlic, celery and salt pork), and corn bread on the side which is a feast. And her cinnamon bread for feast days makes a truly good and nourishing breakfast, made as it is with powdered eggs and milk, and the bread and coffee are a simple meal after Mass.

We wish all our readers a most happy and most holy feast day, this Christmas, and New Year.

Bishops Go Left

(Continued from page 1)

Province, most heavily populated region outside of Lima, only one half of one per cent of the people are property owners; "All the rest work on the lands of the rich for starvation wages."

In similar vein Archbishop Luis Chavez y Gonzales, of San Salvador, called for immediate social reforms throughout the Republic.

"Capital is in the hands of relatively few" he said, in urging redistribution of the national income. "There is no reason why the poor should always be the ones to suffer, when it is more reasonable for the rich to make sacrifices. There is no time to be lost."

Costa Rica

Archbishop Carlos H. Rodriguez of San Jose, Costa Rica, announced to a gathering of 3,000 representatives of trade union and employers this program:

"Improving the socio-economic order.

"Education, with evening classes for children.

"Family salaries, and adequate insurance for workers.

"Fighting usury which cruelly devours the salaries of the people."

"Increasing cooperatives, improving workers housing."

Ecuador

The bishops of Ecuador in a joint pastoral letter condemned blindness of big landowners in "refusing to heed the church's teachings on social justice and redistribution of wealth." Anti-social activities of some of the rich, they said, result in sudden and violent outbursts by the down-trodden Indian population.

"Christians of today sometimes need the jolt of Communism to be awakened to the reality of the Gospels" said the pastoral, published after a national meeting of the Episcopate at which Cardinal de la Torre, archbishop of Quito, presided. The pastoral added:

"If we condemn the injustices of capitalism and the landed exploiters of the Indians, and speak out against the soft life of many Catholics who waste the money of the poor on luxuries and social festivities, we are identified with Communism. The time has come for action, not just talk, in the field of social reform."

All this is in conformity with impulses from the Holy See. Pope John's encyclical "Mater et Magistra" set forth ideals for improvement of existing conditions. In personal appearances he stressed the same necessity. Speaking at Castel Gandolfo Aug. 21 he said; "The rich should help the poor, and the poor should help themselves."

Bolivia

Cardinal Cushing of Boston, speaking in New York, on his return from serving as papal legate at a national Eucharistic Congress in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, said:

"If these changes are not made in a peaceful way through legislation, they are going to be made by the common enemy of us all—international Communism."

So far as a careful observer can determine, these warnings have passed almost entirely without notice in the American secular press. Certainly the Latin American press ignores much warnings of the bishops, perhaps because these journals are owned by representatives of the extremely wealthy class against whom protests are directed. In every message and pastoral is a common note of urgency. "Act before it is too late" they all reiterate—but nothing happens.

One third of all the reported world membership of the Roman Catholic Church is in Latin America. If predictions by the hierarchy are fulfilled, the church may lose this third of its strength.

French Cardinals lament "the church has lost the workers of France." The strongest Communist party in the world outside of Russia and its satellites is in Italy, home province of the Church of Rome.

Smug self-satisfaction of American Catholics at their own prosperity wakens indignant ire of missionaries from foreign lands who know what is happening abroad. Their unvarying cry is: "Awake, thou that sleepest!"

"Men only associate in parties by sacrificing their opinions, or by having none worth sacrificing; and the effect of party government is always to develop hostilities and hypocrisies and to extinguish ideas."

—JOHN RUSKIN.

FRIDAY NIGHT MEETINGS

In accordance with Peter Maurin's desire for clarification of thought, one of the planks in his platform, THE CATHOLIC WORKER holds meetings every Friday night at 8:30.

After the lecture and questions, we continue the discussion over hot saffraan tea. Everyone is invited.

Race Problems & Christian Conscience

(Continued from page 6)

to bear a complex application to a complex society and therefore, they lack the intensity to insist upon a practical impact.

We have become a Church of administrations and institutions, expressions of our consuming desire to "belong," to win a secure niche for ourselves, and with the energy consumed in erecting and maintaining them, we often forget why we made them. And I don't think that this is purely the result of the American pragmatism that has left its undeniable impression upon us. I rather venture that we have imposed upon ourselves something of a reverse secularism, by not knowing thoroughly what we believe and hence not seeing its connection with the issues of time and society.

Building the Kingdom

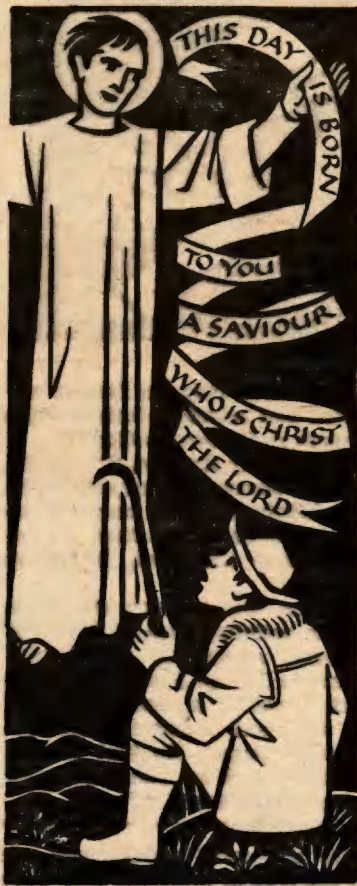
For how many Catholics are aware that the treasures of Catholic thought must have an outlet worthy of itself—otherwise we begin to cheapen it according to our own small image? How many Catholics know enough about their relationship with God to realize that it depends upon involvement with His works, and particularly His highest work, their neighbor? How many Catholics reflect that the mechanics of our worship actually orient man to the world and give him a hold upon it, and that in redeeming the world, he redeems himself?

The great modern Pontiffs knew and taught this, beginning with Leo XIII, through Pius XII and our present Pope. All have stated, in the most explicit terms, that spiritualized social action defines the Catholic, yet it is no exaggeration to say that we are decades behind their thought. Catholic sociologists, in studies of the way of life that we have decided upon, conclude that the outstanding distinction between the Catholic and his non-Catholic neighbor is what the Catholic does on Sunday morning.

The Catholic Retreat

Finally, our selfish and limited refusal to take up more actively the burdens of society, this characteristic rejection that is often termed the Catholic retreat from the world, how dangerous and unfulfilling it is to us personally, how it compromises the Church and creates of her a false image repugnant and scandalous to men, how it paralyzes the interest of our country and hinders the ways of peace.

For we show no reluctance in noising abroad the claims of the Church, we suffer no abridgment of her deposit of truth, we glibly re-



peat the lofty message of Our Lord, but in the desperately important encounter with those who need us, in the hard and hot work of the vineyard where hope is extended, truth exchanged, solidarity established and brotherhood won—it is here that we fail, or fail to be present.

For we have yet to learn that we exist for the Church as well as that the Church exists for us, that the richness of our thoughts is useless if it does not cause richness of life. We have yet to learn that if we fail the poor and the social outcast, they will fail us in turn by a subtle revenge, leaving us to our middle class churning and collective denials—leaving us to an inbreeding that will destroy us. As Dr. Samuel Miller of Harvard says, "Religion justifies its existence by what it does with the world. Otherwise, it is a thing incestuous."

Without a doubt, the problem rests with us—to know that the Church is Jesus Christ communicated and spread abroad, as Bossuet says. Or according to Fr. DeLubac's thought, "The Church is Christ for each one of us and each one of us, in his own small way, is the Church."

The problem is to rise to the mind of the Church, to think not like her but with her, not merely

to draw upon her thought, but contribute to it; the problem is to promote her mission within our lives, and that mission is the mission of Christ. The problem is to know the Church because we know Christ, and know that He came to restore all creation to the communion of God, break the rule of Satan, heal the divisions of sin, sweep up all men into the unity of God by the simple tactic of giving all men His Life. The problem is to know how He went about His mission, by seeking out the down-trodden and the hated, by teaching and conversation, by gentleness and sympathy, by exhaustion and anguish of soul, by availability and patience, by fierce attack upon the smug, entrenched institutions of evil, by the Good News in His Words and in His Person, by love in all it implies and all it sur-renders. The problem is to realize that the Incarnation takes root among men through us and that it will never exist among the rank and file unless we first root it within ourselves.

In closing, understand this well. The Negro, and others that we equate with him, will have his rights, with or without us. The force of world opinion, the demands of the Cold War, the preponderance of non-white peoples in the world, the increasing power of the new nations of Africa, the Middle and Far East, the increasing population of the world, the rapid development of communications, the strong tendency toward international government, the vast inequalities of wealth and poverty, power and impotence—all of these create a pressure and a direction that we would be helpless to oppose, even if we wished.

I do not suggest therefore that we jump on the bandwagon and become part of a trend for fear of risking our own interests. I suggest that the Church, and that means you and me, give the rise of the non-white peoples meaning and support by her presence, lavishing upon them the tremendous resources of her truth and charity, saving them from despair or extreme, violent reaction, identifying their interests with her own, looking upon them as her most favored children, for so Christ would have regarded them.

I suggest that the Church avoid temporizing like a disease, prefer fortitude to "prudence," realize that her problem is not accepting the Negro, but having the Negro accept her. I suggest that the Church make the normal thing of convictions like those of Cardinal Ritter of St. Louis, Archbishop

(Continued on page 8)

Mary Gill

When I first read Sean O'Casey's description of his mother's eyes "that sparkled when she laughed and hardened to a steady glow through any sorrow, deep and irremediable; eyes that, steadily watched, seemed to hide in their deeps an intense glow of many dreams, veiled by the nearer vision of things that were husband and children and home," I said to myself here is a picture of Mary Gill.

It was in the fall of 1942 when I first went to Pigotts. I had written Mrs. Gill asking her if sometime when I was in London I might come down for a few hours. I wanted to tell her how much Eric Gill had meant to a generation of young American Catholics. I was flying out of England at that time, a rear gunner on an American bomber. Her reply was most cordial and so on one of those beautiful English autumn days I found myself getting off the local bus from High Wycombe.

A short, squarish looking woman was waiting for me when the bus stopped. She put out her hand and said: "I am Mary Gill." We stood for a moment looking at each other. She was then a woman of 63 and I was a youngster of 24 and it was natural that without further ado she kissed me. Mary Gill opened both her home and her heart to me, and neither of them was ever closed.

The wound of Gill's death was still fresh and she told me how she loved him. We spoke of certain incidents in the *Autobiography* and she looked at me levelly and remarked that "those things don't matter when a woman loves a man and knows that he loves her." There was a deep calm strength about her that I was to draw from the rest of my life.

The last time I saw her was in the fall of 1944 and I was fresh from a Roumanian concentration camp. We were having a long delay in England before being returned home. Once again she accepted me as I was: bitter and hurt with all the cruelty I had seen. And when I came home most of the bitterness was gone. The last thing I remember her saying to me, and there was no morbid tone here: "Is it wrong to want to die, to be with him forever? I can't imagine heaven without Eric."

I heard from her once a year, and always there was a serene quality about what she had to say. She was, I think, the most mature person I have ever known. She was no artist, no intellectual but she was the seedbed of Gill's art and thought. She was sure of herself, knowing what she had been, what

she was and what she would be. These massively feminine women, powerful and quiet who succeed in being a man's wife and mother are rare indeed.

Well, I just had the news that Mary Gill died on March 22 of this year. You get news slowly in a Trappist monastery. I felt that this footnote to Gill's life should be written. Once you love a woman you are never the same and you carry her with you wherever you go.

Father Charles, O.C.S.O.
Conyers, Georgia

Race Problems

(Continued from page 7)

O'Boyle of Washington, Archbishop Meyer of Chicago and the multitude of others who see the colored peoples as real or potential brothers, as new blood, as unrivaled opportunities for new expansion and strength.

I suggest finally, that this be done quickly, for time is short, the issues are narrowing, the whole future of the Church, our country and the world depends directly on the solution of problems like these, for the whole of mankind



reacts with astounding sensitivity to our response to the demands of Christ.

And if we cannot do this, if the challenges of our age seem too much for us, if we insist on reliving the 19th century, then we ought to question our religion, we ought to renounce our Western culture and the democracy that is so much a part of it, we ought to maintain that God has no part in this world of His, because we have refused Him entrance. And I know that we will refuse to do this.

Fr. Berrigan is a Josephite teaching in New Orleans, La.

Pope Grants Indulgences for Work

Vatican City, Nov. 24.—Pope John XXIII has granted plenary and partial indulgences to anyone dedicating his day's work to God, the Sacred Apostolic Penitentiary announced today.

The decree, signed by Cardinal Larraona, grants:

- A plenary indulgence, under usual conditions, to Christians devoting to God in the morning their day's work, whether manual or intellectual. This applies regardless of the formula used in the dedication.

- A partial indulgence of 500 days to Christians who, with contrite heart, devote to God the work they are performing at a given time.

An indulgence is one of the means provided by the Church for its members to share in the grace merited by the Saints and other members of Christ's Mystical Body. The "days" mentioned in the partial indulgence suggest the degree of strengthening a person will be provided if he is using this means with a right intention and in a state of grace.

The decree mentioned that Pope John had granted the indulgence during an audience with Cardinal Larraona October 7, "wishing that

human labor may be further ennobled and raised to lofty heights through dedication to God."

Observatory Romano, the official Vatican newspaper, reported the new indulgence and recalled the Holy Father's words from his recent labor encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*:

"When one carries, on one's proper activity, even if it be of temporal nature, in union with Jesus the Divine Redeemer, every work becomes a continuation of His work and penetrated with redemptive power: He that abideth in Me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit..."

Advent and the McCarren Act

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of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. For I was hungry and you gave Me food, thirsty and you gave Me drink, a stranger and you took Me in, without clothes and you clothed Me, sick and you visited Me, in prison and you came to Me. Then shall the just answer Him saying, 'When, Lord, did we see You hungry and feed You, or thirsty and give You drink? When did we see You a stranger and take You in, or naked and clothe You? When were You sick or in prison and we came to You?' And answering them the King shall say, 'Truly I say to you, inasmuch as you did it to one of the least of my brethren, you did it to Me.'

"What glorious hope!" said Francois Mauriac, commenting on those lines from St. Matthew. "There are all those who will discover that their neighbor is Jesus Himself, although they belong to the mass of those who do not know Christ or have forgotten Him. And nevertheless they will find themselves well loved. It is impossible for any one of those who has charity in his heart not to serve Christ. Even those who think they hate Him have consecrated their lives to Him, for Jesus is disguised and masked in the midst of men, hidden among the poor, among the sick, among prisoners, among strangers. Many who serve Him officially have never known who He was; and many who do not even know His name will hear on that last day the words which open for them the gates of joy. 'Those children were I, and those working men; I wept on the hospital bed; I was the murderer in his cell, whom you consoled.'"

We will be judged not for persecutions but for love.

A Call to Action

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ens to weaken growing Negro voting strength;

3) arbitrary eviction by white landlords as a reprisal against political activity and as a means to diminish potential Negro political power;

4) the continual use of economic sanction and social control inherent in the tenant system which prevents potential Negro political power from being actualized.

The urgency of these problems is demonstrated by the arbitrary eviction of 250 Negro families that will occur in Fayette and Haywood Co.'s, Tenn., at the end of this year. The number of evictions will continue to mount and the trend must be resisted now, before it gets out of hand. At a special meeting of the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League we suggested:

A protest against eviction, in the form of families refusing to move.

1) This would force these feudal-like conditions to the attention of much of the nation and the world.

2) The resulting publicity would pressure the federal government into alleviating the worst conditions of the tenants. (On the basis of it being declared a disaster area, land rent and price controls, real assistance to Negro tenants desiring to buy land, bringing in of government industry, etc.)

3) It would mobilize support

from other sources and would represent a large step in the broadening of the struggle for equality.

This direct action could be coordinated with the setting up of farming and industrial cooperatives. This plan was enthusiastically supported by League leaders as well as by the local branch of the NAACP.

There will be Negro families engaging in this protest at the end of the year, but their number depends on the amount of support they can receive from the outside. Thus there is an urgent need now for individuals to come to Haywood County to support these people in their protest action. These individuals will live with the threatened families prior to and during their eviction to morally encourage them. The publicity resulting from their presence would serve to decrease the possibility of violence. If need be, they will go to jail with the family.

As yet, we cannot provide transportation or expenses, or promise bail to those who might be arrested. Sentence will probably be a thirty day term for trespassing. However, your maintenance will be provided for by local people while in Haywood County. If you can come or are interested, contact:

In New York: Ken Shilman, 382 Clive Ave., Oceanside, N.Y. RO 4-6242.

Heath Rush and Ed Bromberg, Action Group for Racial Progress.

Peter Maurin

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ians through the daily practice of the Seven Corporal and Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy. To feed the hungry at a personal sacrifice, to clothe the naked at a personal sacrifice—such were the works of the first Christians in times of persecution." (65)

"The Christian Social order had to be reconstructed after the fall of the Roman Empire. The leaders in social reconstruction after the fall of the Roman Empire were the Irish Scholars. The Irish Scholars established rural centers all over Europe where they combined cult, that is to say liturgy, with culture, that is to say, literature, with cultivation, that is to say agriculture." (58)

"In Ireland the scholars formulated an intellectual synthesis and a technique of action. Having formulated that intellectual synthesis and that technique of action the scholars decided to lay the foundations of medieval Europe." (204)

"These people who built the Cathedral of Chartres knew how to combine cult, that is to say liturgy, with culture, that is to say philosophy, and cultivation, that is to say agriculture." (28)

How a path can be made from the things as they are to the things as they should be

"Houses of Hospitality (92), Hospices—free guest houses (9-11), vocational training schools, Catholic reading rooms, Catholic Instruction Schools, Catholic Action Houses, Salons de Culture (205)."

"Round-Table Discussion Groups (92), Schools of Catholic Agitation (13), Catholic Worker's Schools (36), Schools of Social Studies (5), Study Clubs (72)."

"Agronomic Universities (17), Parish Subsistence Camps (32), Self-Employing Centers (74), Agricultural Centers (206), Farming Colonies."

Such are three main "smaller and better institutions"

(102) that Peter advocated under their various names which indicate the type of functions they would fill in his "theory of revolution" (15) without which theory there would be no "Green Revolution" (71).

For his Program, to build a path from things as they are to things as they should be, in 1937 read:

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 profit).

Allied Movements

1. Cooperatives
2. Workers Associations (Unions—ACTU)
3. Maternity Guilds
4. Legislation for the Common Good
5. Distributism
6. Campaign Propaganda Committees

Summation

This then is the content of Peter's thought. Though he addresses himself to the issues and problems of the hour in current journalistic fashion and so in our collection of his essays all manner of subjects are touched upon, nevertheless, he always returns to this frame of reference. It is this that he means by "going to the roots to be radically right. Yes, I am a radical" (108). It is this synthesis that is "Communitarian Personalism" (119) "which believes in creating a new society within the shell of the old with the philosophy of the new, which is not a new philosophy but a very old philosophy, a philosophy so old that it looks like new." (77)

Even among the many books Peter recommended he explicitly put his favorite authors in this structure:

Why things are what they are.

Man the Unknown—Alexis Carroll

Nutrition and Physical Degeneration—Weston Price

Christianity and the Machine Age—Eric Gill

What Man has made of Man—Mortimer Adler

The Bourgeois Mind—Nicholas Berdyaev

How We Got That Way

The Eve of the Reformation—Cardinal Gasquet

A Guildsmen's Interpretation of History—Arthur

Penty

History of the Church—Joseph Lortz

Religion and the Rise of Capitalism—R. H. Tawney

The Way Out

A Personalist Manifesto—Emmanuel Mounier

Freedom in the Modern World—Jacques Maritain

Democracy's Second Chance—Charles Boyle

Our Lady of Wisdom—Maurice Lundel

The Soul of the Apostolate—Dom Chautard

A Philosophy of Work—Etienne Borne

Cult: Liturgy

Christian Life and Worship—Gerald Ellard, S.J.

Liturgy and Life—Theodore Wesseling, O.S.B.

The Mystical Body of Christ—Fulton Sheen

The Church and The Catholic—Romano Guardini

Culture: Literature—Philosophy

What Is Literature—Charles Du Bos

Enquiries Into Religion and Culture—Christopher

Dawson

The Catholic Spirit in Modern English Lit.—G. N.

Schuster

Is Modern Culture Doomed

Twenty Years Agrowing

Cultivation: Agriculture

Manifesto On Rural Life—NCRLC

Bio-Dynamic Farming and Gardening—Ehrenfried

Pfeiffer

Work and Leisure—Eric Gill

Old Principles and the New Order—Father McNabb

An Agricultural Testament—Lord Howard

(To Be Continued in The Next Issue)