

CATHOLIC WORKER

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EASY ESSAYS

By PETER MAURIN

RACE PROBLEMS

I. Not Better

1. The Jews think that they are better than the Negroes
2. The Germans think that they are better than the Jews.
3. I don't think that the Jews are better than the Negroes or the Germans better than the Jews.
4. The way for the Jews to be better than the Germans is to behave the way the Prophets want the Jews to behave.
5. The way for the Negroes to be better than the Jews or the Germans is to behave the way Saint Augustine wants everybody to behave.

II. Germans and Irish

1. Hitler wants all the Germans to join the German Reich.
2. Hitler seems to think that only the German Reich can make good Germans out of the Germans.
3. According to Hitler's way of thinking to make good soldiers out of the Germans is to make good Germans out of the Germans.
4. When the Irish were Irish they did not try to make good soldiers out of the Irish they tried to make good scholars out of the Irish.

III. Soldiers and Scholars

1. Soldiers rely on the power of the sword.
2. Scholars rely on the power of the word.
3. Soldiers think in terms of Empire.
4. Scholars think in terms of culture.
5. When after the fall of the Roman Empire the Irish scholars made up their mind to lay the foundations of Medieval Europe, they established agricultural centers where they combined Cult—that is to say liturgy with Culture—that is to say literature with Cultivation—that is to say agriculture.

IV. The Negro Problem

1. There is in America a Negro Problem.
2. White people in America have not yet found the right solution of the Negro problem.
3. It is up to the Negroes to find the right solution of the Negro problem.
4. When the Negroes

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POPE PIUS XII

On the Dignity of Labor

WORKERS It is not by chance but by the deep, ineffable design of God that you find yourselves just simple workers. Mary, the virgin mother of a working family; Joseph, the father of a working family, the shepherds guarding flocks, and finally the wise men from the East—they are all workers—manual workers, watchmen by night, students. They bow down and adore the Son of God who by His own sympathetic and loving silence, more telling than speech, explains to them all the meaning and the worth of labor.

LABOR is not merely the fatigue of body without sense or value; nor is it merely a humiliating servitude. It is a service of God, a gift of God, the vigor and fullness of human life, the gage of eternal rest. Lift up your heads, and hold them up, workers!

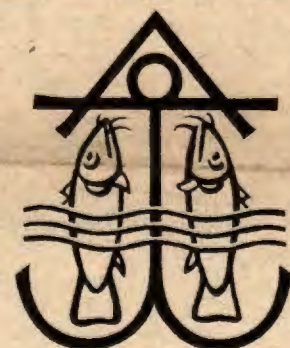


HIC EST FILIUS MEUS DILECTUS

or low, great or little, pleasant or tiresome, material or intellectual, giving it a meritorious and supernatural value in the sight of God and thus gathering every form of multifarious human activity into one constant act of glorifying His Father who is in heaven.

Look at the Son of God who with his eternal Father created and ordered the universe; becoming man like us, sin alone excepted, and having grown in age, He enters the great community of workers; in His work of salvation He labors, wearing out His earthly life.

IT IS HE, the Redeemer of the world who by His grace which runs through our being and our activity, elevates and ennobles every honest work, be it high



Drawings by FR. E. M. CATICH

FR. GARRELTS CONDEMNS WAR

Dear Miss Day:

Your request for more letters in regard to war was very welcome to me. For a long time I have been desirous of denouncing this World War II as immoral. The way of modern war is not the way of Jesus Christ. Nor is this way effective in bringing peace into the world. Out of World War I came greater evils than we attempted to eradicate. Force clearly breeds more force. Instead of doing away with evil we are only creating greater ones by trying to do away with them by way of physical violence. It is consoling and refreshing to read of your work against war and for peace. If it will help you to know that I am opposed in conscience to this war and to all that I have known of modern war I am only too happy to put my convictions in writing.

My own attitude is that Christians should never spill one another's blood, for it is the blood of Christ. Jesus Christ and Saint Paul have taught us other ways of correcting those who err and admonishing those who follow evil ways. Neither should we shed the blood of infidels and heretics. History is certainly clear enough, by way of the Cru-

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Priests and Movies

The devil is a good fisherman, and to catch Christians on the hook of worldliness he uses for bait, not what he likes, but what will be attractive to Christians without compromising his own position as the prince of this world. Hollywood, which is the very center of worldliness, has no use whatever for supernatural virtue; in fact, it strains at the leash of censorship to sell us sin and lead us to hell. Hollywood does not produce pictures with a view to making people love God and save their immortal souls. It has its eye always on the box-office receipts and would readily defy any law of God to attract money to its coffers to support its life of luxury and defiance of Divine Law. It is this Hollywood mode of life that sets the pace for the gullible public as its actors and actresses are idolized and their sins glorified. Christians pour millions of dollars into this trough while souls in pagan lands—souls which our Lord died to save—are dying without baptism or any knowledge of God because of the lack of sufficient means—of money, apostles and prayer—to spread the Gospel.

Be Not Deceived

The Prince of this world has won a great victory. He has succeeded in winning over most of the Christians who formerly objected to the pagan atmosphere of the present moving picture industry. Christians, including re-

ligious, are now definitely movie-minded. They feel that Hollywood is being converted to Catholic tastes, but let us not be deceived by the bait. When it suits his purpose, "the devil a monk would be."

Another "religious" picture now in the making will depict, so we are told, the convent life of sisters as observed and interpreted by Hollywood's agents. The agents are already making the rounds of convents to gather data on the human incidents and contrasting foibles of character among nuns to build up a "comedy-drama" of convent life. Probably this picture will be of the same brand as *Going My Way* and will represent the sacred and sacrificial life of the Spouses of Christ-crucified only from the aspect of sentimental humor in the environment of secularism. (If worldliness is creeping into religious life we should be occupied with eliminating it rather than advertising it.)

The Dangerous Hook

Lest we again spend our enthusiasm and our money too readily and rashly and be caught again by Hollywood, we should try to perceive the dangerous hook of naturalism which is so subtly concealed within the attractive bait of religious entertainment.

When a picture presents characters of a certain profession or

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DAY BY DAY

By DOROTHY DAY

"Tell me, I pray thee, how fares the human race—if new roofs be risen in the ancient cities—whose empire it is that now sways the world?" These were the words of St. Paul, the first hermit, when he welcomed St. Anthony, who had sought him out in his desert fastness. Such a longing as we all have for news not only of our dear ones, but of the "human race."

So this month this column, this page, will be devoted to "news," notes by the way, the tale of a trip to some of the groups and houses around the country. It is news for Ossie Bondy and Mary, for Bob and Mary Walsh, in England; for Jim Quinn, some place in Italy; for Gerry, also in Italy, for Tom Sullivan, Jim O'Gara, for Jack Thornton, John Brennan and Dwight Larowe, somewhere in the South Pacific or in France or Holland; for Hazen Ordway, in the Arctic; for Arthur Ronz in India, for Jack English, released from his Roumanian prison camp and now either on some other front or on his way home on furlough; for all those in camp, for conscientious objectors around the country, for those in hospitals, for those in jail. Perhaps it will reach Fr. Hessler in his concentration camp in Hong Kong, or our nun friends in Budapest. Not to speak of the fifty thousand who get the paper in this country.

We are weighty with great issues this month, so this is a column, as one of our seminarian friends called it, of gossip.

Maryfarm

As we left Maryfarm, Fr. Roy was laboring as priest, electrician, plumber and carpenter, and three Grail girls, sent out as shock troops, were taking over the pioneering work of making the barn habitable for winter, and for our winter retreats. Catherine arrived the day I left, carrying an immensely heavy suitcase, blown by the wind, radiant and energetic, just in time to enjoy a feast of roast kid in honor of Christ the King. Jane O'Donnell arrived, too, for the feast, and another girl was to come later. Jane has been taking care of the Montague children for the past month, since Helen came home from the hospital, and the little family of little ones (six beauties) have enjoyed the vigorous settling into the new home, as has Helen. Maurine has started in St. Joseph's school, first grade, and Aileen, my godchild, is in kindergarten across the street. There are only Patricia, James Francis, Cecilia and Dennis Michael at home. There is a long back yard with a beautiful pear tree in it and well fenced in, for sunny days, and the kitchen is practically a sunroom, the whole place is clean and warm and shining, thanks to Jane's ministrations.

Peter Maurin beams over these works. He could talk about the soul of woman, about her needs and her duties and her accom-

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Protect the Poor and the Weak

Speaking on the fifth anniversary of the war, Pope Pius XII said many things of special interest to workers. Some of the more important excerpts from his talk are printed here:

An old world lies in ruins. The craving of martyred people is to see a new world rise from these ruins—a healthier world, better directed to the needs of human nature.

Therefore we address, to all Catholics of the world, and to non-Catholics as well, an urgent appeal to cooperate in weighing the extraordinary seriousness of the moment. We trust that the invitation will find a sympathetic welcome from millions of souls. It aims chiefly at achieving collaboration in all these fields in which the very idea of Christianity demands that a just order be created. This holds true particularly for those formidable problems that are related to the organization of an economic and social order which would be more in harmony with the law of God and the dignity of men.

Christian thought insists on the raising of the proletariat. Every follower of Christ sees this as a moral obligation. Mankind awaits at the end of the war a profound and final improvement of its conditions—after years of want, restrictions and, especially, anxious uncertainty.

In the victims of an unhealthy social and economic order the promises of statesmen and technicians have given rise to a senseless hope of a millennium of universal happiness. This feeling has made them a fertile field for radical propaganda.

Leo XIII laid down the principle that any legitimate economic and social order should rest on the indisputable foundation of the right to private property. The Church has always acknowledged the natural right to own property and to hand it on.

Equally true, private property is a natural fruit of labor, a product of the intense activity of man, acquired through his determination to insure his own existence and that of his family and to create for himself and his own a life of true freedom, not only economic, but political, cultural and religious.

But the Christian conscience cannot accept social systems that acknowledge the right to private ownership according to an altogether false conception. Thus, the Church has condemned capitalism as contrary to the rights of men whenever it arrogates unlimited right to property without any subordination to the common good.

Indeed we see that effective concentrations of economic wealth have risen up against an ever-increasing mass of workers. Hidden behind the anonymity of modern [corporate] ownership, they succeed in evading their social duties and in preventing the worker from building up his own wealth. We see too that they have compelled small property owners to wage an increasingly arduous struggle for existence without hope of success.

On the one hand, we see that vast wealth dominates private and public economic life, and the civic life as well. On the other hand, we see that there are innumerable multitudes of those who, deprived of any security in their lives, abandon their aspirations to be truly free and blindly serve any political party, becoming slaves of anyone who can promise them bread and security.

By defending private ownership, the Church does not intend as a rule to protect the rich and the plutocrat against the poor. On the contrary, the Church has always protected the poor and the weak against the tyranny of the powerful and has always championed the just claim of workers against any injustice.

Small and moderate holdings whether in agriculture, the arts, trade, or industry must be guaranteed and supported. Cooperative unions must provide them with the advantage of big business.

It must not be suggested that technical progress has led to the establishment of gigantic concerns and organizations which must inevitably bring about the collapse of a social system based on widespread private ownership. Technical progress of itself does not inevitably and necessarily determine the form of economic life. Often technical progress has become the tool of selfish interests greedily plotting to increase capital indefinitely. Why should it not become an instrument for insuring private property for all as the cornerstone of the social order? Technical progress must be governed by and subordinated to the general good.

We are confident that our faithful children throughout the Catholic world will, even at the cost of considerable sacrifice, contribute in the effort toward that social justice for which all true disciples of Christ must hunger and thirst.

Day by Day

(Continued from page 1)

plishments, having such good example around. "What social worker," he says, "would ever think of working in this way?" These are the techniques—voluntary poverty and manual labor.

Visitors come and go at Maryfarm and one never knows when they will show up. Once some arrived at two a.m. (the last train from New York). They come by car on their way to California in one case. They come from New York, Bayonne, Philadelphia, Connecticut. One never knows who is going to sit down to lunch or dinner. It is good to have plenty of home-made whole-wheat bread on hand. One luncheon our guests were three moving men who had been installing a stove.

Simplicity

Fr. Roy likes oatmeal cooked in milk for breakfast and supper. There is plenty of bread and home-made butter, and apple sauce and pears, and cabbage and carrots. Anne Thornton, sends over the most tempting cakes and pies which she tosses off exuberantly just because her oven is hot and the bread turns out so



well. She has been baking the bread for the community in the barn. Tamar has been supplying us with butter and carrots and her parsnips are good too, she says. But in general gardens were a failure this year. We go to our neighbors for potatoes and cabbage. We did not mention in the paper that our horse, Jim, died. We had had him eight years and it was a great grief to us. So the fall ploughing was done by a neighbor and we put in a field of winter wheat. The seed is paid for, but not the work as yet. One of our friends wants to sell us a mule for a hundred dollars. We are deliberating about raising oxen too, eventually. For such a hilly farm as ours, oxen would be good. As I write news comes that Stanley Vishniewsky, helping us on the farm, was taken ill with appendicitis. (Friends please write.)

The Grail

After a day's visit in Pittsburgh, I took an all-night train to Loveland, Ohio, and arrived there in time for Mass on All Souls' day. Although I had spent the month of May at Foster, another farm connected with the Grail school a few miles away, I had never visited the school itself at Grailville. It is a big farm, and there are cows, horses, goats, pigs, chickens, bees (the sheep are at Foster). There are twenty-five girls attending the course, which began October first and will last until next October. I was so happy to see Veronica Forbes there, formerly in charge with Justine Lesperance in Martha House, Detroit, for the past two years. She was delighted with the course, too happy in the present to be planning for the future, though she was eager for news of the C. W. crowd and activities. While she was showing

me around, and we were going through the canning rooms and laundry in the basement of the big house, we thought of Ossie Bondy's Windsor House of Hospitality, how neat and spotless it always was, how well managed and developed!

And just as I was thinking how well-equipped everything was, I remembered that the farm at Foster had no conveniences, that the washing was done outdoors in galvanized tubs, over open fires, that there were out-houses there too, as in Easton, and no central heating, nor hot water, nor baths. Indeed, Foster is a most special small farm, to show how life can be built up abundantly with none of the so-called essentials.

It was a most beautiful holy day, and we feasted on roast pork and applesauce, vegetables, fruit, milk, butter and honey—all things grown on the land thereabouts.

Fr. Ehmann, of Rochester, was there for the holy days, and the conferences on plain chant and on the feast of the day, were stimulating.

In Chicago I spoke at the Sheil School of Social Studies, at Friendship House, at Rosary College, at the Alexian Brothers Hospital to the conscientious objectors and at a general meeting of our friends, assembled in the auditorium of Corpus Christi parish on the South Side. Several nights I stopped with Nina Polcyn, Margaret Blazer, and Florence Weinfurter, three of the girls formerly associated with the Milwaukee House and now working for the Sheil School; and part of the time at the Martin de Porres center on the west side, which works as Friendship House does, with the Negro.

Slums

As usual one is struck by the ghastly slums of the great cities and one wonders how anyone can get used to them. Dreary wastes of back yards, drab back porches on miles of unpainted houses, garbage, tin cans and refuse, skulking cats and rats, a dim sky veiled in smoke. Here in these sad and endless stretches, miles and miles of box-like homes on the south side live Negroes in hovels which rent for three times the price white people must pay. There is a very strict color line and the colored feel keenly this segregation. There were horrifying tales of children bitten by rats, and just the week before I arrived one small baby had had its toes and fingers gnawed off by rats while its mother was shopping at the market. Another family building a home, a bit out of their district after years of work and saving, had their place burned down. There were other cases of arson, one in which several colored people were burned to death. The Negro papers were full of these stories, but the white papers did not print them.

WORK

There is a new paper out in Chicago, almost a year and a half old now, called *Work*, published monthly by the Catholic Labor Alliance at 3 East Chicago Ave., Chicago 11, Ill. The editor is Edward Marciniak, one of the founders with Al Reser of the Chicago House of Hospitality. John Cogley, editor of the former Chicago Catholic Worker, writes for it regularly. The subscription is a dollar a year.

"We chose *WORK* as our name because it expressed our aim to restore work to its rightful place in our society. . . . Today's great tragedy is that manual labor is regarded as some sort of necessary purgatory leading to a white collar heaven." (August, 1943.)

Unemployment and lapid disposal, housing programs, racial justice, the annual wage, union issues and legislation, cooperatives and post-war planning;

Essays

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try to force themselves on white people or to imitate white people they do not solve the Negro problem.

5. The way for Negroes to solve the Negro problem is to behave not the way the white people behave but the way Saint Augustine wants the white people to behave.

V. The Power of Example

1. The white people are in a mess and the Negro people will be in a mess as long as they try to keep up with white people.
2. When the Negro people will have found the way out of their mess by evolving a technique in harmony with the ideology of St. Augustine the white people will no longer look down on Negro people but will look up to Negro people.
3. When the white people will look up to the Negro people they will imitate the Negro people.
4. The power of Negro people over white people will then be the power of example.

these are some of the issues taken up by the paper.

Minneapolis

While I am in Minneapolis, I am staying in Maryhouse, 2024 16th Ave. S., which opened on September first, as a House of Hospitality "radiating the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, especially to the colored people in the neighborhood." Since I had met most of the women living there at the retreat at Oakmont, I have felt much at home. They have visited us in Mott street, they have worked, some of them, with Sister Peter Claver, in Mobile, and we hope eventually to establish an exchange of workers back and forth.

The houses for men which were formerly operated in St. Paul and Minneapolis are now closed, but there is a group of women anxious to open the house in St. Paul, which is owned by the St. Vincent de Paul Society. The need is great but there is no one to take the responsibility right now. At present there is no one living on the farm at Aikin, and Al and Catherine Reser, who have the adjoining farm, have gone to Chicago for the winter.

(A letter came today from the Boston House, asking why we dropped their name from our list of houses! What an oversight! The house there on Rollins St. is owned by the group and the work has continued for many years now with only a few interruptions.)

Leaving here I am visiting Superior, Grand Rapids, Detroit, Windsor, Cleveland and Rochester before going home in time for our Advent retreat, November 30-December 2. There will be a Christmas retreat of rejoicing, from December 27-January 2. For details, write Maryfarm, Easton, Pa.

Librarians Please Note

The September, 1944, issue of the CATHOLIC WORKER was omitted. We neglected to note this in our October issue, for which oversight we beg the pardon of librarians and other subscribers.

THE EDITORS.

CATHOLIC WORKER

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Page Three

The Immorality of Conscription

By Father John J. Hugo

To fight war we must fight conscription, the acceptance of conscription. To this fight *The Catholic Worker* pledges itself as long as we are permitted to exist.

The Popes opposed it. The German Bishops opposed it. Cardinal Mannix of Australia defeated it. It was defeated in Ireland.

We urge all our readers to enlist with us to fight conscription in America.

The above lines are quotations from the leaflet, "FIGHT CONSCRIPTION," by Dorothy Day, published four years ago. In fulfillment of its pledge, *The Catholic Worker* has since published the pamphlets, "War and Conscription at the Bar of

Christian Morals," by the late Msgr. George Barry O'Toole, and "Weapons of the Spirit," by Father John J. Hugo. The fight against compulsory military service has been carried on unrelentingly in the pages of *The Catholic Worker*. Father Hugo's article, "Catholics Can Be Conscientious Objectors," published in the May and June, 1943, issues, stands as the definitive and most forthright statement on the subject. We now present Father Hugo's analysis of the immorality of conscription, at a time when the proponents of universal military service are urging immediate passage of a law making such service a permanent establishment. With this presentation we renew our pledge, and repeat our urgent request that all our readers join in this fight against conscription.

The Editors.

PART I

Introductory:

The State of the Question

1. The Urgency of the Subject

UNIVERSAL military conscription alone is what makes modern war possible. More important even than technological advance for carrying on the wholesale slaughter characteristic of war today is the levying of modern mass armies. Were it possible to end this practice, war, as it is known in the twentieth century, simply could not exist.

Accordingly, in examining the ethical justification of modern war, there is no aspect of the question more important than that of the morality of conscription. Yet, despite this obvious importance, the subject has been little discussed, and the morality of universal compulsory military service is commonly taken for granted. Even moral theologians have to a great extent allowed conscription to go unchallenged. For this reason it may seem a little late to take up an inquiry into an institution that has existed for a century and a half without apparently having been seriously questioned. Yet there are reasons for this silence, reasons why the subject can best be considered now. Older theologians, like St. Augustine and St. Thomas, knew nothing about conscription, which existed only since 1793; neither did de Vitoria (d. 1546) or Suarez (d. 1617), the most authoritative modern theologians who deal with the morality of war. This is a very significant fact. It means that the leading theologians to whom Catholics go for principles concerning war made their judgments at a time when the most important factor in war as it exists today was quite unknown. Whatever may be the authority of these older writers, there is need today of an evaluation which takes account of compulsory military service.

Need for Careful Study

Few of the moralists who have written since conscription has become a general policy have condemned it. This fact, however, cannot be taken as an argument in its support. For, on the one hand, those who have considered it at all have usually condemned it while, on the other, the standard modern authors in moral theology have generally not touched upon the subject except briefly and in passing. It must be admitted, however reluctantly, that modern Catholic scholars have failed to give the whole problem of war the attention it deserves and demands. A few pages in manuals of ethics and moral theologies, and then little more than a formal enumeration of

conditions required for just war. There is too little effort to apply these conditions to modern circumstances or to study thoroughly this greatest evil in the whole modern world. In classes of ethics and moral theology, the entire subject is dismissed in an hour. In a word, war and conscription have simply been taken for granted. We have given the decision of conscience over to statesmen, most frequently of the old Liberal school, and therefore thoroughly irreligious, who have lulled our consciences to sleep by camouflaging the sordid military expeditions of capitalism and national imperialism with a profession of high moral ideals. But in our time war and conscription have reached such proportions of evil that they can no longer be taken for granted.

Whatever may be the reasons for this tardiness of conscience in asserting itself (and there are several reasons, of which only one that directly concerns conscription will be considered here), there seems to be little doubt that the present is the best time to make a rounded and complete study of conscription. For conscription, although existing now for a century and a half, has reached its full development only in our generation. At present, for the first time, it can be viewed in its fully matured form. This fact has undoubtedly been greatly responsible for preventing moralists from attempting to make a definitive judgment in the past. They have not had all the facts before them; and it must also be conceded to them, in extenuation of an otherwise inexplicable silence on so grave a matter, that the facts which they did not possess are the most decisive ones.

Hidden Seeds of Evil

Until now conscription has been difficult to judge for the same reason that a child's character is difficult to judge. The child is immature; his traits have not yet fully revealed themselves. All children seem, on the surface, sweet and innocent; yet this natural goodness, besides being unstable and fleeting, conceals certain potentialities of evil which will manifest themselves only gradually and which, unless mortified, will grow into serious moral defects. An evil tree brings forth evil fruit. Only it takes time to do so. You do not plant a seed one day and go out the next day with a basket to gather the fruit.

The evil of conscription, in a similar way, can be seen clearly only as it reaches maturity and we are able to see its full stature and characteristic effects. Not that the evil is only in the effects; it is there from the beginning, but we cannot fully realize this—above all, we cannot be perfectly sure of it—until we see its effects. In a bad man, the beginning of evil was already present in the seeming innocence of childhood; but development was necessary to bring it out. Or, in the example of the evil tree, the poison is already in the seed, but it can be detected only when men attempt to eat of the fruit.

2. An Instructive Parallel

A SOMEWHAT similar case is found in the development of extreme feminism, that is, in the demand made by so many modern women for complete emancipation from their own peculiar duties and responsibilities. And because this case, besides providing an instructive parallel, provides useful material for a later stage of the argument, it will be well to pause here and consider it briefly. It was difficult, when women first began to agitate for freedom, for Catholics to assert or explain their opposition to feminism—although the movement is certainly evil and was eventually condemned by the Church—for the reason that a very real admixture of good elements prevents the errors from at once appearing. We Catholics do not need feminists to point out to us the dignity of womankind. We believe, and have believed from the beginning, that women have immortal souls and are equal to men in dignity and worth: in the kingdom of heaven there is "neither male nor female". Indeed, because of our Lady, so uniquely privileged among all human beings, we have conceded to women greater respect, greater veneration, than is given to men. As Chesterton pointed out, even many of the so-called disabilities of women proceed, not from contempt, but reverence; they are like the exemptions from secular activities conceded to priests. We did not even need the feminists to tell us that women are endowed with intelligence and have therefore a right to education. If in former times women were not generally given greater opportunities for intellectual culture, this was due to social and historical reasons, as well as to stubborn male prejudices, and not to any doctrine of Christianity closing to women the advantages of instruction.

Functional Differences Ignored

Catholics do, of course, believe that the function of women, both in human society and in the Mystical Body of Christ, is distinct from that of men. This is the only reservation that must be made.

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¹ See Msgr. George Barry O'Toole, "War and Conscription at the Bar of Christian Morals" (Catholic Worker Press, N. Y.). The opinions of several other authors are summarized in *National Patriotism in Papal Teaching*, by John J. Wright, p. 180 et seq. (Newman, 1943). Also John Eppstein, *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations*, pp. 133-134 (London, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1935).

² We do not mean here—and this is to be carefully noted—that the calling of soldier is as such evil. What we mean is that in fact the actual circumstances of modern conscription and war invariably tend to make it extrinsically evil. And of course the soldier as such is an abstraction that exists only in a philosopher's brain. He is a kind of "laboratory" man, like the "economic man" or "man in the state of pure nature"; he has no passions and no morally determining purposes, and he is remote from all the actual circumstances of human life. But the soldier in reality, has passions and weaknesses; he works for motives that have moral significance, performs actions that are good or evil, uses means that are just or unjust: it is less difficult for him to deviate from the line of righteousness!

³ Gal. 3, 28.

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Nevertheless, a Catholic almost instinctively opposes feminism. He might not know exactly why, and he might assign poor reasons for his views, taking his arguments from custom and tradition instead of from moral principle. Yet in the last analysis his opposition is moral. He becomes aware of this, perhaps, only when he sees the results of feminism: the breakup of the home, scrapping of marriage morality, divorce, flagrant impurity and the disappearance of modesty, together with many other evils, like juvenile delinquency, noted even by secular sociologists, which have come, or increased, as a consequence of women's demand for complete emancipation from the responsibilities of their sex. Confronted with these effects, the Catholic can conclude only that feminism is evil. Yet the evil is not merely in the effects. It was present from the beginning, in seed, but has taken time to manifest itself. It consists precisely in the denial that there is any difference of function between men and women, in the determination to have women treated exactly as men. By such an attitude feminism goes directly counter to the providential plan of God, who has formed human society (and the supernatural society of the Mystical Body) organically, assigning to each group, and even to each individual, a particular purpose and function, just as He does in disposing the members and organs of the human body. Whatever the dignity, the intellectual capacity, or the political rights of women, their special office, their tasks and responsibilities are quite different from those of men.

Degradation of Woman Results

The error of feminism—the offense of women in men's clothing, engaged in men's tasks—is their rejection of the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ. Their sin is a sin against the Mystical Body. For if they are punished swiftly and fittingly. When women seek to be treated exactly as men they lose their own dignity and are even degraded. When they try to rival men in tasks which are peculiarly masculine they are invariably inferior. Only in their own sphere are they supreme, inimitable. The girls slaving in factories; the clerks working all day for a pittance in stores—what a wonderful boon their "freedom" and "independence" has been to them! The women in men's clothing working about mills and railroad yards, outdoing their male companions in vilenesses of language, assigned the dirtiest and most unskilled tasks—how wonderfully have they increased their dignity, enhanced their privileges, escaped "the drudgery of the home"! The effect of feminism has been a loss in status for women.

In a similar way, conscription, viewed on the surface, may seem unobjectionable to the human conscience; perhaps this is why it is so easily taken for granted. It may even appear necessary, from a moral standpoint, because of the State's right to defend itself. Corresponding to this right of the State, there must be a duty on the part of the citizens to undertake their country's defense. Thus, there would seem to be (and so the defenders of conscription argue) an obligation of conscience to accept conscription; so that he who refuses to do so is usually regarded, not only as a "slacker" from the patriotic point of view, but delinquent as well in regard to his moral and religious duty.

Nevertheless, hidden beneath the apparently harmless exterior character of conscription, there is a great evil, one whose internal logic requires time to work itself out fully, but clearly showing, when it does, that universal military service is opposed at once to the standards of natural justice and to the teachings of the Gospel.

3. The Development of Conscription

THE history of conscription clearly reveals the logic of its development. Although we today seem to think that conscription always existed, it is in fact, in its modern form at any rate, no older than the French Revolution. Of course something like it was known in ancient pagan nations, like Greece and Rome, whose tendency to deify the State, plus their barbarism or semi-barbarism, led them to adopt the ideal of "the nation in arms." Sparta, in which every child was brought up to be a soldier, or to assist in war, or simply left to die if not fitted for this, is the typical example of ancient compulsory military service and of the nation in arms. However, even in pagan nations, such service tended to disappear with advancing civilization; so that Greece and Rome, at the height of their cultural achievements, were overcome by more barbarous peoples who saw in force, not art of learning, the measure of greatness. In Christian times conscription vanished almost entirely, and, with certain isolated

exceptions, was unknown for a thousand years before the French Revolution.

Limitations of "Universal" Service

The theory of equality, one of the ideals of the Revolution, led logically to the demand that all citizens undertake military service, "and as the majority of people are naturally adverse to risking their skins, universal service was tantamount to compulsory enlistment." Despite the theoretical acceptance of conscription and its adoption by the revolutionary government, it did not at once work in practice: besides administrative inefficiency, there were numerous evasions and even open rebellion against it. Carnot made conscription workable by limiting service to men between 18 and 25 years of age. So soon were the revolutionary ideals of brotherhood and equality compromised! Conscription could be made to work only by imposing it on a politically impotent section of the population. This is as true today as then: the "duty" of bearing arms and of dying for one's country is skillfully evaded, without any apparent scruples of conscience, by all parties able to exercise political pressure on the government. That in years following the Revolution it was possible to extend the age limits of those required to do service was largely owing to the fact that, with the progress of the Industrial Revolution, an ever increasing body of men, the proletariat, has become politically impotent.

In 1798 the law of conscription was improved by General Jourdain and was later made more effective by Napoleon. Conscription provided Napoleon with more than two and a half million men from 1800 to 1813: it was thus conscription that made possible the Napoleonic victories, and the massed army used by Napoleon was his basic contribution to military strategy. Thus the conquests of Napoleon were one of the first great fruits of universal conscription. Prussian militarism was to be next.

Imitators of Napoleon

Prussia adopted conscription in imitation of Napoleon, in 1808, after her humiliation at his hands at Jena. Following the fall of Napoleon in 1815, it was scientifically developed until it reached perfection under William I and Bismarck, coming to a climax of efficiency in the quick and easy Prussian victories over Austria in 1866 and France in 1871. The success of their great military machine "convinced Germans that the preservation of their national union depended upon the continuance of the principle of compulsory military training." Because of this, Prussia forced all the other German states in the confederation which she dominated to adopt the same policy, while she herself became burdened with ever increasing armaments.

Of course, in relation to later happenings, the victories of 1866 and 1871 were but adolescent triumphs for the conscription system; they became the beginning of even greater developments. Other European states, impressed by the example of Prussia, now began to follow her lead, until conscription became universal. In 1868 Austria-Hungary adopted it, France again in 1872 (it waned here after the fall of Napoleon), Japan in 1873, Russia in 1874, and Italy in 1875. Meanwhile, Great Britain, while it had not yet adopted compulsory service, was fostering a complementary movement by doing for navalism what Prussia was doing for militarism. In time the nations would imitate Great Britain, too. Conscription and militarism were coming to a lusty majority.

Modern Developments

The year 1913 and the beginning of the First World War brought further growth. Prussia once more took the lead by raising her peace-time army from 686,000 men to 870,000. Once more all Europe followed the example—France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Even the small countries, like Belgium, caught the fever. When war actually broke out, both Great Britain and the United States adopted universal conscription. During the war, between fifty and sixty million men were conscripted altogether. Of these, ten million were killed and twenty million wounded; at Verdun alone one million men were killed (compared with a French army of 81,000 surrendered at Sedan in 1870). Civilization was making progress indeed. Here was another and a greater triumph of slaughter for the conscription system. But there were still greater things ahead.

4. The Final Phase: Total Conscription

CONSCRIPTION was to reach its fullest development in the Second World War and in the preparations that led up to it. No complete figures are available as yet, but the total number

of conscripts must be staggering. For example, the United States, which conscripted only about five million men in the First World War, brought its total number to around eleven million in 1944. The armies of the other belligerent nations, especially Russia, are proportionately larger now than in 1917.

However, it is not simply because of numerical growth that conscription has reached its maturity at the present. There has been something more than an increase in quantity. With World War II, conscription became "total"; that is to say, instead of coercing one section of the population into service, it now began to force the entire population into the war system either directly or indirectly, disregarding all rights whatsoever. Total conscription means then that married men as well as young single men are conscripted; as a consequence, homes are dislocated and abandoned, children neglected, women forced out of their proper sphere. It means that labor is conscripted also: for in total war the whole economic system becomes part of the war machine. It means, finally, that because of manpower shortage caused by the voracious appetite of modern war, women, too, are conscripted.

Fertile Soil

No doubt these evils which we note as belonging particularly to the Second World War existed before, at least germinally. Thus priests and married men had been subject to the draft previously. But the real nature of conscription, its true proportions, inevitable consequences, and final fruit appear with the total conscription of the Second World War. Indeed, before conscription could reach its full growth certain other preliminary conditions had to be realized. Widespread moral deterioration was necessary to make possible the general acceptance of the theory that human rights, instead of being rooted ineradicably in man's spiritual personality, as traditional ethics had maintained, are a gratuitous gift conferred upon the individual by the State and may therefore be revoked at will by the State. Another necessary condition was the increase of political centralization by which individual liberties could be effectively restricted; and this in turn could become possible only by final developments in the process of economic centralization, which has made the masses of men in every country utterly dependent on a centrally controlled economic system.

Once these conditions were realized, totalitarian conscription became a possibility. It first became a reality in Russia, in 1930, with the passage of a compulsory service law that established liability for all citizens, regardless of sex. Women are accepted in peace time and may be drafted for war. Although their greatest service has been in non-combatant work, they have also served in the army on the same basis as men in several branches of the service.

Totality in Germany

In Germany, total conscription came into being with the National Defense Law of 1935 (amended in 1938), by which every male German is obligated to perform military service from the completion of his 18 to his 45th year. All women are obliged to render service over and above strictly military duty. The result is total mobilization of the entire adult population.

England, despite its dislike of conscription, adopted in 1940, under the threat of a German invasion, an Emergency Powers Defense Bill which provided for the conscription of all British resources, human as well as material. This act is legally parallel to the measures adopted earlier by the dictator states; indeed, through it, England "has mobilized her manpower more fully than any other nation in the war." The United States, although inducting married men into the armed forces, has not yet adopted total conscription. However, the U. S. government does not refrain from this step out of moral principle or democratic conviction, but simply out of expedience, because total conscription has not yet become necessary. Labor conscription and conscription of women have been advocated by high officials, and bills providing for them were introduced into Congress. In fact, President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress for February, 1944, asked for an

⁴See the articles on "Conscription" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and *The Americana*.

⁵See *Masters of Modern Strategy*, by Edward Mead Earle, pp. 73, 74, 75. (Princeton, 1944.)

⁶Carlton Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, p. 688. (Macmillan, 1925.)

⁷Of these, 2,000,000 "volunteered"; but because they volunteered only under threat of conscription, they are numbered with the conscripts.

⁸See *Masters of Modern Strategy*, by Edward Mead Earle, p. 335 (Princeton, 1944.)

⁹James B. Reston, *New York Times Magazine*, January 23, 1944.

act that would authorize "total" conscription. Meanwhile, the United States has used women volunteers in services organized as auxiliaries for the armed forces. Clearly, it is not principle that prevents the U. S. government from conscripting women now.

Following the Leader

One of the last and most lurid of the flowers of conscription is the use of enforced labor and the deportation of conquered peoples for purposes of labor. In this Nazi Germany has led the way. But inasmuch as the other nations have quickly imitated Germany in every other practice of militarism, always alleging military necessity as the reason, it can scarcely be supposed that the democracies will refuse to adopt this practice also should it appear expedient. Already there is talk of compensating Poland for the territory that Russia threatens to take from her by the "gift" of East Prussia and the deportation of German inhabitants to German soil. Whether or not this should come about, it is significant to notice that the suggestion arouses no moral indignation anywhere.

Such is the history and development of conscription: its inner logic leads inexorably to the denial of every human right in the name of nationalism and to the subordination of the most sacred interests of mankind to the requirements of war. Although the worst evils come to fruition only in the matured form, as fully developed fruit comes only from a grown tree, nevertheless the evil was present from the beginning in the theory that the national government has the authority to conscript all its subjects without regard for any right. We will now give our attention to the evil lying at the root of the development.

PART II

Conscription and the Human Person

1. The Alleged Ethical Basis of Conscription

HERE is the argumentation upon which conscription depends for its morality: The State's "primary purpose—the very reason for its existence—is the welfare of its citizens. But it is unthinkable that it continue in existence and be in a position to discharge its essential function, unless it be vested with the right to conscript the wealth and services of its citizens, according to the ability of each, in peace and in war, in so far as the public good demands it."

"When, therefore, the State calls its citizens to arms in a just defensive war, or in preparation for such a war, it is acting fully within the limits of its strict rights. It is but exercising its natural prerogative of taking legitimate steps necessary for justified, or even obligatory, self-defense. Now to the State's right to exact, corresponds the citizen's duty to render. The individual citizen is now no longer free to choose whether or not he will serve in the nation's armed forces."

Two Words to Watch

Mark the words exactly: Because of the State's right to exist, it "is vested with the right also to conscript the wealth and services of its citizens." By means of those two apparently innocent but (in reality) ambiguous words, "and services," conscription has been made morally acceptable. There is its ethical foundation. Is it really solid?

Taking these words, *and services*, exactly as they stand—in their formal sense, as the philosophers say—we do not at present quarrel with the conclusion: a State, we may concede, has indeed the right to conscript the wealth and services of its citizens.¹⁰ Only, despite appearances, this is not an accurate description, therefore not a convincing justification, of compulsory military service.¹¹ In reality, a State, when it conscripts soldiers, demands far more than what properly belongs to it, lays claim to something far beyond the wealth and services of its citizens.

Even in the conscription of property, there are limits to a State's authority, bounds beyond which it may not go. If its conscription of wealth, for example, is tantamount to a denial of the right to private property; if it absorbs the total wealth of a nation, as is done by Communism, then certainly it goes beyond what is allowed by justice. "Man's natural right of privately possessing and transmitting property by inheritance must be kept intact and cannot be taken away by the State, for man is older than the State" and "the domestic household is anterior both in idea and in fact to the gathering of men into a commonwealth." Hence the prudent pontiff [Leo XIII, from whose *Rerum Novarum* Pius XI has quoted these principles]

had already declared it unlawful for the State to exhaust the means of individuals by crushing taxes and tributes: "The right to possess private property is from nature, not from man; and the State has only the right to regulate its use in the interest of the public good, but by no means to abolish it altogether."¹²

Are There Limitations?

Now if there are limits which a State cannot exceed in conscripting impersonal wealth, what shall be said of its right to conscript personal services? Is this without limit? Suppose that a State's demand amounts to a repudiation of human personality; suppose that it treats its citizens as mere creatures of the State—is this within its rights? Assuredly not! Yet this is what universal compulsory military service involves. It absorbs the life of the citizen completely, to the violation of his innermost personality. Here is the evil that condemns conscription, the evil which, we say, has come to maturity in our own day.

2. The Individual and the Person

MAN being composed of body and soul, he can be considered either in his bodily life, as an individual, or in his spiritual life, as a person. Looking on him as an individual, we see him primarily in his material component, his bodily life and work, his physical, economic, and social activity. From this point of view, he is part of the community and is therefore under the authority of the State. The State, therefore, whose end is the temporal welfare of its citizens, has power (though within limits) over their temporal possessions and activities. But man is not only an individual, a material unit in the State. He is also a person, a rational and spiritual substance, a complete agent of action, free and responsible in his own right. As a person, he is not part of the State, but is rather himself a whole, a universe within himself, independent of the State and above it. "... For St. Thomas the individual as such is a part. ... On the other hand, for St. Thomas, the idea of personality as such bespeaks the independence of a whole."¹³

Supernatural Destiny Is Paramount

Hence the Angelic Doctor teaches that "man is not subordinated to the community in his total being and in regard to all matters." "Person" signifies that which is most perfect in the whole of nature.¹⁴ Accordingly, if we consider man as a person the community exists to serve him.¹⁵ The reason is, of course, that human personality is spiritual and superior to all material interests. Yet this is not the only reason, nor would it be sufficient to prevent him, at least in practice, from being absorbed by the State. The human person also has a supernatural end; and as the heavens are exalted above the earth, so is man's supernatural destiny above the terrestrial interests and temporal end of the State.

The Answer of Peter

The person "can be considered either under the formal aspect of an individual part of the city or under the formal aspect of a person destined to God: in the first place its own good is to be referred to that of the community, in the second case it is that common temporal good which is to be referred to its interests, spiritual and eternal."¹⁶ As a person, man is destined to be united immediately to God. That is why St. Thomas says that "in certain matters—that is, in the innermost core of personality—he is bound by obedience only to God." Because of eternal interests, therefore, one may be at times exempt from obedience to the State. Further, there may be times when one is bound in conscience to disobey, i.e., when the welfare of the soul or the interests of God are threatened. "It is a sin to disobey God for the sake of pleasing men; it is wrong to break the law of Jesus Christ in order to obey the magistrate, or under pretence of civil rights to transgress the laws of the Church: 'We ought to obey God rather than men' (Acts, 5, 29). The answer which Peter and the rest of the Apostles were wont to give to the governors, when they laid unlawful commands upon them, must always be made once for all on occasions. There is no better citizen either in peace or war than the Christian who is mindful of his duty; and he ought to suffer everything, even death itself, rather than forsake the side of God and of the Church."¹⁷

Pius XI on Atheistic Communism

Moreover, the end of the State is not only inferior to that of the person, belonging to an altogether lower order, but it is also subordinate to the latter; society and the State are bound to help men realize their supernatural destiny. In the

providential plan, the State's task is to care for those earthly interests whose real although hidden purpose is to assist, instruct, and try men in the practice of virtue, thereby conducting them to their supernatural end and beatitude. If men must obey the State within the limits of the latter's authority, the State may nevertheless not interfere with the rights of the person; this is precisely the reason for the Church's condemnation of Communism: "Man cannot be exempted from his divinely imposed obligations toward civil society, and the representatives of authority have the right to coerce him when he refuses without reason to do his duty. Society, on the other hand, cannot defraud man of his God-granted rights. ... Nor can society systematically void these rights by making their use impossible. It is, therefore, according to the dictates of reason that ultimately all material things should be ordained to man as a person, that through his mediation they may find their way to the Creator. In this wise we can apply to man, the human person, the words of the Apostle of the Gentiles, who writes to the Corinthians on the Christian economy of salvation: 'All things are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's' (I Cor. 3, 23). While Communism impoverishes human personality by inverting the terms of the relation of man to society, to what lofty heights is not man elevated by reason and revelation!"¹⁸

3. The Argument Restated

WITH these truths in mind, let us see what happens when we restate the argument given above in justification of conscription, extending it to cover the real requirements of the case. Because the State has the right to exist—so the argument goes—it must also have the right to conscript the wealth and services of its citizens. This conclusion, within limits, we have said, may be conceded. But suppose the wording were changed—suppose it were to be argued, "Because the State has the right to exist, it must also have the right to conscript the wealth and persons of its citizens." Would this be true? Unobjectionable? By no means! The difference, verbally, is very slight, but the difference in meaning and implication is enormous. And if conscription as it exists today is to be ethically justified, it can only be because a State has the right to conscript, not only the services of its citizens, but also their persons. The argument must be capable of standing in its corrected and extended form if it is to be broad enough and strong enough to support conscription. Conscription invades the domain of personality, and unless the State can be truly said to have complete sway over men, over their interior lives and rights, over their supernatural actions and choice of a final end, as well as over their external life and activity, then this method of raising soldiers, so intimately bound up with modern war, is without moral foundation.

Confusion of Terms

Let us add that, if scholars, realizing the value of words and concepts, present the argument carefully, as it appeared in its first form ("and services"), ordinary men, not so skilled in fine distinctions, but knowing the actual extent of the

¹⁰ "The Morality of Conscientious Objection to War," p. 25 (A report of the Ethics Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace.—N.C.W.C.—Washington).

¹¹ This is conceded here for purposes of argument without intending however to acknowledge its truth—*dato non concessio*, as the Scholastics would say. So much may be conceded here without diminishing the force of the main argument. However, if there is any truth in the principles of democracy even this concession may be too much. For a discussion of conscription vs. democracy, see Part III.

¹² In other words, the conclusion is not true if it is understood in a wider or looser sense—the material sense. Yet it is in the material sense that it is understood, and must be understood, by defenders of conscription.

¹³ Pius XI *Quadragesimo Anno*.

¹⁴ Jacques Maritain, *Three Reformers*, p. 195. (Scribners, 1929.) For a development of this distinction between individual and person this work of Maritain can profitably be read (pp. 14-28; also the notes). Likewise his *Freedom in the Modern World*, pp. 46-54 (Sheed and Ward, 1935). Be it noted that in quoting this author it is not intended to claim his support for the conclusions that follow. As a matter of fact he thinks differently. He is quoted because he gives an authoritative, reliable, and disinterested statement of the principles involved.

¹⁵ I II, 21, 4, ad 3: "Homo non ordinatur ad communitatem politicam secundum omnia sua."

¹⁶ I, 29, 3.

¹⁷ Cfr. Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris*: "Society is for man and not vice versa." Of course this axiom must be understood aright, according to the explanation given by the Pope. It is not a justification of anarchy. Relevant to the present subject are these words: "But on final analysis... Society is made for man, that he may recognize this reflection of God's perfection, and refer it in praise and adoration to the Creator. Only man, the human person, and not society in any form is endowed with reason and a morally free will."

¹⁸ Maritain, *op. cit.*, p. 195, Note 28. (Italics ours.)

¹⁹ II II, 104, 5, c.

²⁰ Leo XIII, *Sapientiae Christianae*.

²¹ Pius XI *Divini Redemptoris* (On Atheistic Communism). It should also be noted that the Church has condemned the Liberal teaching that the end of the State is amoral and that the State therefore is without responsibility to the spiritual interests of its citizens. Cfr. Leo XIII, *Libertas Humana*.

State's claim, concede the second position, i.e., that it has authority over the human person. It is only by such confusion, by such swamping of the spiritual by the material, such a persistent failure to understand the spiritual things, that the popular mind is enabled to accept conscription as a duty. Were men more spiritually-minded, more proficient in perceiving the realities of the spiritual world, they would be troubled by these huge concessions to the State—concessions which are part of that pagan conception of society whereby the human person is entirely absorbed by the State and subordinated to its terrestrial aims. Even the scholars, though careful enough in the formal statement of the case, in practice carry their conclusion far beyond the premises; they say that they give the State rights only over human services, but in fact they concede to it rights over human persons. Conscription, as we shall see in a moment, could not exist without this claim to rights over the person.

If you consider man as an individual, in his external life and activity, he exists for the sake of the whole, as the hand exists for the entire body. From this point of view, being a part, he is obliged to act for the good of the whole, even though this would involve great sacrifices, like the giving up of wealth and even life itself; as it may be necessary to sacrifice an arm to procure the health of the body. The individual as such has the same relation to the community that the bee does to the swarm or the ant to its colony. This is why materialism and paganism so quickly and inevitably lead to slavery. Seeing only man's material life, they judge his value solely in reference to the social whole, so that his personality, his freedom, his spiritual life, are completely disregarded and he is absorbed wholly in the life of the community.

Spiritual Rights Are Sacrosanct

When, on the contrary, we take account of man's unique spiritual life, together with the dignity and rights that go with it, then the material measurement and analogy no longer hold. In this case his value cannot be assessed as that of a material part in relation to a whole, existing only for the good of the latter. Consequently, although a man must give up his natural goods, even life, for the sake of his country, should this be necessary, he is never required, nor is he permitted, to give up his spiritual and supernatural rights and gifts for this reason. Thus he is not required to give up his chastity for the sake of the State. More, he is not permitted to do so, and, should such a command be given to him, he must obey God rather than men. The same holds true of other spiritual goods: to give up what is spiritual for something material, to abandon a supernatural good for one that is merely natural and even material, this would be a frightful inversion. The State has not the right to require it, and, should it be required, the citizen has neither a duty nor a right to obey. Right order requires a due subordination of ends; what is material must serve the spiritual, what is natural must serve the supernatural. The State, being of the natural order, is infinitely inferior to the supernatural good which the human person is bound to pursue. Accordingly the State violates the rights of the person when it fails to provide, within its own sphere, the assistance which men need to seek after their supernatural end. It also violates these rights when it places in the way of its citizens hindrances to the attainment of their supernatural end, compels them to live in conditions opposed to their soul's welfare, or in any other way jeopardizes by its policies their true and eternal good. "Hence civil society, established for the common welfare, should not only safeguard the well-being of the community, but should have at heart also the interests of its individual members, and that in such a manner as not to hinder, but in every way to render as easy as possible the possession of that highest and unchangeable good for which all should strive. For this purpose, care must especially be taken to preserve unharmed and unimpeded the practice of religion which is the bond connecting man with God."²²

4. The Rights of the Person

THE next task is to apply these truths. In order to prevent any misunderstanding in making this application, let us distinguish at the outset between peace-time and war-time conscription. The arguments here given, as shall be evident as they unfold themselves, apply with full force and without any reservations to peace-time conscription as it is known in the great nations today; this kind of conscription has also been explicitly condemned by the Holy See, as we shall notice in Part III. What about war-time conscription? Obviously, in the case of an unjust war, conscription (as well as all other means used to

carry on such a war) is already condemned; for any means, however blameless in themselves, become evil when made to serve an evil end.

Unlikelihood of a Just War

But what of the case of a just war? In answer to this question, let it be observed in the first place that, although the possibility of just warfare is unassailable in principle, nevertheless in practice wars rarely if ever meet the requirements of justice laid down by theologians, that is, they are in fact never wholly just on one side and wholly unjust on the other, owing to the fact that in the long run human nature apart from grace cannot live up perfectly to the requirements even of natural justice. The tangled claims and counter-claims of the unending wars that have disgraced the history of mankind and Christendom give ample evidence of this fact. Least of all can the modern wars of mutual aggression waged by conflicting national imperialisms be fitted into the pattern of justifiable warfare, even with the powerful assistance of nationalistic passion and propaganda; so that, in fact, this pattern of just warfare is scarcely to be looked for outside of the laboratory of a philosopher's brain.

Evil Means Never Permissible

Furthermore, as de Victoria observes, "much attention must be paid to the admitted fact that a war may be just and lawful in itself and yet owing to some collateral circumstance may be unlawful." That is to say, even though the cause of a war may be clearly just (and therefore clearly unjust on the other side), the waging of such a war may nevertheless be evil because of some extrinsic circumstance. A principle of ethics states that an action, to be good at all, must be entirely good; one evil circumstance is enough to condemn the whole. Now conscription, as it exists today, is a circumstance inseparable from modern total war; and it is at the same time a thing so evil, because of its effects both on the individual and on society in general, that it alone is enough to make a war unjust, however just may be the cause. Evil is never to be done for a good end; and even when the waging of a war would seem to eliminate greater evils than those caused by universal conscription (if such a possibility can be imagined), still it must be affirmed, again in the words of de Victoria, that "evil is not to be done even in order to avoid greater evil still."

What remains now is to establish the minor premise, that is, to show that conscription as practiced by the great powers today does in fact violate the most sacred rights of human personality. We proceed as follows:

Right of Vocation Violated

First of all, conscription hinders men from following their God-given vocations. It takes them at the best time of their youth, the time allowed them to prepare for their life work, pulls them out of their normal activities, postpones their education, in many cases putting a stop to it altogether, and prevents them from taking advantage of whatever opportunities might be given for pursuing their careers. In order to appreciate how deep an injury this is, recall to mind the meaning of vocation. It is a call from God to some particular life-work, as a means of glorifying Him here below and of meriting happiness with Him in heaven. Knowing all the secret and unrealized potentialities of each person, God apportions to each his place and function in society, and also, on a higher plane, in the Church, the Mystical Body of Christ. Everyone has his own unique and necessary place in each of these communities: in human society there is need of a division of labor, in the Mystical Body there are "diversities of ministries." The work given to each man—manifested to him by his special abilities, the providential direction of his life, and the opportunities placed in his path—is his true and rightful vocation, his own way of serving God, of doing God's will, of working out his own soul's salvation. Military conscription forces men to leave off, perhaps wholly to abandon, their true vocation. It forces them to depart, in many cases permanently, from the path intended for them by God, the path in which they were to find happiness, salvation, and the graces necessary to obtain these ends.

Danger of Presumption

No doubt—to meet an inevitable objection—in whatever difficult circumstances men find themselves, God can and will provide them with the strength needed to overcome temptation. Yet the fact that God can circumvent evil and injustice is no permission for men to commit it. God forbid, as St. Paul says (Rom. 6, 1) that we should go on doing evil because we know that God can turn it to good. Moreover, there are certain situations

favorable, others unfavorable, to the practice of virtue and correspondence with divine grace: and these situations vary from person to person. Now if any place is favorable for a given individual, surely it is the one chosen by God and appointed as his vocation. But the State, by conscription, compels men arbitrarily to accept less favorable, or even unfavorable, circumstances and in this way hinders them in their efforts to save their souls.

This argument based on vocations is a very strong one, although it may not seem so today, for the reason that men, even before being inducted into the armed forces, have been deprived of their vocations by mass production, uncontrolled use of machinery, depersonalized labor, and other iniquitous practices that are part of the capitalistic system. However, two wrongs do not make a right: and the first wrong does not justify the second even when it prevents the latter from being felt or understood.

Vocations Cannot Be Imposed

If you should say, again by way of objection, that the career of a soldier is itself a vocation, as is indicated by many Catholic writers and taken for granted in Papal documents (as well as by the practice of the Holy See), it will be readily conceded that you are right—if by a soldier you mean a kind of national or international policeman whose work is to keep the public order. But then, if this is truly a vocation, there will be sufficient volunteers for it without conscription. The same Providence who gives vocations would see to it that a sufficient number of men are led to follow this one voluntarily. In any case, such a consideration does not give the State the right to force everyone to become a soldier. An executioner, presumably, is also following a vocation. But may the State, for that reason, compel all its citizens to become executioners?

5. The Evil of Enforced Celibacy

DEPRIVING men of their vocations involves still graver evils. Conscripts, most of whom would ordinarily be married, are compelled by the State to accept a condition of celibacy for which they have neither call nor preparation nor the "graces of state" which are needed for this higher and more difficult mode of life. Even when the conscription is temporary, this is a great hardship and an occasion of sin. Already, the unnatural exigencies of modern life force many young people to defer their marriage years beyond what is good for them, exposing them to inward strain and great outward temptation. Conscription makes the difficulty much greater. It is all very well for comfortable middle-aged people who are accumulating war bonds and otherwise batten on the carrion of war to admonish the young that they should be "prudent" and well-advised, and therefore postpone their weddings until after the war or the term of conscript service. These young people have a right to get married if that is their calling; they also have a need to do so; and a duty as well if failure to satisfy this need places them in a danger of sin. In other words, this is a right which very intimately involves their spiritual well-being and eternal salvation. Accordingly, the matter of vocation, it is worth while to notice, is one of the instances explicitly cited by St. Thomas over which (he says) human authority has no jurisdiction and the citizen is under no obligation to obey.

If it were a question merely of material good, no doubt the State could compel great sacrifices for the sake of the common welfare. But not even the State has the right to place men in the way of sin, at the same time depriving them of the ordinary aids needed for living a life of virtue. The condition of enforced celibacy demands that men observe a rigorous chastity, such as is obligatory for priests and religious. In other words, they are made to live according to the obligations of a state in life which is not properly theirs and which becomes in fact an occasion of sin. This is true, although, despite the conscription, they do actually get married; for they must in this case live as celibates anyway. Indeed, in the case of

²² Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*. Bear in mind also the words of Pius XI, quoted above: "Society on the other hand cannot defraud man of his God-granted rights. . . . Nor can society systematically void these rights by making their use impossible."—*Divini Redemptoris*.

²³ This and the previous quotation are taken from de Victoria's *On the Law of War*, Paragraphs 33 and 38 respectively. (Classics of International Law, Edited by James Scott Brown. Washington, D. C., 1917.) Mark carefully that in condemning conscription we do not condemn the vocation of the soldier as such, but conscription in its actual present-day circumstances. See footnote 2, Part I.

²⁴ The major premise of the argument is: "The State has no rights over human personality." The minor premise is: "But universal conscription by State authority violates the rights of personality." And the conclusion: "Therefore unconstitutional." [Note: There is no footnote reference numbered 25—Ed.]

married conscripts, the injustice is much more flagrant.

An Impossible Situation

The State itself recognizes the impossibility of the situation into which it forces its conscripts by the provisions it makes for keeping up their morale—provisions which are a further wound in the personality. Entertainments in which the passions are incited, lust aroused, and an artificial outlet provided for concupiscence, are supplied to maintain the conscripts in the mental and emotional condition needed in "good soldiers." The immense cynicism of the godless State is shown in the fact that it will bring suggestive and even obscene entertainments, not only to training centers, but also to the very battle-fronts all over the world where men are living in the very shadow of death and may at any moment be sent to stand before their Creator and Judge. First to put the young men in an occasion of sin, then to provide carefully prepared temptation, finally to lead them out to be slaughtered—this is the devilish procedure of modern war, the manner in which the State of today seeks to assist its citizens to procure their eternal salvation.

Worse yet, realizing full well the impossibility of celibacy in conscripts, the State makes ample provision for contraceptives. Catholics may blink their eyes at this, seeing in it merely an accidental adjunct of a great crusade. Army authorities know differently, and they have therefore made available to the manufacturers of contraceptives materials which are not otherwise available outside the war industries. The practice of contraception, the encouragement of fornication and adultery—these are necessary means of keeping up "morale" in a conscript army.

Unfortunate Position of Chaplains

We do not forget that the governments provide chaplains for the men in the armed forces; nor do we underestimate, or wish to underestimate, the good that is done by these chaplains. The heroic devotion of so many of them is an inspiring story. However, we are not concerned here with the achievements of individuals; we are trying rather to assess objectively the moral dangers of a particular situation. And it must be said that the army accepts chaplains, not as ministers of religion, but as morale officers. As such, they are burdened with many duties that have nothing to do with religion: this is the price that they must pay in order to provide divine services for their men. Furthermore, as morale officers their function as ministers of a Catholic and transcendent religion is obscured or lost altogether by the fact that they are expected to subordinate their ministry to the furtherance of the national cause. Although Catholic chaplains in particular, through the administration of the sacraments, are able to give great aid to souls in spite of the restrictions laid upon them, they are as helpless as the others to change those basic conditions which make army life a morally unhealthy environment. Their achievements, however heroic individually considered, are at best a palliative. This is particularly true when they are expected to provide religious services acceptable to all sects and shades of belief—a situation which prevents Catholic priests from communicating those specifically Christian and Catholic moral and ascetical teachings which are so indispensable for the practice of virtue.

Heroic Virtue Required

Again, it is not denied that many fine Christian men are able to retain their moral integrity even in the demoralizing atmosphere of army life. But such men preserve their virtue in spite of their army experience, not because of it, by what is little if anything short of moral heroism. However, heroism is not to be expected of all, especially in the young, or where there is no spiritual preparation given for it, or amid surroundings not conducive to the pursuit of holiness. Indeed, a situation which regularly requires high holiness or heroism from ordinary men is in reality an occasion of sin, an almost certain cause of spiritual collapse. Religious and priests, who have voluntarily accepted a celibate life, seek almost instinctively certain protections for their virtue, and would find themselves in great danger not only in the surroundings of a military camp, but also in the surroundings of ordinary life. In this connection it is instructive to study the decrees promulgated by Rome concerning the spiritual care to be given to priests required to do military service. The decrees take for granted that such priests are in a most undesirable moral and spiritual situation; consequently, certain provisions are made to give them special spiritual aid during their term of service. Furthermore, upon completion of their service, these

priests are required to retire to some religious house, for a period of time to be determined according to individual needs, in order to renew themselves interiorly through spiritual exercises. The Church, obviously, has no illusions about army life. Now if priests are thus exposed to great danger, what of laymen, who, without the spiritual preparation or advantages enjoyed by priests through a long period of training, are nevertheless compelled to practice extraordinary virtue, even to the observance of celibacy and complete chastity, in circumstances unfavorable even to ordinary virtue?

6. The Corruption of Youth

IT is necessary also as part of the indictment of conscription, to take account of the other training given to soldiers: propaganda to hate and instructions in brutal methods of inflicting death. "Until he (i.e., the soldier) hates the enemy with every instinct and every muscle, he will only be afraid. . . . Hate must become first nature to a soldier."²⁶ That is a sample of instruction handed out to soldiers in World War II. Men must be made utterly callous in regard to taking human life; all their moral repugnances must be broken down. "The average Englishman and American, unfortunately"—to quote a Major, speaking to a group of Allied soldiers he is instructing—"suffers from remorse. You must overcome that, or it will slow you down at a crucial moment and cause your own death. Shooting a Jerry is like swatting a fly. Keep thinking that, shoot a few, and you'll sleep like a baby even after the bloodiest shambles." Such excellent instruction naturally bears fruit, as is shown by such words as the following, spoken by an Allied pilot who had shot down 32 planes: "It's strictly fun. . . . I like to knock the enemy down and the only question that ever flashed across my mind is whether he'll be blown or fried." (exploded in mid-air or burned up)."

The Confirmation of the Devil

Surely the barbarous cruelty attributed to the Nazis is no worse than this. Such a statement, which might be matched by others of the same kind taken from newspaper reports any day during the war, reveal the moral corruption that result from the profession of arms: "out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh." This is a sample—no better or no worse than hundreds of others of the same kind—of what military training does, and is intended to do, for youth. There is no exaggeration in saying that military training today forms and confirms youth in evil (the confirmation of the devil), corrupts them to the heart, glorifies every evil passion and gives ample opportunity for their expression.

Fruits of Hatred

Precisely because Nazi youth organizations corrupted youth, they were condemned by Pius XI: "If the State organizes a national youth, and makes this organization obligatory upon all, then, without prejudice to rights of religious associations, it is the absolute right of youths as well as of parents to see to it that this organization is purged of all manifestations hostile to the Church and Christianity. These manifestations are even today placing Christian parents in a painful alternative, as they cannot give to the State what they owe to God alone." The methods used on American youth, even if lacking the frank appeal to heathen myths and materialistic ideologies, are nonetheless offensive in outlook and practice to Christian sensibilities. If, for the most part, the evil that is done is in the heart and therefore not open to observation, this is after all the worst evil in God's sight. However, there are also visible results, as the above instances show. The widespread and shocking breakdown that followed World War I revealed the extent of the corruption caused by war. A further breakdown is to be expected after World War II. "He that gathereth not with Me, scattereth." (Matt. 12, 30) The law of God must be observed in entirety or it will be thrown out altogether. When men are whipped to a frenzy of hatred and taught to be cruel and merciless killers; their whole moral character is impaired and they come as a matter of course to treat other precepts of the moral law with contempt. Thus, to the facts that conscription interferes with the right of vocation and the right to enter married life there must be added the further fact that it is a corrupter of youth.

7. The State's Power Over the Body

TO all the foregoing limitations of the State's power there must be added a further and greater restriction, which reinforces from below the conclusions thus far set forth. Although the State has authority over man's terrestrial

life, and individuals must therefore be ready to sacrifice for the common good, nevertheless, on the other hand, *even its power over the body has definite bounds* and, as St. Thomas says, does not extend to those things that pertain to the nature of the body²⁷; so that in such matters men are not bound to obey human authorities, but only God. Pope Pius XI confirmed this teaching when he said, "Public magistrates have no direct power over the bodies of their subjects. . . ." Hence, even public authority (apart from crime, which gives it an indirect authority over the body) "can never gravely harm, or tamper with the integrity of the body either for reasons of eugenics or for any other reason."²⁸

Freedom of the Body

This principle, as the last phrase indicates, has a much wider application than suggested by the example of eugenics. Besides forbidding the State to inflict any actual physical harm on the bodies of its citizens, it also prohibits interference with the body's essential and necessary good. Thus (to cite the examples mentioned by St. Thomas), men are not subject to human authority "in whatever concerns the sustenance of the body and the generation of offspring." How closely such rights as these are tied up with the particular vocation of each person, over which the State has no authority, is very evident; and the Angelic Doctor himself notes the fact when he completes his teaching on this point by concluding that men are not obliged to obey human superiors "in regard to contracting marriage or remaining in the state of virginity, or other such matters."²⁹ Thus, whatever the obligations of the citizen, the State cannot dispose of human life or even human bodies as it pleases, that is, as though it had direct and exclusive power over them and could disregard the requirements of the souls that dwell in them. Yet by conscription it does in fact seek to exercise complete control, disposing of men's vocations, their families, their marriage rights, their very lives, as though there were no higher good than its own terrestrial ends. Hence, even without appealing directly to the freedom of personality, as we have done above, the freedom of the body is already sufficient to condemn universal conscription. Of course, the honors and rights due to the human body, which of itself is no higher than an animal body, result from its intimate union with the spiritual soul, to its being the dwelling place of a human personality, and above all to the fact that it is a temple of the Holy Ghost. If the Church, by putting ashes on her children at the beginning of Lent, reminds them that they are but dust, she also shows, by her

²⁶ Complaints from responsible moral authorities, as well as from decent men in the services, testify to the truth of this charge. In addition to those entertainments which are particularly obnoxious, it may be added that in general the entertainments provided for servicemen are of the "variety" type (*New York Times Magazine*, April 2, 1944). Even in civilian life the variety type of show is morally dangerous, specializing as it does in low humor and a display of the flesh—the lust of the eyes and of the flesh exploited commercially. Such shows would not help much in maintaining purity and celibacy.

²⁷ See *America*, Feb. 5, 1944, in an article entitled "American War Chaplains Find Scope for Apostolic Spirit," by Stephen B. Early. "Both Army and Navy regard chaplains as Morale Officers, and frequently they are all the Morale Officers there are in an outfit. That means, to be truly successful, they should be composed of almost equal parts of Billy Rose, Dorothy Dix, Florence Nightingale, Gene Tunney, Sumner Welles, and St. Paul. It would help considerably if, at one time or other, the chaplain had run a loan-office, a department store, a missing-persons detective agency, a course in letter-writing, a library, a surveying office and, in many cases, a restaurant. Getting back to parish life is going to be a breeze." Such a statement seems to belie the title of the article: whatever may be the value to the army or to individuals of the services here attributed to chaplains (one wonders about some of them, for example, the connection of Billy Rose activities with the ministry), it seems clear that they would allow little scope or time for spiritual work among the men.

²⁸ Some chaplains, given tasks which they considered incompatible with their religious profession, resigned. One of these said that he had orders "not to tell the men what the Bible teaches concerning salvation," but rather to tell them "character stories and that they must be willing to die for their country." (*Time*, July 10, 1944; also Feb. 7, 1944.) He was afterwards reinstated because of pressure exerted by Protestant organizations.

²⁹ On the other hand, the story of a religious revival in the armed forces during the Second World War, invented in an excess of sham patriotism, to make plausible the idea that the Allies were crusading for Christianity—this outrageous fiction, unsupported by actual observation in the forces, was the product of minds, we will not say deliberately untruthful, but too superficial and immature to perceive the awful reality of war and its actual spiritual implications.

³⁰ See *The Canon Law Digest*, by T. Lincoln Bouscaren, S.J., pp. 99-103; 106-109. (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1934.)

³¹ From a pamphlet distributed in American army camps.

³² According to an article published in "The Readers Digest," (Nov., 1943): *Murder is His Business*, and originally taken from the N. Y. Herald Tribune. (Italics ours.)

³³ *Time*, Aug. 7, 1944.

³⁴ *Mit brennender Sorge*—If it is objected to this quotation, and to others that we have given from papal documents, that they refer to particular circumstances and were not intended specifically to oppose conscription, it must be answered that the force of any true and valid principle is not spent with one application. A valid principle applies to as many instances as fall within its scope.

³⁵ II II, 194, 5, c.

³⁶ *Casti Conubii*.

³⁷ St. Thomas, *op. cit.*

rules for burial, that the body is not to be treated with contempt. Hence, whatever may be the legitimate authority of the State over man's material concerns, the union of the body with an immortal soul is an unassailable protection against the tyranny that would wholly absorb his bodily life.

8. Conscription and the Family

IF what has been said so far is of itself enough to condemn conscription, it is by no means the whole of the indictment. To the evils so far described must be added others that have recently appeared and are rapidly attaining to their full stature.

Destruction of Spiritual Values

One of these is the conscription of married men. Here the violation of the right to vocation is even more apparent than where the unmarried are concerned. Young, unmarried men have barely begun to follow their vocations, if they have begun at all. Married men, on the other hand, are interrupted in mid-career and compelled to give up the practice of a trade or profession or business for which they have special aptitude and training and in which it has taken them perhaps many years to become established. Everything must be dropped at once. And when they return (if they do return) after their period of military service, it will be almost impossible for them to resume their work where they left off, or now, at a more advanced age, to take up anew the struggle to get started. Once more, it is not merely the question of material goods, which might easily be replaced. In regard to material goods, however, it is significant to notice that the State is really very moderate in its demand for them. It asks that people support the war financially by the purchase of bonds; and by doing this it happens that, instead of sacrificing anything, they enrich themselves. Materialistic governments would not dream of depriving men of such precious things as money and material goods. It confines itself to the destruction of spiritual values, which in eyes of political realists are non-existent.

Bad Effects on the Family

In the case of married conscripts, the break-up of the family and the violation of family rights are likewise more obvious and more flagrant. An already existing home is dissolved. Husband and wife are both compelled to accept an enforced celibacy, being thus deprived of an intimate right and at the same time subjected to the abnormal strain and extraordinary temptations that go with such a state. Moreover, the father's influence is removed entirely from the home. Already, modern industrialism had created a grave family problem by compelling fathers to work away from their homes and thereby throwing almost the whole burden of rearing children upon the mother. This is certainly an undesirable situation and one responsible for much mischief. In God's providential plan both husband and wife are meant to cooperate in the rearing of children; by depriving the latter of either parent there is removed from them an influence which the other parent cannot supply. In this matter also, male and female, father and mother, complete each other. With shocking indifference to the sacredness of family life, the spiritual well-being of spouses, and the moral and religious upbringing of children, the State by its policy of conscription removes the father from the home entirely. It does not even stop to ask the number of children, but in large families as well as small ones throws the burden of rearing entirely upon the mother. With its utterly materialistic outlook, it thinks that it is making sufficient compensation when it gives a money allowance for the care of each child.

Labor Conscription Equally Undesirable

An absolutely universal policy of conscription, which would include labor as well as military service, would extend and intensify all the undesirable results of military conscription. As the latter type forces men to be killers, so labor conscription compels them actively to cooperate with war by entering war industries. It would shift them about, according to the needs of the State, without regard for their own personal liberty, their vocations, or their family obligations. The world has been horrified at the manner in which Hitler has used conscript labor, forcing subjugated peoples to serve in his war economy, and moving them about without the slightest regard for rights or justice or humanity. The practice does not change its moral character by being transplanted to the democracies. Already it is evident, although labor conscription has not actually taken place, that we are not in principle opposed to it; if it is not employed in the U. S. A. it will

be because it is not yet a military necessity. If the need arises there will be labor conscription here also.

9. The Conscription of Women

THE final desecration of the home and of family rights comes with the conscription of women. Having moved the father from the home, the State now removes the mother. True, we do not actually have conscription for women in this country as yet. But this fact is scarcely relevant to our discussion, for we will have it should those in authority think it necessary in this or in another war. England, our sister "democracy," has it already; and as for us, it is quite clear, as has been already observed, that we are not opposed to it in principle. We do not find—at least the greater number of us do not find—that it is incompatible with our democratic ideals. Accordingly, against the proposed law providing for the conscription of women, there was no general protest based on moral grounds. There were, indeed, courageous protests made by a few special groups; but these, too, sometimes were motivated by political or ideological, rather than moral, considerations. Out of political considerations, or because the need was not proven, Congress did not accede to the President's request for universal conscription. Congress will debate hotly enough over political or financial matters, but is not much interested in moral issues. Indeed, statesmen and legislators no longer see moral problems at all.

False "Emancipation"

Now why is conscription of women specially unjust and evil? Because, in the first place, it involves an acceptance of that utterly false and un-Christian conception of woman's character and woman's liberty, which, while freeing them from their own special offices and responsibilities in society and the Mystical Body, places them exactly on a par with men and makes no distinction between the functions of men and women. Such false "emancipation," described earlier in this article, was precisely that condemned by Pius XI: an emancipation "social, economic, physiological—physiological, that is to say, the woman is to be freed at her own good pleasure from the burdensome duties properly belonging to a wife as companion and mother (We have already said that this is not an emancipation but a crime); social, inasmuch as the wife, being freed from the care of children and family, should, to the neglect of these, be able to follow her own bent and devote herself to business and even public affairs; finally economic, whereby the woman, even without the knowledge and against the wish of her husband, may be at liberty to conduct and administer her own affairs, giving her attention chiefly to these rather than to children, husband, and family."

Repudiation of Purity

The moral dangers of enforced celibacy, following from conscription, are the same for women as for men. They are placed in a situation in which emotional and moral tension are inevitable. They will be subject to all the demoralizing influences which accompany war; for the sixth commandment follows the fifth, and contempt of the one infallibly leads to carelessness about the other. In the past it has been a mark of Christian nations to have a special esteem for virtue in women, especially the virtue of purity, and to protect it by social custom. Our own age has no esteem for virtue in anyone; above all, it hates purity and glorifies that false freedom, the freedom from restraint, the freedom that is a cloak for malice, in which passion is able to find easily opportunities for its gratification. Because the modern State has no care about virtue, it does not concern itself with safeguarding the virtue of women. Yet if one has retained any shreds of Christianity about himself at all amidst the vile paganism of the modern world, then this repudiation of purity, characteristic of the whole age, entrenched and made official by conscription, is a thing to him wholly evil and unacceptable. It alone is sufficient to condemn compulsory military service; for, to a Christian conscience, exposing souls to an occasion of sin is a serious matter indeed.

The conscription of women likewise brings grievous harm to the family. Unmarried women are hindered from entering into married life, the married are prevented from living with their husbands, establishing families, and accepting their married obligations. It takes those married away from already established homes and families, throwing the care of children on hired nurses or public agencies. Conscription for women also means, besides their use in the auxiliary service of the armed forces, their mobilization for industry, as this has taken place in England. Mothers can be shifted about at the will of bureaucrats or

army officials to wherever they might be considered useful or necessary. They can be removed from their homes, separated from their families, sent to distant cities. In any case, families are neglected while their mothers spend most of their waking hours in mills and factories.

10. The Rights of the Family

IT must be insisted that concern for family life is not mere sentimentality. As the person is above the State, so that the State may not interfere with his essential life, so also the family is prior to the State, which therefore may not interfere with the family's natural rights. "In choosing a state of life, it is indisputable that all are at full liberty either to follow the counsel of Jesus Christ as to virginity, or to enter into the bonds of marriage. No human law can abolish the natural and primitive right of marriage, or in any way limit the chief and principal purpose of marriage, ordained by God's authority from the beginning. 'Increase and multiply' (Gen. 1, 28). Thus we have the family—the 'society' of a man's own household; a society limited indeed in numbers, but a true 'society,' anterior to every kind of state or nation, with rights and duties of its own, totally independent of the commonwealth."

Tyrannical and Irreligious Injustice

These principles have received a very telling (although, most unfortunate) corroboration in the wave of juvenile delinquency that has spread over the country following our entrance into World War II. The whole moral and spiritual welfare of individuals and nations is involved in the life of its families. To tamper with it, or with marriage, as conscription does, cannot but have disastrous results. For the State to interfere with normal family life and force the members of families into situations that expose them to great moral danger is to commit an act of tyrannical and irreligious injustice.

The despoliation of the Christian ideal of womankind and of family life has, of course, already taken place, long before their general conscription, when women were encouraged to enter, although voluntarily, the auxiliary services of the armed forces and to take the places of men in defense plants. No one has the right to renounce what is necessary for his spiritual welfare; and the State, while not having direct concern for the spiritual needs of its members, must nevertheless go as far as possible in its own sphere to see that these interests are cared for, and in any case it must prevent, or at least not encourage, what is opposed to them. The moral dangers involved in the limited use of women in the war services, the denial of personal needs and of the right to vocation, as also the infringement upon family rights, are the same as in conscription only not so extensive. Universal conscription is the last step in the deflowering of Christian womankind. Women scarcely have the right to "volunteer" for such services for the same reason that they have not the right to cast aside their special duties and responsibilities. And the State, when it encourages a policy that is opposed to the true welfare of women, is itself acting immorally.

Enforced Celibacy of Women

Moreover, the fact that women enlist voluntarily (as the situation stands today in our country) should not blind us to the fact that the evils which they suffer and which induce them to take this step are quite involuntary. There is, here again, the condition of enforced celibacy: enforced in this case by an evil situation—the removal of men from civilian life. That women are now unable to enter marriage, or, if already married, that they are unable to fulfill their married obligations, is due to the fact that conscription has removed the men who are, or would be, their partners in marriage. Then the State, having thus prevented marriage, takes advantage of the aimlessness and restlessness that is caused by such a situation and seeks to attract women into auxiliary military service; in this it is aided by "patriotic" propaganda and other kinds of moral pressure.

The same is true of the women who enter industry. Were the State faithful to its purpose, it would try to prevent women from doing this to the neglect of their families. Even true national interest should dictate such a policy. The State depends on its families and is ultimately no stronger than the families who compose it. Like the man who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs, the pagan State is willing to sacrifice the

²⁹ Casti Conubii.

³⁰ Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*. Once more, in speaking of the moral dangers that conscription and barracks life hold for women we are not attempting to judge individuals but rather seek to appraise a situation.

family, especially the moral values of family life, for immediate military interests or material aggrandizement. The unmarried women who do not join the auxiliary services are also prevented from entering married life by an artificial and evil situation. Married women with families neglect these families to go into industry. They are compelled to take work unbefitting their sex and obligations because of the shortage of men. The pretense for this abandonment of the family is patriotism; often the real reason is greed. In any case it is a violation of the family and its rights.

II. Conclusion

CONSCRIPTION—this will be our general conclusion—especially in the case of women and of unmarried men, brings the State into direct opposition with the Christian (and true human) conception of personality and family life. Because the person is above the State and the family prior to it, compulsory military service must be rejected as unjust, evil, and un-Christian. The democracies, by adopting it, have aped in detail the very tyrannies whose vile principles they have claimed to oppose. They have thereby shown that there is in fact no difference in principle between themselves and the totalitarian dictatorships. Convenience, material interest, expedience, power, national honor at any price, military necessity—these are the things, and not moral principle, which fix the abominable code that is observed by all participants in the modern war system. As for conscription, the ethical theory which is its foundation-stone is that moral relativism, which, inseparable from State absolutism, holds that society and the State are the source of rights, that rights enjoyed by individuals are conferred by the State, and that the State may therefore revoke any of all individual rights at will. This is the direct opposite of that other ethical system which, based on reason and natural law, provides a starting point for the supernatural teaching and practice of Christianity; for the latter system teaches that human rights are rooted ineradicably in human personality and in the inescapable duty of every person to seek his final supernatural end in God.

PART III

The Testimony of History

1. Lack of Scriptural Support for Conscription

OUR general conclusion, which proceeds at once from doctrinal principles and direct observation of the actual conditions produced by conscription, is confirmed by tracing the history of the practice and by studying the origins of the alleged duty to accept it. It is certainly remarkable that throughout most of Europe's history, including the ages when men were most religious and therefore most deeply impressed by moral obligations, there was no consciousness of such a duty. Patriotism was not unknown, neither was the concept of moral duty; but there was no such thing as conscription in Christian Europe until a century and a half ago. Its discovery, and the knowledge of the moral obligation supposed to be attendant upon it, not only had to wait for a very long time, but had to wait also for an age which was frankly irreligious and "scientifically" immoral.

No Conscription in Israel

In seeking the origin of this alleged moral duty, we might reasonably look for some trace of it in Jewish history, since under the Old Testament God had at various times commanded the Jews to take up arms and carry on wars. But there is no sign of it. Some, indeed, who refuse to acknowledge the divine mission of the ancient Jewish people, profess to see in their migration to the Promised Land an early example of the nation in arms. Yet quite apart from the fact that this mass movement was providentially directed for a clearly non-military purpose, although the realization of that purpose involved warfare, there is the fact that the Old Testament explicitly requires that military service shall be voluntary. The law determining the conduct of wars exempted married men, men with homes, and agriculturalists (Deut. 20, 8), thus affording a Scriptural vindication of the principles we have set down in Part II of the present essay. The law also went much further than this when it permitted even the "fearful and faint hearted" to remain at home in time of war (Deut. 20, 8). Yet the Jewish wars were certainly duties, clearly and explicitly commanded by God Himself!

The Side of Providence

More than this (and in spite of the "militarism" of the Old Testament) there is no trace there of that doctrine which has become the "theological" foundation (!) and *raison d'être* of modern militarism, namely, that "Providence blesses the side with biggest battalions." The Old Testament, in fact, teaches just the opposite: "If thou go out to war against thy enemies, and see horsemen and chariots, and the number of the enemy's army greater than thine, thou shalt not fear them: because the Lord thy God is with thee, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt." (Deut. 20, 1) Old Testament histories—that of Gideon, for example—show how well God kept His promise in this matter. Thus, although the duty of accepting conscription is supposed to be religious, it is really irreligious from this point of view, since it wholly excludes that dependence on Providence which God demanded even during the period when He explicitly sanctioned war.

2. The Testimony of the New Testament

IF we cannot find any trace of conscription in the Old Testament, where war was clearly sanctioned by Providence, then *a fortiori* we are not likely to find it commanded in the New Testament. As a matter of fact, in the New Testament we find no explicit approval of war at all, as in the Old, no commandment to go to war, no regulations for the conduct of wars: altogether a most significant silence in view of the importance of war in the history of the chosen people. The reason for this, as Origen already pointed out⁴⁰, is that with the coming of Jesus, God's special Providence was no longer confined to one people, but embraced all mankind. The Old Testament was nationalistic; the Gospel is universal. Henceforth, there is "neither Jew nor Greek" (Gal. 3, 28), but all people are bound "in one body," which is Christ (Eph. 2, 16). Accordingly, there is no further need for nationalistic wars, no reason to protect one particular nation against all others: God's plan of redemption, as revealed in the New Testament, includes all nations. Moreover, with the coming of Christ, revelation was completed, the vast reservoirs of divine grace were opened up to all mankind, human nature itself was renewed and recreated: henceforth, men should reconcile differences among themselves on a higher plane. With the weapons of the spirit—prayer and penance—they can remove the causes of war; with grace and charity they will be able to effect a lasting bond among themselves and also to convert the heathen: "When the ways of a man shall please the Lord, He will convert even his enemies to peace." (Prov. 10, 7)

The Things That Are God's

True, Jesus told us to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's. But He also told us not to render to Caesar the things that are God's; and, as we have seen, by conscription Caesar tries to take over the things that are God's. Accordingly, in the Christian Middle Ages, military service was voluntary. During all this time warfare was definitely restricted—in physical extent, destructiveness, and, above all, in its conformity to certain ethical norms. Indeed, without idealizing the Middle Ages, it may be truly said that in the Holy Roman Empire the men of that period went very far toward realizing even on the political plane the Christian ideal of an international society as taught by Christ in the doctrine of the Mystical Body. Consequently, the chief wars of those times were fought with non-Christian nations, i.e., the Crusades; for, with notable exceptions, like St. Francis of Assisi, even medieval men did not yet see, at any rate in practice, that all nations are Christ's and must be converted rather than killed.

Crusaders Were Volunteers

In the Crusades, which were fought against infidels, the armies were raised by voluntary enlistments. St. Bernard, who used all his eloquence and his vast theological knowledge to gain recruits for two Crusades⁴¹, never thought of compelling men to go to war—although he considered the cause sacred and the duty religious. The same is true of the entire Christian era. The Church, whom Liberals delight to represent as the enemy of liberty (and, of course, her human policies are always influenced historically by the shortcomings of her leaders and of each age), nevertheless protected personal liberty, in this matter at least, throughout the period of her ascendancy, while, on the other hand, the French Revolution, which claimed liberty as its own discovery, asserted the principle and began the practice that was destined to destroy liberty and reduce the whole world to a shameful slavery to militarism.

3. Machiavelli and the French Revolution

THUS, both natural ethics and moral theology had completed a long history in Europe, and the most influential part of their history, before there was any knowledge of conscription or of a moral obligation attached to it. When conscription did at length appear, it came with the decline of the Church's influence, the break-up of Christendom, and the rise of secularism. In a word, conscription is an ancient barbaric custom, repressed for centuries by the influence of the Church, which rose to life again in the ruins of Christian Europe. Significantly, it returned with the Renaissance as part of the general European movement to revive the pagan past. Its beginnings in recent times, therefore, marked a reversion to the pagan religion of State-worship as well as to the pagan ideal of the nation in arms.⁴²

Machiavelli Proposed Conscription

Machiavelli was the first modern to propose universal compulsory military service. Quite apart from the lateness of the age, here certainly is a strange beginning for a moral obligation! It is, in fact, with Machiavelli that the modern concept of war, as distinguished from the medieval idea, takes its beginning: the modern concept being one of unrestricted war—physically unrestricted in the extent of its destructiveness, morally unrestricted in its rejection of ethical limitation and control.⁴³ Essential also to the modern idea is the use of war, not as a last resort, which was the requirement of traditional ethics, but as a normal, though alternate, means for securing national power and "honor" when diplomatic measures fail. As is to be expected, Machiavelli, true son of the Renaissance, went back to the example of pagan Rome in his study of war, finding no model for his studies during the Christian centuries. Here then, in an environment of neo-paganism, which excluded, deliberately and cynically, every breath of Christian thought and idealism, was born the idea of universal conscription.

Christian Ideals Debased

The subsequent history of this moral duty is scarcely less strange than its beginning. Although proposed by Machiavelli, conscription did not actually begin, as we have already observed, until the French Revolution. Its actual beginning, like its first conception, thus issued from an explicit rejection of Christianity. It came, in other words, not from the contemplation of religious or moral truth, but on the contrary from the irreligious tenets of the Revolution and the conscious repudiation of Christian teaching. Its service, from the beginning, was not made to the one true God nor to Jesus Christ His Son, but rather to the goddess reason, in this case a deflowered goddess who desecrated the Christian altar. For if much good has come to the world from the Revolution, there has been much evil too—and even its good is not without taint. The great ideals of the Revolution—liberty, fraternity, equality—are clearly, in their purest form, Christian. All that the Revolution did was to debase and materialize these ideals and then give them currency in this debased form throughout the modern world. Therefore, if the violence of the Revolution and its persecution of the Church (however unjust in itself) was a fitting retribution upon those Catholics who, through spiritual short-sightedness and self-interest, had detained the truth of God unjustly (Rom. 1, 18) by preventing the ideas of freedom, brotherhood, and equality from entering the social sphere and obtaining a concrete social embodiment—so, on the other hand, a just and ironic Providence has seen to it that catastrophe and suffering should follow everywhere from the effort to realize these ideas in the debased form which made them dangerous and ultimately destructive half-truths.

4. Conscription and Democracy

THE revolutionists saw universal conscription as a concrete realization of brotherhood and equality and a measure necessary for the defense of their newly won liberty. Their choice of means was an unhappy one.⁴⁴ They did not

⁴⁰ See Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 41-42. Hence Origen holds that with the New Testament the laws that were proper to the Jews as a nation lose their force. This includes the divine sanction of war.

⁴¹ While St. Bernard considered the Crusades just and holy, he held it was a crime for Christian nations to fight among themselves. See *The Life and Times of St. Bernard*, by Albin J. Luddy, p. 530 (Dublin: 1937).

⁴² For a study of the process whereby paganism tends to absolutism and the cult of the State, see J. Maritain, *Religion and Culture*, p. 10 et seq. (London: Sheed & Ward, 1931.)

⁴³ Edward Meade Staley, *op. cit.*, p. 3 et seq.

⁴⁴ Other means are possible. "It is crystal clear that the British Government is not prepared to give up power over the India millions unless the latter develop the strength to wrest it from them. I hope India will do so by purely moral means."—Mohandas K. Gandhi (Reported in *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 20, 1944, Sect. 4).

foresee that their invention was destined in the end to destroy brotherhood by setting men all over the world at one another's throats, and that it would realize equality and freedom by making all men equal in a terrible bondage. For who are more slaves: the ancient millions who labored under the threat of a whip to build the pyramids, or the modern millions who must abandon their homes, the pursuit of happiness, and their very lives, in order to take up arms and kill their fellow slaves? This in the service of a demonic god, like Moloch of the Carthaginians, who is satisfied only with the blood of human victims! There might have been more liberty and brotherhood in the world today had the revolutionists possessed sufficient spiritual perception to distinguish the dross from the ideal in their aspirations. But the revolutionary ideals were betrayed in their beginnings. The bourgeoisie—the rich, the merchants, the manufacturers—these are the ones, so historians are now able to see clearly, who gained freedom by the Revolution; but not the poor, not the workers and peasants, not the common man—even today these have not achieved freedom in the great democratic nations, although they are told otherwise by their masters. Thus the revolutionary ideal of brotherhood was inadequate, partial, even hypocritical. What wonder, then, that under a concept of equality and fraternity, which holds as a theory that all men have a duty to die for their country, only a few are called on actually to give up their lives (and these the young, the immature, and the powerless), while their brothers continue, not only to live, but also to live in comfort that is materially increased by war.

Majority Cannot Determine Morality

Conscription must likewise be attributed in great measure to the immoral doctrine of the revolutionary philosophers which holds that the will of a majority of the people is the absolute and final arbiter of right and wrong. Only through this doctrine could compulsion be given to military service. From then until now, a majority vote, and not an objective standard of morality, has determined the rightness of conscription. Now if the majority vote is a convenient method for determining the details of social life, it is not, of itself, in questions that involve moral judgment, a sufficient support for a moral obligation, but requires a deeper basis in natural or divine law. Indeed, apart from this deeper basis, the majority vote is but the voice of the tribe, the articulation of a primitive blood-bond. As such its ethical justification is not to be found in reason or the Gospel, but rather in a return to the tribal morality of uncivilized nations. Ultimately, therefore, the moral sanction of conscription is no higher than that of the blood pacts and blood feuds of primitive peoples, by which they were "bound" to avenge in blood the lives of their fellow tribesmen.

Conscription Inimical to Democracy

Evidently, therefore, conscription is opposed not merely to the ethics of reason and the teachings of the Gospel, but also to the idea of democracy. This should be noted particularly since apologists for the practice in democratic countries rationalize it as democratic; the reason that they give for their assertion is that all are included in universal service and no able-bodied person is exempted from contributing in one way or another to the national war effort. Yet already the revolutionary government, basing itself on the will of the majority, and not on the free will of the individuals actually concerned, first limited the application of the law so that it would not include those able to resist it politically, and then compelled the others to go into service. The will of the majority was considered so sure a guide that the measure was carried, though, in spite of active resistance. Henceforth compulsion and not freedom has been of the essence of military service; and this in the name of democracy.

The whole history of the movement to spread democratic liberties confirms what is said here of the opposition between democracy and conscription. For example, the spread of democratic liberties in the nineteenth century was chiefly retarded, as in Germany and Hungary, by the growth of nationalism and its inseparable instrument, militarism. Again, it is in the least democratic and most autocratic nations that conscription has reached its highest perfection: Napoleonic France, Prussia and the German Empire of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Nazi Germany, and Russia under Stalin, which "in fact, has come nearer the goal of the nation in arms than any other nation in history." England and the United States, on the contrary, the two great democracies, were the last to adopt conscription; and they did so only under "necessity" and with great reluctance. It does not speak well for the

democracies that they had to learn their democratic duties from autocrats and dictators.

5. Consequence of Conscription for Civilization

IN view of this history, it will hardly be suggested that the discovery of conscription in modern times, like the slow recognition of religious and other human rights, is an example of that moral development which, after a long passage of time, gradually brings to light some great moral truth or law, present indeed among men from the beginning, but concealed for centuries under a mass of error and evil custom. Even secular historians see in militarism, and therefore in conscription, which is the extremity of militarism, one of the most unfortunate events of the whole nineteenth century. Can such a development, everywhere acknowledged as deplorable, be traceable to rectitude of conscience or a sense of moral duty? Duty to the State as to an absolute end is inspired, not by justice or true patriotism, but by a disordered nationalism. You may see this concept of duty perfected and exemplified in modern times by the Prussian officers' corps.

The Prussian Example

Cold, proud, and arrogant, this false idea of duty is rooted in a disordered sense of personal honor, pride of blood, and worship of the State; it is quite different from the sense of duty fostered by rational ethics or by the teachings of Jesus. In fact, if we were to seek a moral justification (higher than the blood bond spoken of above) for conscription and the particular concept of duty that is demanded by its acceptance, we could find it only in the ethics of Prussianism, or some similar system, enforced ultimately by a sanction akin to Kant's categorical imperative, that is, by a notion of blind duty without roots either in reason or in revelation. Such a categorical imperative, divorced from rational and objective morality, is found in the will of the majority, the voice of the blood bond, the oracle of tribal morality. That the Prussian system best fulfills the requirements of nationalism and militarism is demonstrated by the fidelity with which this system has been copied by the other nations. At present, the President of the United States is recommending peacetime conscription, the very essence of militarism, to democratic America! Yet this very willingness and "need" to imitate the German methods, Prussian and totalitarian as they are, indicates clearly how impossible and destructive is the whole war system in a civilized world; for it shows that, if force is to be the basis of international order and the measure of national greatness, then civilization will never be able to progress beyond the condition of the most barbarous nations, since the others will be compelled to adopt the same methods of barbarism in order to secure their own power and national interests. And it is conscription, more than any other single factor (apart from the spiritual deterioration which lies behind the whole process), which has in our day brought men back to the standards of barbarism, to the primitive ideal of the nation in arms.

6. The Position of the Holy See

THE Holy See, God's appointed teacher of morals to the peoples, has remained singularly unimpressed by the alleged moral duty we are considering. Pope Leo XIII, in 1894, having watched the frantic armament race that followed the Franco-Prussian war, protested against it, as follows: "We behold the condition of Europe. For many years past peace has been rather an appearance than a reality. Possessed with mutual suspicions, almost all the nations are vying with one another in equipping themselves with military armaments. Inexperienced youths are removed from parental direction and control, to be thrown amid the dangers of the soldier's life; robust young men are taken from agriculture or ennobling studies or trade or the arts to be put under arms. Hence the treasures of States are exhausted by the enormous expenditure, the national resources are frittered away, and private fortunes impaired; and this, as it were, armed peace, which now prevails, cannot last much longer. Can this be the normal condition of human society?" Note that the Pope's condemnation resumes the arguments that we have set down in Part II: conscription has an evil moral effect on youth, it removes them from their rightful callings; it upsets the normal order of society.

Disarmament a Fundamental Point

Later Pope Benedict XV added more clearly and expressly to this indictment that conscription is itself a cause of war. The latter Pontiff in his famous *Des le-Debut*, published in the midst of the First World War (August, 1917) and plead-

ing with the nations to lay down their arms and negotiate for peace, stipulated that disarmament is a necessary condition for true peace. Cardinal Gasparri, then the Papal Secretary of State, some time later gave an official interpretation of this condition in letters sent to Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England, and to Archbishop Chesnelong of Sens. According to this interpretation, disarmament did not mean merely the scrapping of a few battleships, which can be but too easily rebuilt, but the ending of compulsory military service. Since only by compulsory service are governments able to raise the huge armies necessary for modern wars, so only by putting an end to this practice can these wars be stopped. The Pontiff cited the pre-war example of England to show that conscription is not normally necessary for national security. Disarmament is also one of the five fundamental points required for a just and lasting peace by Pope Pius XII.

Papal Position Clear

Surprisingly enough, if it is usual to regard the acceptance of conscription as the fulfillment of a moral and patriotic duty, the Holy See attacks the practice, as a recent commentator points out, precisely on the grounds that it is anti-patriotic. In other words, although the Holy See does not deny that war may be theoretically justified and that soldiering is not intrinsically evil, nevertheless it holds that both are extrinsically evil because of the great harm they bring upon the whole world and upon individual countries. Compulsory military service, as the very extreme of militarism, brings such grave dangers to a nation's youth and such serious dislocation to public order that, quite apart from its evil effects on international society, it is opposed to the best interests of the countries that adopt it, and therefore, far from being the fulfillment of a patriotic duty, it is in truth opposed to true patriotism. Those who maintain that conscription is based on moral duty find no support in the teaching of the Popes. Here, as a matter of fact, is the culminating argument against conscription, an argument *ad hominem*, namely that it is directly opposed to the patriotic good that it claims to procure. When we say, therefore, as we did in the beginning of this article, that moral teachers have generally failed to give due attention to the problem of war, it must be added that however remiss lesser moral teachers have been in condemning and even in considering conscription, the Sovereign Pontiffs, the highest moral authority on earth, have been constantly faithful to their high mission of peace and have consistently given clear directives to the world. The trouble has been that Catholics within the several countries, too much influenced by nationalism themselves, have failed to follow, to interpret, and to apply the directives thus given to them by the Vicar of Christ.

To summarize and conclude: On the plane of ethics, conscription must be condemned as opposed to democratic principles, as an infringement upon individual rights, a violation of the family, and as contradicting the patriotic duty that citizens owe to the State itself. On a higher plane of truth and conduct we may say that conscription, since it is the chief element of militarism, and this in turn is the invariable instrument of exaggerated nationalism, is destructive of that international union of peoples which is demanded by Christian charity and implied in doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ.

⁴⁵ See War and Conscription at the Bar of Christian Morals, by Msgr. George Barry O'Toole, p. 40. (The Catholic Worker Press, N. Y.)

⁴⁶ This is no doubt why the obligation of acquiescing in conscription seems so deeply rooted and so "natural." It is the blood that argues, not reason. There is no doubt a legitimate love of kind and love of country; but in militarism, conscription, and nationalism, this love is carried to excess.

⁴⁷ Edward Meade Earle, op. cit., p. 363. Switzerland is an exception to this general rule: here democracy and universal service have been long associated. But in Switzerland, military training is for or three months, followed by annual "refresher" courses of two weeks. Such a program differs vastly from the militarism of the great powers and would only to a limited degree fall under the general condemnation of conscription.

⁴⁸ The German Army, by Herbert Rosinski, p. 22 et seq. (Washington, 1944).

⁴⁹ Apostolic Letter *Praeclare Gratulationis*. See *Principles for Peace*, p. 83. (Milwaukee, 1943.)

⁵⁰ See *Principles of Peace*, pp. 235-239.

⁵¹ Christmas Message, 1941. For an interpretation, see Gonella-Bouscaren, *A World to Reconstruct*, Chapters XIII and XIV (Bruce, Milwaukee, 1944).

⁵² John J. Wright, *National Patriotism in Papal Teaching*, p. 180. (Newman Book Shop, Westminster, Md., 1940.) The whole of Chapter Five, Part Two, should be read on this point.

⁵³ On this point see Epstein, op. cit. p. 129.



Priests and Movies

(Continued from page 1)

calling, they should be true to type. Doctors, for example, are usually shown operating, mending bodies and restoring health. A story is woven around them as "doctors in action." In the picture *Going My Way* three priests are portrayed in the administration of a parish. Whatever single aspect of their life the moving-picture may intend to portray, the patrons are being invited to see "priests in action," therefore, the picture should be true to type and show the essential dignity and purpose of the priestly mission of saving and directing souls. Although the human element is expected to lend some humor to the ministry, the "profession of the cross" seems a strange medium for mere emotional enjoyment.

The "raison d'être" of the priest is to be another Christ in the sense that he is ordained to say and to do what our Lord said and did. To depict three priests in a role in which the characteristic features of Christ are almost entirely suppressed must of necessity leave a false impression on the minds of observers.

Objects of Hate

Our Lord throughout His whole life, and notably in His first and last sermons, spoke most emphatically against the spirit of the world (not simply against sin), and He commanded His ministers to go and to preach as He had done and He warned them that they would be hated by the world just as He was.

Does any priest in the picture speak a word against the world or give any indication that he intends to do it in his serious moments? How could he? Being a modern movie star, he depends on worldliness for his livelihood. How could he possibly say and MEAN: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, etc.," when the whole philosophy of life *a la Hollywood* is set in the opposite direction?

Are these three "other Christs" a reproach to the world? Do they manifest any signs that they despise the spirit of worldly pleasure-seeking and attachment to created things? Is there any reason to suppose that worldly-minded people would hate them as they hated Christ in His day? On the contrary, it seems that they are very acceptable to everyone. They are of a type that can pass quite inoffensively through modern pagan society, reproving sin in the abstract while at the same time winking at all worldliness and thus hurting no one. Our Lord said He was sending His ministers as "lambs among wolves" and St. Paul referred to himself and his fellow apostles as "the refuse of the world, and the offscouring of all." Such were all the martyrs and zealous confessors of the faith in the estimation of the world of their day. If these three men are so acceptable to the world in the role of priests, could it mean that they themselves are no different from the wolves of the world? Our Lord would undoubtedly reprove, as the Church does today, the very fashions shown in the picture.

Consider His Life

Our Lord's whole life was pointed to the cross in order to save and to nourish souls for His Father's glory. He lived a life of preaching, prayer and penance and, while He was not without a delicate sense of humor, it is inconceivable that His life could be presented exclusively under the aspect of entertainment. His love for souls and the very real danger that many would be lost to Him was too sad a prospect to permit of an absorbing interest in exterior things or a habit of levity.

"Give me souls and take away everything else" should still be the motto of the zealous priest.

Is this purpose evident in the parochial activities of these three "other Christs"? Or is it even suggested to the imagination as existing behind the carefree aspect of life that is portrayed? Is there any indication in the picture that such exercises of holiness as prayer and penance occupy a place of importance in the priestly life? The word "meditation" is used once, but is passed over very lightly. (The spiritual writers say that we cannot be saved without mental prayer.) Is there any hint of sacrifice or mortification?

Acceptable to the World

Some may say, however, that the picture has done much good. It has convinced bigots that priests do not have horns. It has even converted some souls. Certainly, these movie "priests" should dispel any illusion that priests are fiends and monsters; but they do not convey the truth that priests are modeled on the Christ of the Gospel. Catholic priests are now introduced to the world as easy-going, good-natured professional members of modern society: an amiable set of men exploiting natural means and personal talents to provide for the instinctive religious sentiments of the people. But the ministers of any respectable humanitarian form of religion would do the same. Are priests no different? Neither the fearful man with horns, nor the amiable crooner have any essential resemblance to the merciful but forthright and sacrifice-demanding Galilean. Both are caricatures. Naturally, the world likes to meet the ministers of religion on its own level, to find them quite inoffensive, broadminded, pleasure-loving gentlemen. There is no reason to fear that the world will feel like crucifying sentimental crooners!

If it is claimed that the picture has converted souls, then one might ask to what it has converted them. If it is not to the Gospel of Christ-crucified; to the aim of whole-hearted love for God, then it is not to Christianity. St. Paul said that he preached only Christ-crucified, which was foolishness to the world.

Before we become wholly blinded by the fascinating bait of these so-called "religious entertainments," let us pause to ask ourselves whether we shall look to Hollywood or to the Gospel and the Saints for our model and inspiration of priestly and religious life.

Anyhow, the world needs more hours of prayer and less of pleasure.

A Priest Who Saw
Going My Way.

Post-War Land Disposal In Wrong Hands

James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, charges that Will Clayton, surplus war property administrator, has secretly assigned to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation responsibility for disposing of 8,000,000 acres of surplus farm land purchased by the government for the war emergency. Patton said the move was "dangerous."

"There is every indication," he said, "that the reason for the action and its attendant secrecy is that the powerful financial interests represented in and associated with the National Association of Real Estate Boards and its affiliated organizations are dominating land-disposal programs of the government. Such domination is intolerable."

Every inch of surplus land held by the government should be made available at low prices to returning servicemen who plan to start family farms.



Fr. Garrelts

(Continued from page 1)

sades and the Inquisition, in proving that such methods only drive the infidel and the heretic farther from the true flock of Jesus Christ. There are other ways of overcoming our enemies than by shooting at them. Jesus Christ said and showed that they could be overcome by love: "Love your enemies: do good to them that hate you: and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you." (Matthew 5:44).

Spiritual Training Needed

May God give the increase to your retreat work and your practice of the corporal works of mercy. These are the ways to bring peace into the world. All this physical training and mastering of the weapons of destruction will not bring peace into the world. "There is no peace without grace," Saint Thomas says. The youth of this country need six weeks of intense spiritual training in preference to all this training for war if our leaders are sincere in their desire to gain peace. "The most noble and most perfect victory is for a man to have the victory over himself." This is the teaching of the Imitation of Christ. Retreats bring grace, and cooperation with that grace brings the real victory. The Spiritual Combat says that "the mortification and subjugation of our most trifling appetite is more glorious than the reduction of strong cities, the defeat of mighty armies, the working of miracles, or the raising of the dead." Everywhere I discover support for your position in regard to war and peace. Nowhere in the New Testament or in the spiritual writers can I find anything to support the way of modern war.

It is my prayer also that God will strengthen you and send you many helpers in your performance of the works of mercy. These are the works that Christians should undertake to bring peace in the world. Jesus Christ made peace "through the blood of His Cross." We shall make peace by giving ourselves to all, especially our enemies. But we shall never make peace so long as we are more eager to shed someone else's blood than our own. Saint Paul guarantees the corporal works of mercy as a means of overcoming our enemies: "But if thy enemy be hungry, give him to eat; if he thirst, give him to drink. For doing this, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil by good." (Romans 12:20).

Christ's Way

Take courage in the midst of opposition and discouragement. One day the youth of this nation and other nations will perhaps see, through your help, that the ways of peace are the really beautiful and happy ways. "How beautiful are the feet of those who preach the Gospel of Peace!" Saint Paul exclaims. The false glories of war will turn

Christ in the Market Place

Michael de la Bedoyere: "Christ in the Market Place." The Christian attitude towards war.

This, as we know, is a very difficult and awkward topic, but that is no reason for evading it. A number of Catholics call themselves Christian pacifists. I may say, lest it be supposed that I am arguing my own case, that I personally do not agree with them, though I do think that they are far nearer the Christian truth than those who have no scruple whatever in accepting the whole bag of tricks of national and ideological values which lead to war and feed it, once it has begun; the deification of country as man's supreme loyalty; international economic competition for the strength, glory and empire of the nation; exploitation of colonial peoples and possessions; utilization of smaller peoples as instruments of the policy of larger ones; propagation of hatred against a potential or actual rival; the use of any methods of warfare to obtain victory with the sole sanction of the danger of the enemy using the same methods against oneself; conviction that peace is unobtainable until an enemy is completely crushed, and so on.

My point, however, is that the Christian pacifists, whether rightly or wrong, have tried to face the situation on its merits and have made a personal judgment of a temporal situation in the light of Christian values, as they see them. They have not shut their eyes; they have not evaded their responsibilities as Christians and citizens. Nor on the other hand can it be said that they have argued and thought irresponsibly. They appeal to Christian theology, philosophy and history. To frown on them as dangerous Christians because they try to live and apply Christianity—and yet in due submission to authority—is to frown on precisely that kind of Christian attitude that will earn the respect and interest of the world.

But—it will be objected—they do not act with the authority of the bishops. Of course, they do not, because the bishops could not accept their argument unless they themselves were perfectly satisfied that the Christian pacifist case were so clear and compelling that it could be taught as a duty for all Christians. To suggest this is to suggest that the Christian pacifist case is far clearer than it is: indeed that it is the only possible Christian case. Obviously, it is nothing of the kind. It may be that in another generation or two, when a fuller realization of the course and meaning of contemporary secularist philosophy interpenetrates the substance of the Church, Christian pacifism will become more generally accepted. But if this development should take place—which is very far from certain—it will be because Christian persons have of their own accord made their prior personal judgments in the matter. Such developments are processes

soon to ashes in the mouth. Twice the youth of the world have been duped into thinking that war would bring peace. Instead it has brought greater discord and hatred. Continue to offer the youth of the world "the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God," in retreats, and the peacemaking ways of the corporal works of mercy. I am convinced these are the only ways to true and lasting peace. I am ever grateful to the CATHOLIC WORKER for consistently and courageously offering this Way.

Peace.

Rev. GEORGE G. GARRELTS.

of growth in the life of an organism. They take place slowly and through subtle changes in its cells. It may be that a modified pacifism will grow through more and more Christian thinking for themselves and being forced to this conclusion; it may be that God will send a saint who will live this Christian pacifism and stir the rest of the faithful. I personally would suggest that if this development were ever to come it would be through more and more Christians becoming total Christians, not merely in regard to the question of war, but also in regard to related issues of economics, industry, social matters—for there seems to be something suspicious about Catholics who take an intransigent attitude to war, but are apparently perfectly content to lead their business lives and maintain their investments in a social order that judged by the same standards, is equally non-Christian.

However all this may be, the Christian pacifist has acted as a Christian. He has tried to apply for himself his Christianity to temporal affairs. He has been prepared to suffer for his views. And this sincerity and this courage, whether objectively justified or not, has surely left its impression on the body of the Church.



Beveridge Plans?

Blackfriars: Christians did not busy themselves with a hundred and one plans for a Christian society. They had the Gospels, which told them what Christ wished them to do. The first question for each person is not: how are we going to arrange society so that I can begin to follow Christ? But rather, what does Christ have me to do here and now? Is he not asking me to sell all I have and give to the poor, deliberately to take up my cross every day, to pray without ceasing? If the cases of really Christian heroism are today remarkable chiefly by their absence, surely it is because men have begun first of all to make arrangements for society with their plans and programs for individuals without looking first into the responsibility of the distinct Christian person. We have been too much concerned with plans rather than with Christian living. . . . Christ Himself seemed to deprecate planning and to insist on a personal approach to every human necessity when he spoke of the sparrows and lilies being provided for by their Creator. Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit to his stature? Who by taking thought can solve the hopeless muddle into which we have thrown ourselves? The real hope for the future may lie in forgetting the future and beginning to serve God for today.

+ From The Mail Bag +

Retreatants Need A 'Bull Pen'

Dear Editor: ♦

You can go to the large department stores to buy both needs and luxuries, and never have a care about what to do with the kids. There is a well-supervised nursery, complete with rocking horses and see-saws. If a mother wants to go to the production line of tanks and guns she can farm the kids out to federal, city and privately supervised nurseries. And I have heard of theatres, too, where there is a "bull pen" for the kiddies.

While there are bull pens for war workers, shoppers and theatregoers, I have yet to hear of one at a retreat center where married folks, though poor, could obtain all the graces and benefits of a retreat, nay, even a day of recollection.

There have been not a few stories of harried men of business, with lots of money but little peace of mind, going off to find comfort at some monastery. The Catholic Workers are always eager for the retreats at Easton

or Pittsburgh. Single men and women can get away from their work a day earlier to travel maybe 50 miles to a nice, quiet retreat center. None are above the need for the rest, the silence, the detachment and the meditation that are the strong tonics of a retreat. The religious attend and know the benefits obtained from their long and vigorous annual retreats.

But what of the fathers and mothers, especially those in the lower-income brackets? In a day when there is such a drive for the destruction of family life or the making of children into wards of the state, the need for Bull Pens is more pronounced. The care of three or four kids and the attendant work and economic struggles entails a lot of worry. Those who fulfill the marital obligations and assume the many responsibilities that attend the blessings of marriage have as much, if not more, need for the respite of a retreat than many other classes. They will be better parents and impart some of the spirituality on to the offspring.

Nowadays in the cities one sees parents giving a minimum of time to their spiritual activity. There are long hours on night shifts. Sometimes after the arrival of the first child, husband and wife sel-

dom have a chance to participate together at Mass. You see the busy mother who squeezes in a quick Mass between Johnny's 6 o'clock bottle and Mary's awakening. I heard one mother of three say she hasn't heard the last prayers for months. That great spiritual void could be replenished—oh, so much—with just one complete day of recollection. With a bull pen, of course.

T. O'B.

PERPETUA & FELICITAS



CHURCH AND STATE

"Christianity, studied from a sociological standpoint, as we have seen, is a personal, universal, autonomous religion. The State, as the end of all activity, today claims human personality for itself and to suppress all liberty in order to transfer the course of liberty to the group that it represents. It leaves, it is true, freedom of worship . . . but it seeks to render it barren by separating morality from worship and emancipating State morality from any heteronomous bond, the source of which would be other than the State itself." (CHURCH AND STATE, by Luigi Sturzo.) Nihil Obstat. Imprimatur, Westminster, March 24, 1939.

Prayer and Contemplation

"I should like very much to know how people who refuse to work with their hands pass their lives, how they occupy their time. They say: with prayers and psalms, with study and preaching. Truly a holy life and praiseworthy—in the odour of Christ. Yet if we are to be wholly withdrawn from external occupations how are we to eat, how is food to be prepared and set before us? Further, if we concede, as we must, that human infirmities compel us to devote a certain amount of time to such necessary occupations as these, then I fail to see why we should not also devote a certain amount of time to Apostolic occupations. For the prayers of a person who is obedient are heard far more quickly than ten thousand prayers offered by one who disregards a command. Even when working with their hands it is easy for people to sing Divine Canticles and so sweeten labor by obeying the helmsman's chant. We all know that workpeople enjoy singing with heart as well as tongue while at work; nor are their songs merely idle; only too often they re-echo the obscenities of the theatre. Nor do they cease working because singing. What, then, is to prevent God's servants from meditating on God's law or from singing Psalms in the Name of the Most High whilst busy with their hands? It is easy to accord them the leisure necessary for learning by heart such prayers as they want to store up in their memory. What strange perversity leads men to refuse to study when asked to do so, while content to spend long hours studying something they themselves like! Surely they only prove thereby their unwillingness to put in practice what their studies should have shown them? For it is a patent fact that a person makes speedy progress as the result of his good studies precisely in proportion as he is prompt to do what his studies prompt him to do."

De Opere Monachorum.

From: "Teaching of St. Augustine on Prayer and the Contemplative Life." Translation by Father Hugh Pope O.P. Burnes, Oates Wash-bourne, Ltd.

Bob Walsh Writes From England

Garden Cottage,
Standish Hall,
Standish, Wigan, England.

Dear Friends:

I have only just received your Catholic Worker for May. The copies that come over make a round and I know that those who read them really enjoy doing so.

Reading David Mason made me stop to write this and to send you belated greetings on ten years of wonderful work. We in the Catholic Worker movement in this country owe far more to you than we can ever acknowledge.

There is something very happy about Dorothy's account of Tamar's marriage, and though she probably does not remember me, I would send her every wish for a happy life.

The reference in David's article to the difference war has made, taking away the crowd of

young people, is something we over here can understand. Everybody seems to be in the forces or working long hours away from home in some war industry. And yet the Good Lord keeps up flourishing. Flourishing at least so far as the paper and occasional pamphlets go far from flourishing as regards anything else. Charlotte Spitz in London is the only one able to keep on with a House of Hospitality.

Are you receiving our paper regularly? Several copies should reach you and copies of all our pamphlets and leaflets as they appear. If there is anything else we can send you, please ask. I have not seen your latest pamphlets, but I imagine they are either on the way or with Mary Bondy.

With prayers

In Christ the Worker,
BOB.

WAR INEVITABLE?

"War? Why of course there must be war—for man is fallen. How often do we hear this, even from clerical lips. Even if war must continue to the end outside the Kingdom of Grace, which personally I cannot believe, for it is rapidly becoming the suicide of the race, that is no reason why members of the Kingdom of Grace should fight in the service of secular states and anti-Christian ideologies, that members of the one Body of Christ should destroy each other at the bidding of powers that care nothing for Christ." —(The CATHOLIC CENTRE, by E. I. Watkin).

Concerning the argument of means used in this war, such as obliteration bombing, etc.

St. James 2:10. Whosoever shall keep the whole law, but offend in one point, is become guilty of all.



Job Accidents Kill 37,000 in Two Years

ON THE HOME FRONT: In the first two years of World War II industrial casualties were 37,000 killed (7,500 more than military dead); 210,000 permanently disabled and 4,500,000 temporarily disabled (sixty times more than military wounded or missing). These facts were disclosed recently by the Office of War Information.

The OWI also revealed: (1) nine-tenths of all worker accidents can be prevented; (2) while industry spends \$35 per worker a year for accidents that have happened, it spends not more than \$6 a year for safety equipment to keep them from happening; (3) deaths are only two-thirds as frequent per 100,000 workers in this war as in the last.

Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 2, 1932, of THE CATHOLIC WORKER, published monthly, Sept. to June (bi-monthly July-August) at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1944. State of New York, County of New York—ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared David Mason, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Catholic Worker, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 2, 1932, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Dorothy Day, 115 Mott St., New York 13, N. Y.

Editor: Dorothy Day, 115 Mott St., New York 13, N. Y.

Business Editor: None.

Managing Editor: David Mason, 115 Mott St., New York 13, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: Dorothy Day, 115 Mott St., New York 13, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, 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, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing 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; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest, direct or indirect, in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

DAVID MASON,

Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September, 1944.

STEPHEN G. VARINA,

Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 20, 1945.)

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