

CATHOLIC WORKER

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LOVE ONE ANOTHER—OVERCOME EVIL WITH GOOD—LOVE YOUR ENEMY THESE ARE NOT HITLER'S WORDS, MR. PRESIDENT

BEYOND NATIONALISM

By

Peter Maurin

I. Right and Wrong

1. Some people say: "My country is always right."
2. Some people say: "My country is always wrong."
3. Some people say: "My country is sometimes right and sometimes wrong, but my country right or wrong."
4. To stick up for one's country when one's country is wrong does not make the country right.
5. To stick up for the right even when the world is wrong is the only way we know of to make everything right.

II. Barbarians and Civilized

1. People living on this side of the border are called civilized.
2. People living on the other side of the border are called barbarians.
3. Barbarians being barbarians are bound to invade civilized countries.

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"If Any Man Come to You, and Bring Not This Doctrine, Receive Him Not Into the House Nor Say to Him, God Speed You. For He That Saith Unto Him, God Speed You, Communicateth With His Wicked Works." II John

This is the season of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit, Love, descended on the apostles after the resurrection of Christ. If we are Christians, we believe this. It is in this holy season of peace and love that our President has chosen to proclaim a national unlimited emergency, and calls upon all citizens "to take part in the common work of our defense—take loyal part from this moment forward."

You speak to us, Mr. President, as Christians. You speak of the Christian ideal. Is war the Christian ideal? Is war an expression of love? Do we express our love for our brothers by bombing them, by destroying cities, by obliterating from the face of this bright earth, little children, weak women, as well as the aged, the sick, the helpless, as well as the strong youth?

You say that we have "chosen human freedom—which is the Christian ideal." We choose to exercise that freedom then, to inform you that we will not cooperate, we will not participate, we will not unite with you in this "emergency," or undeclared war. As a group of people publishing the CATHOLIC WORKER, a monthly paper

having seventy-five thousand circulation, we will continue to express these ideas as long as we are permitted, as long as the vaunted Christian freedom of this country permits us.

We will continue to proclaim the Sermon on the Mount as our Christian manifesto. We will continue to proclaim the



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counsels of perfection (counsels not commandments, since God knoweth our weak frame) in order that they may not be lost to the world.

Love is the fulfilling of the law, St. John said. And he was the beloved disciple. "Love is the measure by which ye shall be judged," said St. John of the Cross. And "Hell is not to love any more," said Bernanos in our day.

You say in your speech, "We reassert our abiding faith in the vitality of our constitutional republic as a perpetual home of freedom, of tolerance and of devotion to the word of God."

So the words which head this editorial, we call to your attention, are not the words of the Axis powers, they are the words of our Lord Jesus Christ. At the last supper He said:

"This is my commendment, that you love one another as I have loved you. Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends. You are my friends, if you do the things that I command you. . . . These things I command you that you love one another. If the world hate you, know ye that it hath hated me before you." St. John xv.

Philip Murray Speaks at Garden TWU Meeting

Workers Asking Contract With City June 30—Strike Threatens

"Before this Union I saw my husband out seven days a week, dawn to dark, and he brought home eleven dollars at the end of the week. Now he works six days, shorter hours, and he averages \$33 a week. Before he never got a day off, now he has a paid vacation."

These are the words of a wife of a Fifth Avenue bus driver, and she was speaking for the wives of transit workers throughout the city, whether they work on buses, the subway, the elevated. And the union she was speaking of is the Transport Workers Union with a membership of 45,000.

The union started back in 1934. The organizers, Michael Quill, Austin Hogan, John Santo, Douglas MacMahon and three others, met in restaurants, in saloons, in basements and on roof tops. The organization of the union was bitterly opposed from the be-

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Our Brother, the Negro

If our Lord were to come into the world today how pleased He would be to sit at one of the CATHOLIC WORKER tables. But as of old the Pharisees would say, "Why does your master eat and drink with publicans and sinners?" And our Lord would answer as He did once before, "They that are well have no need of a physician but they that are sick. For I came not to call the just, but sinners."

The so-called interracial question, called by most a colored problem, by Father Gilard a white problem, is essentially a Christian problem. It can be solved only in the light of Christian principles. But most people think of Christianity in the light of common

sense instead of faith. That is the reason why Christianity has been called a failure by so many. As Chesterton once said, "Christianity has not failed, it has not been tried."

Catholic Extremism

Dr. Alexis Carrel strikes at the heart of the problem when he says, "Pastors have naturalized religion." We think that by making Christianity easy we make it acceptable. It is just the reverse. History shows that all those who have preached an uncompromising Christianity have been exceedingly blessed by God. When we make common sense the guide for our spiritual life and work we have God against us.

Faith and common sense are most at odds in our Lord's thunder from the Mount. Where faith says, "Blessed are the poor," common sense says, "Blessed are the rich." Faith: "Blessed are the meek." Common sense: "Blessed are the powerful." Faith: "Blessed are you when you are reviled and persecuted." Common sense: "Blessed are you when everyone respects you."

St. Paul shows us how we

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Bridges on Stand Labor Leader Was Baptized Catholic

He Is Not Practicing Now, Nor Capitalizing on This Fact of Faith

We use this headline because Harry Bridges, West Coast leader being tried on deportation charges on the grounds that he was or is a member of the Communist Party, is not calling attention to this fact himself. It is a subject we have discussed personally with him, his faith as a baptized Catholic, his place in the labor movement now. James Connolly was a baptized Catholic, claimed by Marxists, who died back in the Church.

We call attention to this fact because we wish to interest Catholics so they will pray for him as a leader of workers, and as a fellow member of the Mystical Body of Christ.

We know that every active labor leader who accomplishes organization and betterment of conditions, is going to be ac-

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BEN JOE LABRAY

Dear fellow workers:

This is just a line to let you know I'm still alive and thoroughly enjoying the unusual spring weather. Spent most of the winter around the Middle West and Central States, industrial areas where the wheels of industry are beginning to turn faster and faster as the defense program is really being pushed through. Many men, heads of families, who have been on relief for years are anxiously awaiting their turns for employment in the various arms and bomber plants to manufacture death and destruction for other families across the water who have not been on relief but are at least finding relief in death which, coming swiftly from the sky, is better than slow starvation.

Personal Reform

Disgusted and saddened by this scene in every city and yet feeling intermittent patriotic urges I set out from Buffalo during Holy Week to find, if possible, a way to contribute my share towards defending Democracy and Christianity. I wasn't quite sure how this could be done, but the sun was shining brightly and the sky was blue and

I remember glancing up at a statue of St. Francis at Mass that morning and an idea struck me. I felt quite sure that the only way I could defend and spread Christianity was to strive to be a better Christian myself, and one cannot be a Christian and not be democratic. I could kill two birds with one stone this way, yet not kill my brother across the pond. Finding myself at the outskirts of town and on the highway, I said a prayer to St. Christopher for a ride and the prayer was answered sooner than I expected. A good Samaritan stopped and with a smiling good morning told me to hop in.

The first thing I noticed was a St. Christopher's medal over the windshield and I remarked on

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Cardinal O'Connell:

"War is a fever, and that fever spreads like any fatal disease, until people think they are doing right when they fly in the face of God's own providence and they quote pious principles and ideologies, as they call them now, when they know that it is all a deceit." (January 5, 1941).

Bridges on Stand

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cused of being a Red, and we state moreover that if Catholics refuse their support to the labor movement, workers will take what support they can get, Communist or otherwise.

Dignity of Man

As long as the Communist groups think in terms of the dignity of labor, the dignity of the worker, the brotherhood of the white, Negro, Filipino, Mexican and Chinese workers throughout the country, they are taking positions that the Catholic should be taking, and they are bound to win support on these positions.

We contend, also, that both AFL and CIO unions are what Pope Pius XI called "neutral" unions, that is, of no particular religion or politics.

Workers should join these neutral unions, the Catholic teaching is, and Catholics by always living up to the principles of their faith, and spreading the social ideas of the Church, would influence other members of the unions for good. To facilitate this, the Pope urged that along with these neutral unions, Christian associations of workers should be started, not to bring about what the workers rightly fear, "dual unionism," but in order that the workers may be instructed in their faith.

For instance, all the members of a parish in San Pedro, who were longshoremen, could discuss in their Holy Name meeting, or St. Vincent de Paul meeting, their problems as workers, and receive instruction in the encyclicals. We had often urged such organization of transit workers here in the east, before Michael Quill and his fellow organizers took over the job of organizing them. (Most of the transit workers are Catholic.)

Reaffirm Belief

On account of the war crisis, the situation of labor is more critical now and so we take this opportunity once again of affirming our belief in Bridges' integrity.

The following is the story which appeared in the CATHOLIC WORKER in July-August, 1939, just before Bridges was acquitted of the charges made against him then:

Some of the points made by Harry Bridges, west coast CIO leader and founder the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, and rival of Joseph P. Ryan on the east coast, were so significant that it is a shame the newspapers did not carry a more complete account for the benefit of students of the labor movement throughout the country. The occasion was his testimony in the hearing being conducted by the government through the immigration department to find out whether or not it can be proved he was a member of the Communist party.

Here are some of the questions and answers:

Deputy Commissioner of Immigration: "Do you believe in a capitalistic form of government?"

Bridges: The two things are entirely different.

Q. I will ask it again. Do you believe in a capitalistic form of government?

A. If you mean, do I believe (when you refer to a capitalistic form of government I do not know exactly what the term

means, but here is my opinion of it). If you mean the capitalistic form of society which to me means the exploitation of a lot of people for a profit, and a complete disregard to their interests for that profit, I haven't much use for it. But that is a question entirely separate and apart from the government as I understand it.

Indicts Corporations

Regarding an expression that he had no love for employers, he added: "The evils that I have run into and all the misery that I have run into have generally sprung from that group and the things that they have attempted to put over. When I say employers I mean the industrial corporate interests."

Questioned by Dean Landis, before whom the hearing is held, Bridges said that while small employers have a realization of other people's troubles besides their own he had never found this in any large association of industrial owners or bankers.

He stated that "if we are sincere and honest in regard to supporting the democratic form of government, we will fight just as hard against the elimination of those people we don't like as for the people we do like."

In regard to government ownership, "we could have a lot more municipal or government ownership than we have now, and we couldn't do a much worse job with the means of production than private industry has been able to do."

"I am for a greater degree of government ownership than we have now," very definitely he added. As to whether he favored entire ownership of the means of production he replied: "I really don't know."

Opposed to Force

He also stated that if Communists used force in their efforts to change the social order, he would be opposed to it.

It seems to us that his testimony is clear and frank and that his stand is to a great extent the stand taken by the CATHOLIC WORKER again and again. We have urged (with the late Holy Father, Pope Pius XI) that some forms of enterprise are too huge for private interest and should be owned by the government. As for the application of this principle, utilities and railroads could be cited as examples. There are examples of municipal ownership and government ownership right now under our democratic form of government.

The issue of private property in the testimony we have read, has not been clearly stated by the prosecution. The issue of the use of force has been frankly answered.

So far Bridges has not been asked what was his definition of man. Nor has he been asked whether he believed in God. According to Lenin, "Atheism is an integral part of Marxism." This philosophy carried to its conclusion makes man the creature of the state, and would wipe out any democracy.

Money Bags

It is indeed a shame that the opponents of Communism in this trial are obviously opponents because of cowardly greed, and fear that the money they have ground from the

Peter Maurin

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4. And civilized people don't like to see barbarians kill civilized people in civilized countries.
5. Civilized people think the best way to protect civilization is to kill barbarians in barbarian countries.
6. Barbarian people don't understand civilization but civilized people think they themselves do.

III. Germans and Poles

1. The Germans think that they are civilized and the Poles are barbarians.
2. The Germans invaded Poland to place Poland where they think it belongs under the German rule.
3. German rule is a military rule, not a personalist rule.
4. A military rule breaks the will of the people, but does not change the heart of the people.
5. A military rule is materially efficient, but it is not spiritually efficient.

IV. Polish Writers

1. After the first World War Poland established a personalist constitution.
2. But military men in Poland discarded it so as to establish a more dictatorial military State.
3. But Polish writers are not like most German writers.
4. Polish writers believe in spiritual values while German writers believe in materialist values.
5. Polish writers believe in the power of the word; German writers believe in the power of the sword.

V. Catholic Extremism

1. Poland does not exist as a nation, but Poland exists as a culture.
2. The expression of that culture by Polish writers in the Polish language will spread the Polish spirit among Polish people.
3. The Germans are suffering from extreme nationalism; the Poles must face them with extreme Catholicism.
4. The extreme nationalism of Germany is the logical product of the deformation of Christian doctrine and practice by the Reformation.
5. Catholic people must quit looking up to Protestant people and return to the Catholic extremism of primitive Christians.

faces of the poor will be taken from them. The men who make up the corporations bringing about this trial of Harry Bridges, who, the late Father O'Kelly stated did more for the worker than any other labor man on the west coast, are vicious deniers of the right of private property and blatant deniers of Christ in their fellows and themselves should be tried as enemies of the state.

War Referendum Necessary

(The following is taken from "Modern War and Basic Ethics" by John K. Ryan; Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.)

"That the traditional requirement of lawful authority still obtains for a just war cannot be disputed. Now as in the past it is unjust for private citizens to lead a nation into war, and for the same reasons as those given by St. Thomas. This is an enactment of the general natural law of morality, but further than this the moral law does not go. It does not determine the particular individual or body in any specific state that possesses the authority to decide in favor of war; that is a matter for the constitution of states. Moreover, the constitution of most modern states so specifically designates the residence of this power to declare war that there is usually no great difficulty in deciding whether the legal

formalities have been fulfilled or not.

Peoples Decision

"Yet there can be a more searching interpretation put upon this requirement of the natural law. War is no longer the affair of a cabinet and an army; it has become total, involving the entire nation, its energies and resources. In any really modern war the entire civil population is in some way the object of attack. Would it not follow that the decision for or against war should really rest with the people, with those who will bear the burden of cost and the brunt of attack, rather than with a designated branch of the government? Something of this sort is implied in the Pastoral Letter written by the Archbishops and Bishops of America in 1919.

"The growth of democracy implies that the people shall have a larger share in determining the form, attributions, and policies of the government to which they look for the preservation of order. It should also imply that the calm deliberate judgment of the people, rather than the aims of the ambitious few, shall decide whether, in case of international disagreement, war be the only solution. Knowing that the burdens of war will fall most heavily on them, the people will be slower in taking aggressive measures and, with an adequate sense of what charity and justice require, they will refuse to be led or driven into conflict by false report or specious argument."

(We take this opportunity of apologizing to Fr. John Kenneth Ryan for misquoting him in one issue of the paper when his reasons opposing armaments were listed as against conscription. We are deeply sorry for this unintentional distortion of his meaning.—Editor's note.)



ST JOHN OF GOD

A. de Bethune

Transport Workers

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ginning. There had been a transit strike in 1916 and according to the union statement, the Interborough Rapid Transit company had spent over three and a half million dollars for strikebreakers; a company union was established and a network of spies was continued on the payroll to prevent the formation by the workers of an association of their own choosing.

Sacrifices

The organizers did their work after a twelve-hour working day. They had no funds but their salaries. We have seen the beginnings of such unions before, and have reported them in the CATHOLIC WORKER. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union, where the officials slept in the union office and lived on sandwiches and were hounded by vigilantes; the National Maritime Union which started in a dingy hall, with a strike on its hands, with no funds and little membership.

By 1937 the transit workers had won their first contract with their employers. Now, in 1941, they are fighting for the right of all the employees of the municipally owned subway lines to belong to a union of

their own choosing, and to enter into agreements with their employer, the city, and sign contracts with that employer. This right is disputed by the LaGuardia administration, and to voice again their position, there was a meeting last week in Madison Square Garden where CIO President Philip Murray spoke before a packed house.

Moral Issue

"A moral issue," Murray called it, and pledged the aid of the CIO in upholding the rights of the transit employees. The contracts which the union had with the private companies were taken over by the city upon unification a year ago. These contracts expire on June 30, and a strike is threatened if the city does not sign a contract with the union.

As Mr. Murray pointed out, New York is the only city in the U. S. with a municipally-owned railway which has not a contract with its employees.

Archbishop McNicholas:

"This second World War, which is at once a curse and a scourge of humanity, is wholly unnecessary" (December 25, 1940).

Our Brother

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have God against us if we act according to common sense. He says, "For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel; not in wisdom of speech, lest the cross of Christ should be made void... For it is written: 'I will destroy the wisdom of the wise and the prudence of the prudent I will reject. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Has not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?' What is prudence for a Christian, except to follow Christ's advice?"

When we use God's point of view He touches the hearts of the people. St. Paul again shows us: "I judged not myself to know anything among you, but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified. And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling. And my speech and my preaching was not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, but in showing of the Spirit and power." When we use God's words without compromising them, He is interested at once.

One in Christ

Now let us apply the same method of procedure toward the interracial question. We can only solve it in the light of Christian principles. It is only when we give the teaching that we are all members one of another, that we are all one in Christ, that God will bless our efforts. Priests who have worked among the colored for years and are still doing so have many occasions to speak to white people about their duty toward their colored brothers in the light of this teaching. On every occasion many will say, "Father, I never saw it in that light before."

It must be made plain to white people that there is no salvation for Catholic or non-Catholic unless they see Christ in the Negro. Our Lord makes it plain that the only visible sign of following Him is love of one another. To Jim-Crow the Negro is to Jim-Crow Christ Himself.

Mystical Body

There has never been a concerted effort made in this country to teach the doctrine that we are members one of another to our people in relation to the Negro. There is no doubt that the greatest hin-

drance to the conversion of the Negro is this Jim-Crow by Catholics in general. The conversion of Negroes will increase the day that we begin to practice and preach the gospel without any compromise. There is no color line in heaven.

Christ is our neighbor. It is Christ who presents Himself to us suffering in the sick and in the poor, in the prisoner, or in the persecuted. But only faith shows Him to us and it is because our faith is weak, because our love is imperfect, that we fail to see Him.

A Priest.

Ben Joe

(Continued from page 1)

the co-incidence of it; yet I was not surprised at it as I have had prayers answered before. The Samaritan was in a good, spring mood and said: "I never knew bums prayed." I answered that I've known other bums to pray, including white collar bums. My friend took a burn on this and I was sorry as I hadn't meant to dig at him. I was only thinking of Peter at the moment and I explained this to him. I told him of the coupon clipping bum of the stock exchange who never works and whom many people regard as a genuine parasite.

War and Religion

As an appeaser I was an utter failure that morning because my friend and benefactor had, on former occasions, used the scissors himself and fervently hoped and prayed that he would again—and soon. In desperation I switched the conversation to the subject of war which resulted in much warm discussion but less personal.

He explained that I was a little off if I didn't take advantage of the opportunity of making big money now while the making is good; that we always had wars and always will; and that if that brown-shirted rat of a Hitler ever got over here he'd make slaves of us as he did the Polish and the others and Christianity and civilization would vanish. He also informed me that I take things too seriously and that while religion is a good thing in itself one shouldn't let it interfere too much with one's life or it would "get" one.

"But," added the Samaritan: "we all have a right to our beliefs. Maybe you're right too. We'll drop in here and have a bite to eat. Are you hungry?"

"Always," I answered, and we

Arms Of the Spirit

Pius XII

"Truth like man has but a single face: and truth is our weapon just as prayer is our defense and strength and the living sincere and disinterested apostolic word inspired by fraternal affection, our entre to the hearts of men."

"These are not offensive and bloody weapons but the arms of the spirit, arms of our mind and heart. Nothing can impede or restrain us from using them to secure and safeguard just rights, true human brotherhood and genuine peace, wherever the sacred duty of our office prompts us and compassion for the multitude rekindles our love....."

"Under vigilant providence of God and armed only with prayer, exhortation and consolation, we shall persevere in our battle for peace in behalf of suffering humanity"

"You must make one resolve—not to allow yourselves to be induced, either by your sad lot, or by the malice of men, to waver in your allegiance to Christ."

"Prosperity and adversity are part and parcel of man's earthly existence but what is of the utmost importance, and we say with St. Augustine, is the use that is made of what is called prosperity or adversity. For the virtuous man is neither exalted by wordly well being, nor humbled by temporal misfortune; the evil man, on the other hand, being corrupted in prosperity, is made to suffer in adversity."

broke bread together. The white collar bum and the bum without a collar. And we parted friends.

Hospitality

Coming through Schenectady on Ash Wednesday I passed by a new stone church and decided to make a visit to the Blessed Sacrament. Coming out into the sunshine and feeling peaceful and contented I decided on making another visit, this time to the back door of the convent where the good Sister sat me down to a big plate of beans, potatoes, bread, butter, jam, and a cup of good strong coffee.

I wonder what St. Francis would be thinking these days on the highway.

Holy Thursday night found me in Hudson, New York, where I was given hospitality in the city jail. The sargeant gave two of us a mattress and blankets, saying that we looked clean. But the bums he puts down below on the benches. Up in the morning and across the street and into church in time for the procession and Mass.

Today, working on a large dairy farm where the machine age is much in evidence; milking machines, machines for transporting the cans to the creamery, machines for cleaning the stables and troughs; the greatest machine of all, the cow, is still master of the situation and seems to know it judging from some of the glances she throws around at the machinery and me.

BOOK REVIEW

Heinrich Pesch and His Theory of Christian Solidarity, by Dr. Franz Mueller, Saint Paul: The College of Saint Thomas, 1941. 25 cents.

This booklet about the noted Jesuit social pioneer by Dr. Mueller, Professor of Economics at the College of Saint Thomas, originally appeared in "Centralblatt and Social Justice" of the Central Verein, Saint Louis, and is now presented in revised and expanded form as the seventh of the Aquin papers.

The author speaks from personal contact with Father Pesch and his outstanding disciples, G. Gundlach, S. J., and O. Von Nell-Bruening, S. J., author of *The Reorganization of Social Economy*. What is the social philosophy of this great social thinker so much of whose thought was ratified in the social encyclicals? The key principle is the idea of solidarity. Solidarity of the social community ordered to a morally good end is not only a fact but involves duty. It is based upon the dignity of the person, who actualizes and unfolds himself not least in developing his social functions.

To understand these basic principles one must study the system of political economy developed by Fr. Pesch. Dr. Mueller shows that this system is far from being "idealist" in the sense of a roseate picture never to be realized. It is realist because it is based upon true principles and because it confronts all the relevant hard cold facts of economic and political activity. Fr. Pesch considered patiently and thoroughly all the details that are so important, but always solved his problems in the light of principles.

Solidarism

Although Fr. Pesch agrees with Marxism that the future does not lie with Capitalism, whose days he said were numbered, he does not share the belief of Socialism in a communistic and compulsory economic system. Collectivism, mild or stern, is an inversion of Liberalism. While Liberalism knows only the individual, Collectivism knows only the groupman. Solidarity recognizes man as a person with spiritual dignity and as a social being integrated into a community.

Solidarism is the *via media*, although it is accused by both sides as being either "capitalist" or "socialist." Solidarity rejects the notion that man may be treated merely as a thing or a tool. The basic no-

tion of Solidarity is this: man—with the God-given gift of his labor—is the lord of the world. Property, the projection of man into the world of things, has not only a personal character but also a social one, and ownership entails real obligation. Social justice is the dynamic element in Solidarity. Its purpose is not merely to draw an ideal picture of Christian social order, but to impress upon men the immediate and unconditional duty of all to co-operate in the rebuilding of society.

Rights and Duties

Dr. Mueller warns that today the social and political calamities have reached such proportions that we may not be able to remedy them except by unusual means such as more concentrated political authority. But precisely for this reason we must remind ourselves of the Christian doctrine of the rights of the person and limits to state and community authority.

One cannot read this appreciation of Heinrich Pesch, precursor of the vocational order championed by the Popes, without realizing that so much of the wealth of present knowledge in Catholic social action, comes from the devoted labors of German Catholics. After all, the historical accidents that prevented the German Catholics from establishing a solidarist society, after so much sacrifice and work, should not make us forget their remarkable contributions. Are we so sure of immunity after so little work?

Catholic Scholars

It is surely providential that we have so many distinguished German Catholic scholars in this country at present—G. Briefs, T. Brauer, D. Von Hildebrand, H. Rommen, K. Winter among others—as well as French and Italians, such as J. Maritain, Y. Simon and L. Sturzo. But is it not unfortunate that we must emphasize the essential catholicity of these men in the face of some nationalistic Catholics who imply that outside the Latin orbit there is only barbarism? In short, that Germans can hardly be integral Catholics. These people may make face-saving distinctions, but their emotional tone reeks of the racism they profess to abhor.

This booklet deserves careful reading as a distinct contribution to our problem: the reorganization of social order in terms of justice, peace and charity.

D. Gallagher.

War and Conscription At the Bar of Christian Morals

By Rt. Rev. Msgr. G. B. O'Toole, Ph.D., S.T.D.

Prof. of Philosophy in the Catholic University of America

A ninety-page pamphlet complete with Study Club outline, containing all Msgr. O'Toole's articles published in *The Catholic Worker* from 1939-40, plus his testimony before Senate Military Affairs Committee.

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(POST PAID)

SEND ORDERS DIRECT TO:

THE CATHOLIC WORKER
115 Mott Street, New York City

For the Hungry

Cardinal O'Connell expressed his views on the Hoover plan for feeding the starving people of Europe. "I can't understand why any power should prohibit the sending of food to old women and little children," His Eminence said. "What have they done? Nothing. We should do everything we can to get food to those hungry people."

"That's the kind of work America should be proud to do, not mix in problems that Europe has never been able to solve. That's utterly futile. It is not only futile, but it also serves to bring more calamity to the world."

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Not Only Love But Bread

(The following are just two of the many hundreds of letters received and answered during the month of May. The first, from a priest sociologist wants to know what the work is all about. The second is from a slightly disheartened leader of one of the newest Catholic Worker Houses of Hospitality. Because so many people have asked these same questions, have proposed these same problems, we are taking the space in this issue to print two of the answers.)

St. Patrick's College
Maynooth, Ireland.

I am Professor of Sociology and Catholic Action in this college and it is part of my duty to study the Catholic social movement and activities in various parts of the world.

I have heard of your work but knew little about it till recently when one of our Bishops sent me a few copies of *The Catholic Worker*. Even now my impressions are hazy as one can form no clear impression on such inadequate data. Your Mott St. institution seems to be a night-shelter of the type run here by the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Legion of Mary.

Would you kindly let me know if it be more than a refuge. Is it controlled by an organization and are there other foundations?

I would like to know also how your members are recruited and what kind of bond holds them together?

The numbers of your paper which were given to me were very definitely pacifist. Would this be true of the movement as a whole or have I gained a wrong impression?

Lastly I would like to know if the movement has received any approval from the ecclesiastical superiors?

This information would be useful to me in classifying your movement.

I feel in asking these questions that I may be totally misrepresenting your work but you will understand, I am sure, that the questions are asked solely with a view to get information which may be helpful to my students here.

Wishing you every blessing on your work,

Sincerely yours,

(Rev.) P. McKevitt.

Brief Answer

May 6, 1941.

Dear Father McKevitt:

Thanks very much for your letter and your interest in our work. We are sending you some back issues of the paper which may give you a more complete idea of *The Catholic Worker*.

Our places are not night shelters because we do not limit the length of time that people can stay. When someone moves in we feel that we should be prepared to accept that responsibility for a lifetime and not set a limit of a week or a month.

One of the main things is to give a sense of security and make people feel that they are "members one of another," to give them a sense of the dignity of poverty as well as the dignity of labor so that if they do have to return to night shelters and lodging houses they will feel that they are sharing with Christ His condition of having no place to lay His head.

Lay Apostolate

We are trying to build up the lay apostolate throughout the country, not as an organization but on a personalist basis so that a man whether he is in a lodging house or in a factory or on a ship can feel that he has a definite job to do to live his faith and influence others.

The men who come in to get help, share in the work too, to such an extent that it is hard to tell who are the leaders and who are the workers. Throughout the country many of the men from the breadline have assumed such positions of responsibility that the work could not go on without them.

They Need to Eat

It is not only the bond of Christian charity but also economic necessity which holds us all together. It is not only love but bread. If we were not confronted three times a day with lines of hungry men, women and children, no doubt the movement would fly apart, people could not work together, the difficulties and the criticisms seem so inseparable. For the skilled, employment has picked up in this country, but there are tens of thousands of unskilled traveling from city to city, a new army of transients. And then there are the poor we'll always have with us, like one family a few months ago (the father had sleeping sickness and heart trouble and the wife was a drunkard, a prostitute and a drug addict. There were three children and they were constantly on the go, and social agencies, after a first check,

could never catch up with them). And the others, odds and ends of people that no agency can classify and take care of, so they end up with us.

Peace and Freedom

The paper is definitely pacifist, and through its influence we have persuaded the government as to the right of Catholics to be conscientious objectors. There is a great difference of opinion, of course, among Catholics as to this right.

As members of the Catholic Press Association of America we have to have a letter from our Chancery Office, but that of course does not mean an imprimatur. It does mean, however, that these matters on which there are differences of opinion are matters which have



A. de Bethune

not to do with dogma. And we are all in good standing in our various dioceses.

Bishops Help

In three different cases the Bishops themselves have taken over the work of establishing the houses of hospitality, but have asked that they continue to be associated with the *Catholic Worker* movement. I just got a check for twenty-five dollars this morning from Bishop Boyle of Pittsburgh, one of the three. Recently, Cardinal O'Connell of Boston has taken over the house there and has asked our group to continue to run it but to get larger quarters and work more closely with the diocese.

I doubt whether our movement could be classified. We are engaged in trying to change the social order as well as to alleviate immediate distress. We work for the establishment of unions, cooperatives, farming communes, and are close followers of people like Eric Gill, and others of the distributist movement in England.

On Starting a House

May, 1941.

Dear Fellow Worker:

Thanks for your letter about your problems and I am so glad that you are hanging on. Until people do have all these problems and sufferings the work is really not getting under way. In

so many cases everybody has a grand time getting everything started, everything goes so smoothly, the men are all so nice, everybody cooperates, and then life settles down to a dead, ugly monotony of meals and lodging, and nothing at all seems to be done or done right and we seem to be contributing to people's delinquencies rather than helping them; and that, of course, is the charge that is made always against us.

But Dust

You can look at all the men at all the houses and see them as pretty rotten. That, of course, is one way we should see things; to see men as but dust; from the human point of view that is perfectly true and that is why some want to have a dictator with an iron hand getting them regimented and whipped into line and making them do what they should do.

But from the standpoint of the supernatural they are a little less than the angels and if we could only keep that attitude towards them! When we are in love with people we see all the best that there is in them and understand very clearly their failures and their lapses. But the love continues strong and works wonders.

Littlest Ones

I often think that our Lord must have been terribly bored with the disciples very often, humanly speaking. Certainly, He wasn't picking out brilliant, accomplished, pleasing personalities with whom to live. Isn't it in today's epistle where the mother of James and John wanted the best place for her two sons? So even the relatives were hanging on to see what they could get out of the situation. He certainly had to get away from them every now and then and do a lot of praying.

They say a mystic is someone who is in love with God, again using that comparison as the kind of love we should feel. This is one of the most absorbing problems of all the work, this relationship we have to all those around us, the tie that holds us all around the country together.

Pie in the Sky

Catholics have more faith in God than they have in man and that is the trouble with their religion. It is a transferring of our hopes from earth to heaven and from man to God to such an extent that we turn to pie in the sky and forget that we are all members of the Mystical Body of Christ right here on this earth.

It is one of the things about the Communist heresy that they have seen this aspect of the truth, this necessity for recognizing human dignity and the nobility and grandeur of man, man who is little less than the angels, who has been placed "over the work of His hands, with all things set under his feet." That psalm certainly paints a magnificent picture of what man is "that God should be mindful of him." And we have got to think of every man on the breadline and every man living in the houses in that way.

To Sow, Not Harvest

It is a terrible struggle and it will go on all through our lives and perhaps we won't see any fruit of this vision, any materialization of the new social order, let us say, immediately around us. Everybody is going to condemn us for wasting our time on drunks and bums and people

who don't respond to these great ideas of Peter.

Don't blame the situation you have in X — — — on the lack of leadership in the house. Down in Y — — — they have three fools for Christ who are living right in the house. They are expressing these ideas, having rosary in the evening, spiritual reading at meals, carrying hospitality to folly, in general carrying the teaching of Christ to an extreme so that they are a scandal to the neighborhood and to the city.

Showing the Need

You can't blame the police for raiding their house, and you can't blame the good, respectable Catholics for being scandalized. Certainly, we can't say that the Y — — — house is what a house should be, but they are expressing an idea and calling attention to a need, and eventually they will start houses of hospitality in all the poor sections and the parishes will wake up to their responsibilities.

When you are feeling especially bad you ought to take time off and visit a few of the other houses. I just got a letter this morning from a Sister who said she found the Z — — — house best of them all.

A Good Place

Physically, it is, and I always enjoy visiting there and certainly the fellows at the head of it are a wonderful crowd, but they go just so far and no farther. They limit the number of people in the house, and their breadlines also are short. The house has been repaired and painted and cleaned constantly and to such an extent that they even admit they do not want anybody in the house who can't contribute to the building up of it. And later on when it is all finished then they will go ahead and take in more. But by that time it will be so beautiful they will be afraid to take in more and will find some excuse, like the building department, or the fire department, or health department, to limit their hospitality again.

Infinite Variety

But I really am not condemning them, because everyone's temperament is different and God is working through all these people. And they are doing exactly what He wants them to do. I think He probably wants this house to be a beautiful example so as to encourage others to work along these lines. He uses people's temperaments whether they are cautious or reckless.

And we should be only too delighted that there is such an infinite variety in His creatures, human beings as well as plain animals. Down at the farm the other day we were meditating on the delightful differences between the earth worm and the goats. And the infinite variety of joyous and beautiful things there were around us. Well, we ought to rejoice in people's different temperaments, too, and not want them to be all alike. God forbid!

Archbishop Spellman:

"We are witnessing the enslavement of man by the State, the cult of force, the deification of power, and the domination of right by might. Back once more the world has tumbled into the abyss of paganism and savagery. Christ and Christianity, humaneness and decency, truth and honesty have been swept aside." (March 12, 1941).

League of Prayer For Men In Jail Started in Italy

Hartford, Conn.

Enclosed please find two leaflets sent to me by le Pere Charegal, the founder of the International Catholic League of Prayer for Prisoners, a society of which my sister Madre Francesca Chiasa is a member, and I am also.

Please preserve these leaflets carefully because our dear Pere Charegal was in occupied France and the last time that my sister wrote to him his letter was returned and we do not yet know whether he is alive or dead, murdered possibly by the Nazis, or in prison. He is the Father General of the League and he wrote asking me to get other members to join and to pray daily for prisoners, but I haven't succeeded much, partly because almost my entire time is taken up in working for my prisoners in eight jails and in the Connecticut State Prison and in the Criminal Insane Ward.

My sister Edith is now Madre Francesca III, Mother Superior of the novices in the convent of Ancilla della Trinita (Handmaids, Servants of the Holy Trinity), La Granita, Castillo, Florence, Italy.

League of Prayer

By her words and her letters she has brought literally over 2,000 people in Italy to join this League of Prayer, chiefly members of Catholic religious orders and also prisoners who pray for other prisoners.

A religious order or a group of devout people, members of the League, may also adopt a particular prison to pray for and they may adopt particular prisoners for whose salvation they will pray.

For example, the Carmelite Convent of St. Madalena de Pazzi near Florence have adopted my Wethersfield Prison, the Connecticut State Prison, and they adopted three of my friend-prisoners named John Bey, a life prisoner, and La Rocque, a convict who finished his sentence and departed to his home in Vermont, and Thomas C., who too often yields to the temptation to drink and thus lands in jail where he usually seems to be an influence for good.

Visit Prisoners

In Italy the nuns of religious orders are sometimes allowed to visit prisoners and my sister thus visits the prisoners in Florence to teach and console the prisoners. Once at least she visits them herself and she seems to have obtained certain concessions in their favor.

I should be so glad to win others to this labor of love, prayers for the souls in prison everywhere.

The officials also do need to be prayed for, so that they may learn to treat their prisoners as human souls precious in God's sight.

Please reply to yours faithfully,

GENEVIEVE COWLES.

Archbishop McNicholas: "Our war leaders who would maneuver us into the conflict would, step by step, deprive us of the liberty of peace and impose upon us the slavery of war." (December 25, 1940).

Jail in the Afternoon

Last month we told you of the Church made of matchboxes that we keep in our store window. It was made by our prisoner friend in his spare time and took about eight months to make complete with benches, Confessional, altars, statues, even a poor box.

We have been writing to him for many years, but did not visit him until last Friday. In ten years this man has had less than six visits. After riding trains and buses Miss Day and I finally reached the grim 22-foot walls about three blocks long, which enclose about a thousand men for many years. We saw men in uniform patrolling the top of this wall with rifle and revolver and didn't dare call up to inquire where the entrance was. We asked a man working in a garden nearby. He directed us several blocks around the corner, past a sentry in a booth, to an entrance surrounded with columns and Egyptian hieroglyphics. Much puzzled as to why they were on a prison in New Jersey, we rang the bell. After showing our pass, and being questioned as to our identity and address, our names were duly recorded on John's card.

Visiting Room

After a few minutes we were allowed the privilege of seeing our old friend through a thick, unwashed glass, and speaking through a perforated-steel panel so thick we could scarcely make our friend hear. The room was long, narrow and stuffy, for there were no windows and it was a very hot day. There were several other visitors whose voices were very distracting, particularly one to our left. I was given the chance to do all the talking because my voice is strong. In fact, the guard thought so, too, and came over, after the visitor with the loud voice had left, to ask me to please lower it. Through the visit I sat with my head close to the glass, my mouth close to the screen, all I could see of John were his gay blue eyes and gray hair, unless he lifted his head back to laugh as he did many times.

Lay Apostle

He told us that Catholics do not have a Chapel but use the Auditorium every Sunday. Yet the majority of the guards are Catholic, the prison is in Hague's territory. The Chaplain visits every other day, but so far there are no study groups or anything else to arouse the Catholics and fallen-aways to take an active interest in their Faith. This makes him very sad. John does all he can in talking to those he comes in contact with, in lending good books he begs from his few friends outside, in taking non-Catholic, atheist, agnostic to Mass and explaining it by following Father Stedman's Sunday Missal. He is responsible for about sixty Catholic books being placed on the library shelves. "House of Hospitality" is still going the rounds. We asked him to have the men write their reaction to the book and to send their comments on to us.

Talented

John is one of the instructors in their Manual Training Course since he is an expert carpenter. He is kept busy correcting papers from his students at several other prisons, where they take the course by correspondence. He teaches the theory, but unfortunately is not allowed to give

them practice, which would be invaluable in giving them a trade. What good is the theory if a man is in prison for five or ten years before he has an opportunity to practice it, it seems to me. They cannot use any architectural and carpenter tools or artist equipment since the prison does not supply them and the pittance they earn daily (8 cents a day) is not enough to cover the cost. (If any of our readers would donate any to them, we will gladly give you the name and address.) In the winter time he has more students, since they are not allowed recreation in the yard (where there is not one tree or one blade of grass).

On Saturday and Sunday, unless it rains, they are permitted to recreate in their dusty yard. As John is such an expert he is busy repairing or building in the prison, and helped renovate the entrance and old building, which is 125 years' old. We inquired why the Egyptian decorations, but John pointed out there used to be huge columns inside, too, and that it has taken them two years to improve the inside. He helped build the walls that enclose him and the uncomfortable visitors' room, which seemed badly in need of renovation.

Prayer

John rises at 4 to get all his prayers and spiritual reading in before the bell rings at 6. He made a 30-day retreat before the Feast of the Annunciation, which completed his first year as a consecrated "slave" of the Blessed Mother. He is also a member of the "Legion of Mary," a Catholic action group which visits prisoners whenever it can among its many other spiritual Works of Mercy.

At Bordentown prison he and several others built the prison Altar. When I was visiting this other prison, I did not know it, otherwise I would have asked to see it. On second thought, remembering the third degree I was put through because of my youth on that visit, I doubt if they would have let me. At that time I first heard from a woman who was visiting her husband on the "contact" visit she was allowed once a month. Only then could she kiss her husband.

John's ambition (it would surprise the parole board!) is to build a beautiful stone Chapel at our farm in Easton. "The men in prison are just like the men anywhere," was John's comment. "Just like the men at the Catholic Worker Houses of Hospitality," added Miss Day.

There is much to be changed in our prison system, but it is up to us to visit and to pray for our prisoners. The following letter will explain. Father Bradley, the Benedictine, told us that on a retreat he and the other priests were warned they had better hurry up and visit prisoners before they died, for God was going to ask them, "I was in prison. Why didn't you visit me?" How much more does that apply to us lay people!!

We didn't mind the heat upon leaving the prison, for anything seemed better than being behind locked doors for ten years. We saw a stray petunia growing beside a house and we thought no flower can peep its pretty head in that dungeon. How could all this teach men to be good and return to society normal?

On our way to the station we stopped in a candy store for an ice cream cone to hear the woman

proprietor explain to a salesman about a radio skit in which there was an awful 19-year-old boy, who was very mean. "He should be in prison," was her opinion. I guess she had never been in Hague's prison three blocks away. JULIA PORCELLI.

SOWING

Texas.

My Dear Friend:

Some years ago I had just opened a church for Negroes in New Orleans. It was the month of January. One night that month I was seated by the glowing coals of the little open grate, thinking things over. Here I was with a church, a meager revenue and a large debt. I lived in the rectory adjoining the church. It had nine rooms, two of them furnished, the dining room and the little room wherein I then sat. Upstairs was my bedroom with some borrowed furniture. The bank that day wrote me that my account had been about \$20 overdrawn.

A ring of the doorbell brought me to my feet and to the door. There was a gray-haired man, a handsome smiling fellow whom I admitted to the room with the fireplace. We chatted casually about several matters, then the caller told me the real reason for his visit. He needed a little help. Quite justly might I have sent him away with a lot of regrets instead of cash. Instead I told him of the plight I was in.

Bread Upon the Waters

The poor fellow was sorry for me. He would go elsewhere for aid. I stopped him. I told him that I had nearly \$3 in cash in my pocket. He could have half. He would not take it until I really pressed him to do so. Now I do not know how he made out, but listen to how that act reacted on me. Before I went to bed that night callers came. Not only was I given a complete parlor suite, but enough money to meet the bank requirements and to leave me with a little balance. It is my conviction that this was the result of my sharing with the poor fellow.

Now, when your appeal came to me this day it found me with two dollars on hand. You are not going to ask in vain for help. It will be little, half of the two dollars I have. In the name of the poor Christ and for Him in the person of His poor, take this dollar and my wishes with it. May St. Joseph provide for all your needs. God bless you.

Yours in the Sacred Heart,
—A Southern Priest.

Poverty

St. John Chrysostom says of poverty: "We are like tourists travelling and should, like them, not burden ourselves with excess baggage but send the precious things we buy on to our permanent dwelling. Heaven is to be our permanent abode so we should send what we prize highly to our heavenly home. The poor will be our porters. Give the nice things you possess to them and they will carry these things safely to heaven for you."

Washington House Of Hospitality Sends Bad News

Washington, D. C.

Dear Dorothy:

Just a few days after you left the agent got judgment through the court and refused to accept the money I offered and had all my things put on the sidewalk and took possession of the house. And all night that Friday night I walked the streets with ten homeless men. Nowhere we went would they take us in, not even for the little money I had to offer them. One of the men tried to get me to just leave them after a while and go home. But of course I could not do that. I felt too much as one of them.

Shares Plight

I was very proud and happy to share the night with them. I thought of our Lord and His disciples wandering around. Next day, Saturday, everything closed at 12 o'clock noon so the best that I could get was a one-room and a little niche they called kitchen and into this are crowded eight men. We lost two men somewhere; the poor fellows could not tramp around with us.

The truth is the agent was not in sympathy with our work or the people for whom I was working. He spoke of them as dirty, lazy and drunken bums. He said that the city should take care of them.

Homeless

I learned, too, that there are white Catholics and colored Catholics, not just Catholics as I had always wanted to believe. But Blessed Martin de Porres is carrying on in a one-room and kitchen until such time as through the grace of God, we will beg enough money from our friends to start a real house again. We stored our belongings in two garages at \$5 each a month and we are praying that we will have collected enough in that time to make a start.

Sincerely in Christ the Worker.

Llewellyn J. Scott.

CLOTHING

We give out clothes to men, women and children. We depend on you to send us what you can for Christ and His poor. Yet we always encourage you to take care of your own, too.

We suggest you look up the November Catholic Digest of last year and read the article entitled "Mary's Purse," as this explains just what we mean. Perhaps some of you can do the same. At any rate, if you don't know any one poorer than yourself, to help clothe, ask your priest and I am sure he will give you a family that you can make your personal responsibility. Then there may be a C. W. House of Hospitality in your city, to whom you can send or better still bring down your donations of clothes. In some houses they can use all kinds of clothing, in others just men's clothes. This little notice was prompted by seeing so many bundles coming hundreds of miles to Mott Street when they could just as well been used in the city they came from. Why pay useless postage; that money could buy bread.

Seattle Letter Shows Differences Rebukes Pacifists

St. Francis House
1010½ King Street
Seattle Washington

As to "Christian Pacifism": It got so bad here last spring and summer that something finally had to be done to preserve plain Christian Charity among ourselves—and also the unity of the group. Jim Deady seemed to be the only one who could preach "pacifism" without endangering the bond of Charity. But we had him with us only during vacation. His whole life is consistent with non-violence, and in every way he has the respect and loyalty of the whole CW community, even though some of us might disagree with him intellectually on that one point.

There is no use opening the question again, but a plain factual statement of the situation here should be in order. Besides Jim Deady (who was at the Seminary nearly all the time) there were only three active CW associates who agreed with the policy of the N. Y. paper. (One of them has recently capitulated, and another now calls himself only a "conscientious objector.")

Militant Pacifists

But at the time you sent out the communication to all Houses our "pacifist" minority kept the whole group in such a turmoil that the majority agreed with Fr. Reinhold that temporarily all discussion of "pacifism" would have to be eliminated from our meetings to preserve PEACE and harmony in our midst and to keep from causing scandal to visitors and newcomers. Of course, all the original members of the old group respected the "pacifists" personally and through it all we were all good friends; but it didn't seem that way sometimes to the others in our meetings during the heat of argument, and anyway it got so that it was practically impossible for the "non-pacifists" to discuss any other points of the CW program. The "pacifists" would continually trot out their pet horse and ride it to the exclusion of everything else.

Cooling Off

Personally, I don't see how we could have followed any other course than we did—under the circumstances. I think the happy outcome of the whole affair has proven the sound judgment of Fr. Reinhold and the majority in clamping down on all such discussion until the "pacifists" cooled off. However, it is regrettable that any restriction of this kind was necessary. Even the "pacifists" themselves admitted later that they were less peaceful than the "non-pacifists," and I think Jim Deady was the one who made them realize this. In one of his letters he said that "peace is a hell of a thing to fight about."

Not Militarist

None of us are for war, and we are all anxious to do everything we can for actual PEACE—but on the basis of the official doctrine of the Church. Even though a Catholic follows the teaching of the official Church that a nation has the duty in JUSTICE to use force in protecting its citizens (and citizens have similar duty to cooperate

The Divine Office of the Kitchen

"God walks among the pots and pipkins." —St. Teresa

Lord of the pots and pipkins, since I have no time to be
A saint by doing lovely things and vigiling with Thee,
By watching in the twilight dawn, and storming Heaven's gates,
Make me a saint by getting meals and washing of the plates.

Lord of the pots and pipkins, please, I offer Thee for souls,
The tiresomeness of tea leaves, and the sticky porridge bowls!
Remind me of the things I need, not just to save the stairs,
But so that I may perfectly lay tables into prayers.

Accept my roughened hands because I made them so for Thee!
Pretend my dish-mop is a bow, which heavenly harmony
Makes on a fiddle frying pan; it is so hard to clean,
And oh, so horrid! Hear, dear Lord, the music that I mean!

Although I must have Martha hands, I have a Mary mind,
And when I black the boots, I try Thy sandals, Lord, to find.
I think of how they trod our earth, what time I scrub the floor.
Accept this meditation when I haven't time for more.

Vespers and Compline come to pass by washing supper things.
And, mostly, I am very tired; and all the heart that sings
About the morning's work, is gone, before me, into bed.
Lend me, dear Lord, Thy Tireless Heart, to work in me instead!

My Matins are said over-night to praise and bless Thy Name
Beforehand for tomorrow's work, which will be just the same;
So that it seems I go to bed still in my working dress.
Lord, make Thy Cinderella soon a Heavenly Princess!

Warm all the kitchen with Thy Love, and light it with Thy Peace!
Forgive the worrying, and make the grumbling word to cease.
Lord, who laid breakfast on the shore, forgive the world which saith:
"Can any good thing come to God out of poor Nazareth?"

Cecily W. Hallack.

with the state in defense), such a Catholic is not necessarily a "militarist." It was hard to get the "pacifists" to see this, but now I think it is clear to everyone that we are all behind the Pope's peace program. That is the ground on which we all finally came to agreement. We will follow whatever decision the Church makes on "Christian Pacifism" as a so-called "counsel of perfection." But until an official definition is forthcoming, it would smack of sectarianism to make this doctrine a prerequisite of affiliation with the CW movement. Even "pacifists" seem to be willing to concede this now, and this is the way the matter stands at the Seattle House.

Still C. W.

As to your general communication, it seemed to all of us that inasmuch as our community was predominantly "non-pacifist" we had no alternative to dropping the name "Catholic Worker"—unless the "pacifist" minority would agree to take full responsibility for the House. We gave them this opportunity and even promised full financial support as usual, but they declined as they were so few and realized that they did not represent the prevailing opinion of the group—and there wasn't a single "pacifist" actually living in the House. Therefore, interpreting your communication as practically an "ultimatum," we discontinued using the name "Catholic Worker." However, even at the time we dropped the name we hoped that further clarification of thought would soon make it possible for all of us again to identify ourselves with the movement. We never ceased to be a part of the CW in actual fact.

But Paper Not Used

During the first two or three months of our existence as a group and House "externally independent" of the CW, the N. Y. "Catholic Worker" was not distributed at the House—simply because it was filled almost entirely with "pacifism" and tended to arouse the "pacifists" to new outbursts that were far from pacific. It was simply a part of the necessary

"ban" on the discussion of this subject for the time being, and in no way was intended to discredit the national movement as such. We still recommended all inquirers to read your books and Peter's Easy Essays. On all other points but "pacifism" we still followed you and Peter as our real leaders... explicitly stating this in our meetings, etc.

The "pacifist" minority continued to work with the rest of us as usual, but kept their stand on "non-violence" as purely their private opinion. There was thus no real split here in Seattle. But there would have been if we had not put on the temporary "ban." It may sound prejudiced on my part to say it, but I think Jim Deady would bear me out in this: That in Seattle there was never any question about protecting the "pacifists" or their opinions. They were fully capable of taking care of themselves. Even though the "non-pacifists" were in the majority, they were the one's that needed protection from the "pacifists' verbal violence. To the rest of us it seemed quite inconsistent with any genuine love of PEACE!

Clarification

Before Christmas we were in correspondence with John Cogley, and we have been distributing the Chicago CATHOLIC WORKER since November. We can all agree with its stand on peace—so you see we are not exactly "war-mongers." John forwarded us your letter of Oct. 8, 1940, to help clarify our thought, and we returned it to him. There was one part which we copied that seems to clarify your position with regard to "non-pacifist" constituencies in the movement:

"Houses that oppose the stand we take to the extent



A. de Bethune

of suppressing the paper and actively oppose the position should disassociate themselves from the CATHOLIC WORKER as a movement. Those who disagree with us but wish to remain part of the movement not in active opposition are at liberty to do so. We are only too happy to continue in this way."

Movement Grows

The CW movement has become an integral part of the Catholic Resurgence in America, and we were more than glad to have you clarify your position—as it would be a great setback to the best interests of the American Church if only a small minority would be allowed to identify themselves with such a vital and most necessary movement. The whole CW program is so much bigger than this one point of "non-violence" (upon which the Church has not defined)—and all the other points are in perfect agreement with well-recognized Catholic doctrines. It is not a matter of "compromise" on this one point. On the part of dissenters it is a matter of conscience until the Church makes a decision. Most of the associates of the CW have never held the position of the N. Y. paper from the beginning on this one point, but I don't think the rest of the CW principles are thereby jeopardized. As far as the Seattle community is concerned, we are all right down the line for all other CW principles 100%. All the other principles may clearly be deduced from unquestioned Catholic doctrine.

Not Suppression

Norm has also given us the gist of a letter you recently wrote to him, and that clarifies the matter still further—especially as to the autonomy of each House.

Since the first of the year we have resumed identity with the CW movement, and we are proud to carry the CW banner again openly. At the time John Cogley sent us your letter we were already distributing your paper again at the House and

Farm School

Last year we had a summer school on the farm at Easton and about a dozen students from colleges all over the United States attended. The informal discussions were so popular that Peter enthusiastically talked about devoting the entire summer to a school. Then this year the Cleveland House of Hospitality and Craft Shop and Farm decided to have a summer school of two weeks, the last week end of July and the first week of August, with the approval of the Bishop, and with a regular staff of instructors, including Peter Maurin and Ade Bethune. The Minneapolis Farm followed suit with another two weeks. And then Peter was invited to teach at St. Bonaventure's New York for a social action conference.

So that leaves us at Easton with Peter conducting discussions all of June, and the last three weeks of August—also, he added generously—all of September, too, if there were students to listen.

However, the discussions will go on all during July just the same, with Dorothy Day, Larry Heaney or Victor Smith, or one of the others, participating. The books used will be "The Personalist Manifesto," "Rural Roads to Security," "Christian Life and Worship," by Father Ellard, S.J., and other books. Father Joseph Woods, Benedictine, of Portsmouth Priory, will spend several weeks with us in July and will lead the discussions on the Liturgy.

Will those who wish to be present at Maryfarm at Easton during the summer please let us know, and the dates of their visit?

in our Forum meetings here. The "pacifists" had become less "verbally violent," and their numbers had diminished as explained above. Even though we had to "ban" discussion of "pacifism" at public meetings in the interests of peace and charity and unity, for the time being, we never actively OPPOSED "pacifism" as a group. We were willing that they be "pacifists," but they were not willing that we remain "non-pacifists" while still retaining our identity with the CW. The "suppression" of your paper for a while was not open opposition to your stand, but only a temporary expedient so that the subject would not be brought into our public discussions until it could be handled calmly and with true Christian Charity. We are happy to report that there has been no "suppression" of your paper or of free discussion of "pacifism" for 3 or 4 months. The "ban" is no longer necessary. Under these circumstances, and in view of your letters to John Cogley and Norman Hawkins, we feel justified in going ahead with the movement here—bearing the label of the CATHOLIC WORKER. We trust that you and the rest of the N. Y. community will regard us from now on as a part of the CW family.

Sincerely in Christ,
H. K. Kendall.

Bishop Duffy: "There never was a good war and there never was a bad peace." (February 9, 1941).

TRUE STORIES

By
Peter Maurin

I. Only a Frenchman

1. When I was in Spokane a Catholic Sister told me:
"I have a little story to tell you, and I think you will like it."
2. "I met an Indian woman who was carrying what looked like a white boy."
3. "I said to her:
'You don't mean to tell me that you married a white man.'"
4. "Oh no," she said,
"Just a Frenchman."

II. Nine Englishmen

1. An Englishman and an American were flying over the Egyptian Soudan.
2. Under them was a stretch of houses four miles long.
3. The American asked the Englishman:
"What is the population of this town?"
4. "Nine Englishmen," answered the Englishman.

III. Germans and English

1. A German owned a fruit-farm in British Columbia.
2. He and his wife were considered as second-class citizens by the British element.
3. His wife succeeded in inducing him to sell the fruit-farm and go back to Germany.
4. She could not stand to be considered inferior by the British element.
5. The English think that they are superior to the Germans.
6. And the Germans think they are superior to the English.
7. They cannot stand to be considered inferiors.
8. They can give it but cannot take it.

Children

Summer is near so we want to remind you of our summer camp for children on Staten Island where we take as many children as we can (usually about 30) for two or three weeks at a time. We have been taking children out to the country for the past six summers. There have been colored and white boys and girls. We appeal in Saint Anthony's name since his feast is on the 13th of June, to you for money to feed these children, for sheets, blankets, pots, pans, towels, cups and dishes. Thank you very much.

Julia,

A New Bill of Rights

By CHAUNCEY STILLMAN
(Reprinted from Free America)

Most Americans are clinging to an out-of-date inadequate attitude toward war as an ethical problem. This attitude was succinctly expressed in Theodore Roosevelt's advice "to walk softly but carry a big stick"—try conciliation first but have violence in reserve. The experts most successful in handling wild beasts and lunatics are agreed that this mixed method is dangerously unpsychological: one's adversary senses even if he cannot see the weapon. The man who masters a crisis is the man who has trained; who has previously made up his mind which he believes in—fearless kindness or armed distrust.

Suppose that a man of average intelligence and kindness sits down to a poker game, smiling, but toting a gun on his hip. Sooner or later his adversaries (who make no bones about being gunmen) whip out their own guns and cover him. Our man may see that he has made a fatal blunder, but at this stage it seems too late: he dare not face them empty-handed. He must shoot it out until they or he or all are killed.

This is a crude picture of our approaching dilemma. The mask of good will without inner good will has fooled no one else as long as it has fooled ourselves. We as a nation are rapidly dropping that mask toward the Axis powers, and it is high time we did so. For if in force lies our deepest belief, the pathetic sham of good will can only impede the preparations for the mass-slaughter of defense.

Our Only Hope

But what of those individuals who have foreseen the crisis, who have really trained to act fearlessly and selflessly in danger? We may well ask if there are enough of them to save the day. The observations that follow represent merely one man's realization that in men so trained lies our only hope. What can they offer us?

What they offer mankind is in effect a new Bill of Rights. This bill is not dependent on a constitution laid down by a group of men and insured by the force of an organized society. It is, rather, a Bill of Rights which each individual can present to the whole of mankind and insure with the full force of his own humanity.

It starts by saying, "Even if you kill me, even if you bomb and starve my wife and children, you may be certain of one thing: that there is no power on earth or heaven that will make me set out to kill you, or try to starve and bomb your wife and children."

Effective Majority

A stern and terrible assurance to give mankind, yes. But only stern and terrible measures can save the race. The ability to say this truthfully demands the most exalted courage; demands the conviction that humanity is, in the real sense, a single organism.

Supposing an effective majority of a people were able to give to an enemy this Bill of Rights—what would become of that people's sacred institutions—their rights, their traditions, their homes? We cannot say what the immediate cost would be—until the enemy found that they meant what they said. Horrible without any doubt, but far less horrible than the result of two-sided conflict. Two things are certain however: first, that the eventual result would be the permanent release of both sides from hatred and fear; secondly, that the sacred institutions are doomed anyway if their guardians resort to force. Stones and flesh may be protected—temporarily—by steel and explosives. But in humanity and human institutions only that is sacred which is intangible, inviolate. If the finite presumes to defend the infinite, the spirit departs—there is nothing left to defend except stones and flesh.

Golden Rule

The positive basis to this new Bill of Rights (on which the first assurance rests) is "I will do my utmost to see in you myself—in your wife and children my wife and children, and to treat you accordingly." Doesn't that sound familiar? That's nothing but the stale old sentimental Golden Rule. But nothing less than to see this sentimental platitude as the most terrible reality, the sole practical reality—nothing less can save us today.

Do not let us fool ourselves any longer. War is not an instrument of policy. War is not a healthy process by which the weak are eliminated and the fittest survive. War is a mortal cancer within the body of mankind, a morbid condition in which similar cells destroy each other. An unmistakable sign of degeneracy, whether in a cellular organism or a bio-

logical species, in the destruction of like by like.

This is not a plea for passivism. Gandhi himself has said that it is better even to make war than to do nothing. It is a plea for the highest valor, the most rigorous discipline, the utmost in psychological athleticism. It is a call to work for the peace that "passes understanding"—that cannot be reached through the processes of reason implementing a conditional good will. So far the only peace we have been able to achieve was a mere breathing-spell between increasingly suicidal conflicts. It is time to examine the quality of the peace that we—(along with every dictator!) protest is our greatest wish.

Men of Good Will

The "realists" believe that peace is a position of safety behind a bristling wall. They fail to recognize that peace is not a position but a condition. Only after it has been established within men of good will can the condition bring order to the world. It is infinitely more arduous to become an effective peace-maker than an effective soldier. And it would take more of this nation's vital energy—not physical resource—to produce two thousand psychologically trained men than to produce a two-ocean navy. The cost in single-heartedness, in courage, both moral and physical, is so enormous that few men are capable even of recognizing the fact that there is such a training, let alone of undertaking it. But there does exist such a praxis—a psychological technique as definite as that of any physical or mental discipline. There are men, many more than we realize, who are quietly training to this end. As each day more of mankind gets sucked into the vortex it becomes increasingly apparent that if anything can, it is these men that can save the human species that is drowning in its own blood.

White Corpuscles

The survival of civilization depends on the success of a sufficient number of individuals to give mankind this new Bill of Rights.

Let us be very careful, then, how we judge the peace-makers. There are at this stage among them frauds, cowards, and cranks, no doubt. But among them also are the only men you can trust to the last ditch, the few white corpuscles that can save the stricken body, the "competent receivers" to whom will fall the assets of a bankrupt civilization.

KANSAS ANSWERS IOWA

Kansas,

Dear A. M. from Davenport, Ia.:

As one middle westerner to another, I want to answer that letter of yours printed in a recent issue of the CATHOLIC WORKER.

First of all, I take exception to your statement "there is really no destitution here, and people seem quite contented and happy with their land, their work and their families." Certainly you do not imply a mental reservation when you use the word "really"? Perhaps I am wrong, but I suspect that conditions around Davenport are about the same as around here. I can take you on a tour of our city and show you enough destitution to make your heart ache. Tar-paper shacks, dirt floors; children with coughs that ought to be doctored; people of all ages and sexes with hardly enough ragged clothes to keep out the chill or serve the ends of decency. Have you ever gone to your relief center on "commodity day" and watched the relief clients come in with their gunnysacks, ragged, unkempt, and either cringing or defiant according to their respective dispositions? You probably could not get up a bread-line of eight hundred men, either here or in Davenport; but after all a bread-line is only a detail.

Behind Times

Also I think you are behind the times when you infer that becoming "a big business man" should be a person's highest ambition. That is Horatio Alger stuff which perished in the 1929 stock market crash. Since then, even by the secular press, we have learned that success in a material way, political, business, social, depends largely on chance. Between betting at the horse race and making decisions concerning your business, there is only a matter of degree. Likewise, it has been recognized, even by the secular press, that the cunning rascal will often succeed where the honest man fails. Yet embezzled money is as respectable as any other kind of money if you have enough of it, and no questions are ever asked about sweatshop money. Now don't say, "Really, we have no sweat-shops here."

Study—Think—Pray

In conclusion, A. M., I think your reaction is that which strikes most people when they hear of the CATHOLIC WORKER movement the first time. It shocks your sensibilities to hear such radical pronouncements from a layman. We hear the priest raving on this subject most every Sunday. We are used to that. But to hear it from a layman! And perhaps there is room for the CW movement here in the middle west. After all, poverty is poverty, and bread-lines or no bread-lines just a detail. And I do not think that they will bar those of us who cannot share their views of military service if that might worry you. All of us are human—you, me and the folks on Mott Street. And, being human, we are liable to make mistakes. And so let us read, study, think and pray. And also after a time do something. The world is going through a terrible crisis. All of us, willingly or unwillingly, must play a part, great or small. The CATHOLIC WORKER offers a way; a way which can be followed only by those who are willing to become very small, like children, and also humble in heart.

Truly yours,
Vincent C. Allred.

WE HAVE FOUND
THIS MAN
PERVERTING
OUR NATION!

HE STIRS UP
THE PEOPLE!

SAYING THAT
HE IS CHRIST
THE KING!



A. de Bethune

THE LAND



FARMING COMMUNE

On the Up-Grade

It happened that this month became dedicated to the indoctrination of the people in Easton. Dorothy's speech in the Central-Verein roused much comment. Many priests and children, and the Sisters from St. Joseph's School came to see us, to learn more about us. But friends of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation complained, outraged that we were interfering everywhere, where people seem to be in need or treated unjustly. They will have to put up with us, or help the needy themselves. In Father Magee, from the little Syrian parish in Easton, we gained a good friend for cooperation and for making plans for a House of Hospitality in Easton.

Taking a 12 mile hike through the centre of the city, to a bee-farm on the other side, Vic and I also helped to spread our ideas. We got very good advice about management of our troublesome bees, and saw farms that suffered from onesidedness: humus bare tractor-fields, miles of fruit trees lined with piles of rotten apples, and a cheese factory in the open country, with not a single cow on it. We asked many people on our way if they knew the C. W. farm on the old Philadelphia Road, telling them that we did not have to work for bosses and for money, that we worked for our own needs; and they all became thoughtful at this queer idea.

Plans

A stone-mason, who admitted that his work was art, laughed disbelieving, when we told him, we were going to put up a stone-house for ourselves. Maybe he never lived in a home he had built. Through an open window we watched a weaver dashing from one loom to the other to replace the shuttles and we yelled through the nerve-wrecking noise that we were going to build a hand-loom, to weave not only rugs, but also suiting, to wear ourselves. He could not imagine that we do not have to sell ourselves in order to live. For an old gardener our news was a revelation. He was employed cutting hedges in the summer, and would be laid off in the fall. He would love to have a garden of his own and belong to a family, as his own grew up and left him. He will come to see us. So will the manager of the Co-op store with whom we have started to trade.

Cooperatives

We hope that next year we can pay most of our bills with fruit and vegetables from our land. He has not found a farmer yet who will supply his small quantities. As soon as we get \$5 for this purpose we will become members of the Co-op. Not because we are interested in the business adventure, or want to increase their turn-over. But we know people

Pope Pius XII: "Nothing is gained by war that cannot be achieved by peace; in war, all is lost."

have to work with each other, so they might get to the next stop; to love one another and to help one another. We have to tell the middle-class members of the Co-ops of those that cannot pay \$5 and can trade only very little. We have to try to give them access to the huge waste that is dumped daily by every wholesale farmer. With their tractors they plant enormous quantities, knowing that they will have a large percentage of waste.

A can of tomatoes that you buy means nothing but a hasty meal—a can we have put up ourselves will remind us of the many happy hours from the time we sowed the seed in boxes, pampered them through winter-frost, hoped for them and were ridiculed, transplanted and tended them all summer, to reap them with a crowd of friends, who will also help to can them. They will be food for body and soul. A bought can is like somebody from the crowds in the subways or the streets who stares at us, leaving no imprint when out of sight. But our own cans are like friends of the C. W. houses, you feel right at home with them, they all have their story and their unforgettable characters.

First Mass

On a Saturday shortly after Easter Father Mandelartz and Father Magsom celebrated the first masses of the year in the barn. Father Mandelartz has an experimental farm in Maryknoll Seminary and he gave us much good advice and later on sent some seed, for which we are very grateful. Mr. O'Connell is making some improvements in the chapel, and Vic has found a huge pile of rock for the little church on top of the hill. He is impatient to get started, but right now the fields demand all our attention, as three of the men have taken outside jobs.

This week are the Rogation days. Fields are no longer blessed in a solemn procession as of old but let us ask God's blessing; that He may "give and preserve the fruits of the earth." Sowing and planting make us co-creators with God, as Larry says. Nothing we do will thrive if God will not be our friend. Anxiously we looked for clouds during several weeks, and just when the early plantings seemed to be lost, night showers softened the cement-like ground, and green rows appeared. I hope this country will be saved by the prayers of her people from the disaster of war, now, that it seems nearly too late. If only enough of us will do the small duties we are asked to do for God, he will return to us gifts of much greater value. He just asks that we thank him and go down on our knees on Sundays. It is so little. He asks, and yet many of us forget it, or find excuses. We think we can manage our own life. Carelessly we say: to hell with this and that. We don't know what we say. We have not got many friends, whom we can count on when times get upset. But as long as God is our friend, we are not alone. He will not

desert us, but we only so easily desert Him. And when He will say: to hell with you! then you go to hell, to burn with rage in a crowd of money-grabbers.

Visitors

I was quoting as so often in these reports from one of our discussions. It is very little we have to tell or show to our visitors that come to look around, chat for an hour and leave as our friends. They probably recognize in us old city-people who are fulfilling the rural longing, that most people carry with them. Our groping, our failures, our slow up-grade work is understandable to them and desirable. There are so many better and more efficient farms with tractors, huge fields and tremendous stables, but those farmers are reluctant to lead you to the maternity pen, of the mother-goat, where two sweet little kids stalk happily around, though they are but a day old. Sisters, priests and children alike are full of admiration. They are also interested in our great variety of fields, garden-outlays, terraces, fruits, berries, and vegetable crops. Some of them are bound to be failures, but we will have enough for food during the summer, for canning, winter storage, for gifts of gratitude to our mother-house in Mott St., for seed plants and maybe for exchange in the Co-op store for groceries.

Livestock

Our livestock is also increasing. We installed four swarms of bees, but in order to be strong enough to build up they reduced themselves to three colonies. One day we got a box of 75 baby-chicks, for which we had to provide heat with a kerosine lamp, which is very insufficient, and they crowded the weak ones all to death. It seems as if you could only raise about 25-30 satisfactorily without a regular brooder-stove. To supplement them we have the Bantam hen sitting on 11 eggs, and are planning to raise all our chickens by mother hens in the future. And we surely would like to have quite a few of them, for they are comparatively easy to kill for meat. With everything else, a little buck-kid or a cow, we have trouble to find somebody who is not too soft-hearted to slaughter them. That's why we are still reluctantly and sometimes grumbling vegetarians, unless some friend presents us with a piece from the butcher shop that we can no longer recognize as a farmer's companion.

EVA SMITH.



A. de Bethune

"BROTHERHOOD ECONOMICS"

(An informal report of a conversation between Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa and Father M. M. Coady in New York, by Wallace J. Campbell)

A sunny little apartment on West 54th street in New York City was the scene of a great spiritual event one bright morning last week when Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa and Father M. M. Coady met for an hour just to talk.

They may never meet again.

But their paths have crossed in spirit many times in the impact of what they are doing in the promotion of adult education and consumer cooperatives as a positive expression of Christianity in the field of economics, or, as Dr. Kagawa calls it, "the love principle applied to industry."

Religion and Co-Ops

Harking back to his experience on his tour of America in 1936, Dr. Kagawa said that he was then and has since been accused of making cooperation his religion. "To me," Dr. Kagawa said, "Christianity is bigger than the cooperative movement, but we want the religion of Jesus to be a one hundred per cent religion. It must apply to economics as well as to the spirit. We are trying to awaken the people of Japan and of the world to all phases of Christianity."

The Protestant churches in Japan, Dr. Kagawa declared, are still somewhat afraid to support actively the consumer cooperative movement. In sharp contrast he pointed out that the Catholic Church now has the support of a direct endorsement of cooperatives from the Pope and that in the United States the Federal Council of Churches has established a special Committee on Cooperatives.

Dr. Coady at this point said that practically all the bishops in Canada are one hundred per cent behind the adult education and cooperative program of St. F. X., which has done so much to increase the standard of living of farmers, miners and fishermen in the maritime provinces.

Reconstruction

"There are enough free spirits," Dr. Coady said, "So that if they are ever mobilized they can speed the growth of the cooperative way of life. And in the crisis which we face today speed of growth of the cooperatives is essential."

"Who is going to free society?" Dr. Coady asked. Then answering his own question he said, "Those with a vested interest are not going to transform the society in which they are operating so profitably. The lower income folks, such as the sharecroppers, the unemployed and relief workers, don't have either the capital or the background to do the job."

"There are four groups of people who have the means, the power and intelligence to do the job," Dr. Coady said. "These are, first, organized labor; second, civil servants; third, the professional people, and fourth the farmers and independent producers."

"To those who are free," Dr. Coady said, "we ask, will your sons be free, will your grand-

children be free? Only when you do something for your fellowmen to reconstruct society in the interest of all the people will we then be free. . . . We have to establish a social and economic system which all the people love."

Clergy Leadership

"We have often looked to the intellectuals," Dr. Kagawa said, "but the intellectuals are slaves to the people in power, whether it be financiers or the proletariat or any other group."

"We still have the clergy who have freedom and a measure of security," Dr. Coady said. "The Clergy can do the job of creating the atmosphere in which labor and farmers and civil servants will not be afraid to do things for themselves."

"Capitalism has given us an insincerity—we don't have the backbone to do anything. Many of our intellectual leaders are afraid to come out in the open and espouse those things which they know to be a direct application of Christianity to the social order."

"Not until the churches and the universities are willing to face the odium of transforming Christianity into economics will we clear up the poverty and misery of our present economic system," Father Coady declared.

"We need to preach principles but we cannot hide behind principles as we did behind our grandmother's apron. We need to translate our principles into practices," the Nova Scotia priest said.

Japanese Co-Ops

When Father Coady complimented Dr. Kagawa on the extent of his work in Japan, Dr. Kagawa modestly said it would take a microscope to see the product of his work, but that the cooperatives themselves had been doing magnificently and that there are now seven and one half million families in Japan members of the cooperative movement.

The famous Japanese Christian pointed out that there are seven basic types of cooperatives in the Japanese system: consumer cooperatives, marketing cooperatives, electric or utility cooperatives, credit cooperatives or credit unions, insurance cooperatives, self-help or mutual aid cooperatives, and producer cooperatives.

The Japanese, Dr. Kagawa pointed out, are finding that cooperative insurance is perhaps the most effective and most powerful method of developing cooperatives. He then told of the broad program they are using for the establishment of cooperative insurance systems. "Modern capitalism," he said, "is based upon insurance. The large insurance companies are the reservoirs of wealth which make possible large-scale production. The cooperative movement must have cooperative insurance as a basis, if it is going to be able to finance the production of commodities so essential to a completely rounded cooperative program."