

THE RELIGIOUS PACIFISM OF THE CATHOLIC WORKER, 1933-1970

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Abstract

Pacifism, though by no means the whole, is central to the thought of the Catholic Worker movement. This work is an attempt to explicate that position; to describe its development, the history of its expression, in word and act, and to define its major emphases.

Founded in 1933, the Catholic Worker was pacifist from its inception. That pacifism was, however, ambiguous and inchoate. Only under the pressure of larger events -- violence in the labor movement, the Spanish civil war, and finally World War II -- did the pacifism of the movement become more sharply defined. The Worker emerged as a clear and powerful voice for Christian pacifism and the focus for Catholic pacifism.

The key figure in the definition and expression of the pacifism of the Worker has been Dorothy Day who, with Peter Maurin, founded the movement. Though several other Workers played important roles, -- notably Father John Hugo, Robert Ludlow, and Ammon Hennacy -- it is Dorothy Day who is largely responsible for Catholic Worker pacifism.

That the pacifism of the Worker is primarily religious, is undeniable. Though there has been talk of the just war tradition, the pacifism of the movement is rooted in the Gospel, in the teaching and example of Jesus. The key themes in the religious pacifism of the Catholic Worker are: 1) the teaching

of the Sermon on the Mount, 2) the contrast between the works of mercy and the works of war, and 3) the idea of war as a violation of the Mystical Body of Christ.

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INTRODUCTION

The Catholic Worker movement is like little else. A conventional retelling of its history, in whatever detail, would not reveal the feel, the distinctive flavor, the peculiar genius of the movement.

Physically it is a dirty red brick, converted tenement on New York's Lower East Side, a few blocks off the Bowery, skid row.¹ It is a daily soup line, first come, first served. No questions asked. It is a free clothing room. It is a house of hospitality -- old hands are fond of calling it a house of hostility -- a great bizarre "family." A "family," young and old, of those who have come to help, of the alcoholic, of the homeless, of the unstable. The Catholic Worker is not an organization, but an organism, Peter Maurin used to say. No one is paid a salary. By an old and generous agreement, the Catholic Worker gets meat for cost. Young Workers beg vegetables weekly at the wholesale market. They get day-old (at best) bread for 10¢ a pound. There is always work: mailing the paper, preparing the meals, distributing clothes, cleaning, answering mail, stopping fights, talking, listening, visiting the hospitals (someone is always in the hospital), running the endless errands inevitable in a "family" of such size.

The Catholic Worker is a monthly tabloid, stark, but for the woodcuts, old friends to old readers. There are

homely representations of religious themes: Mary at her housework, Joseph at his carpentry, Jesus in overalls tending his vines. There are woodcuts of St. Francis, of Christ on a breadline, of the Nativity and the Last Supper. There is news, often no longer new, anecdotes, essays, letters, reviews of books from the year before last. It is a penny a copy, and circulation is about eighty thousand.²

Perhaps, my own, I think not untypical, experience with the Catholic Worker may be illustrative. At the age of nineteen, I came to the Worker as a summer volunteer. I was devout and extremely idealistic. I had been, for one year, a Franciscan seminarian -- many young Catholic Workers have had some experience of religious life. I was looking for something to do, for a Christian form of life. I read the paper and I had read the books of Peter Maurin and Dorothy Day. I was moved by the intensity and simplicity of its Christianity. I was led for the first time, to wrestle with the social implications of Christianity. I spent the Summer, ten hours a day, six or seven days a week, doing whatever I was asked, listening, watching, and asking questions. I have been going back these ten years since.

Dorothy Day is fond of saying that the Catholic Worker is a "school." Over the years, they have come, the "students" of this extraordinary school, people like me, to

learn about community, poverty, nonviolence, Christianity, themselves.

Many college students came to live with us and to help us they always left with what they called their positions, their basic principles, firmly fixed in their minds, their faith confirmed, their lives in a way integrated.³

The Catholic Worker movement is like little else. This is as true of its thought, as it is of its physical reality. It is not easy to locate Worker thought in any conventional spectrum of social and political positions and labels. And, though remarkably unlike any American social movement with which I am familiar, it does draw on several traditions of social thought, and has made from them a sort of eccentric and individual patchwork.

The heroes and prophets of the movement include: St. Francis, Kropotkin, Gandhi, Eric Gill, St. Maximilian,⁴ Cesar Chavez, Helder Zamara, the Wobblies Mother Teresa, Franz Jagerstatter,⁵ Father Zossima, the early Christians. The Catholic Worker has called itself anarchist, decentralist, pacifist, personalist, distributist,⁶ communitarian.

George Woodcock in his history of anarchism wrote, "Perhaps the most impressive example of Tolstoyan influence in the contemporary world is . . . The Catholic Worker."⁷ Certainly this is true, and yet Tolstoy is rarely mentioned in The Worker. Arthur Harvey, a leading American Gandhian scholar and activist, observed that The CW is the most consistently Gandhian publication in the West. Jacques Maritain found in the CW "a little of the atmosphere of Peguy's office

in the Rue de la Sorbonne."⁸ But, for all this, first, last and always the Catholic Worker has been instructed by the Gospels.

Peter Maurin called himself a Christian Communist. He also called himself "a radical of the right." He was a traditionalist. His vision of the good society was essentially that of the medieval village.

Dorothy Day has been deeply touched by Dostoyevsky. She calls herself an anarchist and a pacifist. Though she frequently cites the lives of the saints, she is as likely to draw upon the life of Lenin for examples of virtue. She drew the model for the Worker Soupline from the Wobblie stew pot. Though deeply and unmistakably Catholic, she was schooled in and loves the Left.

The Catholic Worker, particularly in its early years, drew heavily upon the thought of the great papal social encyclicals, Rerum Novarum and Quadregesimo Anno. In its first year, the Catholic Worker was very much a part of the larger movement of American lay Catholic action. Peter Maurin was deeply influenced by the French lay Catholic social movement, the Sillon.

Most distinctively, however, the movement has been resolutely non-political, personalist and anarchist, -- approving neither electoral nor revolutionary politics -- insisting that society can only be renewed organically, from below. A passage from William James in this regard has often been quoted in The CW:

. . . I am against bigness and greatness
in all their forms, and with the invisible
molecular moral forces that work from

individual to individual, stealing in through the crannies of the world like so many soft rootlets, or like the capillary oozing of water, and yet rending the hardest monuments of man's pride, if you give them time against all big successes and big results; and in favor of the eternal forces of truth which always work in the individual and immediately unsuccessful way. . . .⁹

The Worker has insisted on the need to build what Eric Gill calls "cells of good living." It has seen these cells, these communities, as living examples of an alternative vision, as attempts to suggest and to give flesh to the hoped-for future. That future, a fraternal society, is only possible given a change of heart, -- not merely a change of power -- conversion; that human beings begin to live in a new way.

I can well recognize the fact that people remaining as they are, Peter's program is impossible. But it would become actual, given a people changed in heart and mind, so that they would observe the new commandment of love, or desire to.¹⁰

Unlike many radical social movements the CW has not sought power; it does not have a program (except insofar as the works of mercy are a program); with few exceptions, it has not advocated specific legislative reforms. From time to time, it has allied itself with other movements of protest, but protest is not ordinarily its business. "Love in reality" is its business; community is its business. The Worker has not acted so as to capture the media, or even to be successful, in any wordly sense. The movement has struggled to bear living witness to the social message of the Gospels.

Though it is instructive to attempt to uncover the various ideas, thinkers, theories, and movements which may have been ancestrally or fraternally related to the Catholic

Worker, it is an exercise which does not take us to the heart of the movement. Though representing a coherent body of thought and conviction, the Worker offers no system, no detailed theoretical analysis.

The appeal of the Catholic Worker lies not in the espousal of this or that idea, but rather in the way the movement has so faithfully struggled to embody those ideas. The Catholic Worker set out to be poor among the poor, and it has remained so. The Catholic Worker set out to be small, small enough so that bureaucracy would be unnecessary and service could be direct and familial, and it has remained so. The Catholic Worker set out to serve the poor, and day after day for four decades it has humbly ministered to the destitute. The anarchist Catholic Worker has never accepted state aid, has never paid federal taxes, and has lived without official recognition. The pacifist Catholic Worker has not only espoused pacifism, but struggled to live peacefully on skid row. Its record of active war resistance is impressive. With constancy, courage, and simplicity Catholic Workers have tried to live the Gospel.

Of that vision which finally animates the Catholic Worker Dorothy Day has written:

The only remedy is a new life in the Holy Ghost, a return of all of us to the paradox of the supernatural, a determined assent to the poor, crucified Jesus. That is the

road to the rebirth of the West; there is no other way.¹¹

The greatest challenge of the day is; how to bring about a revolution of the heart, a revolution which has to start with each one of us? When we begin to take the lowest place, to wash the feet of others, to love our brothers with that burning love, that passion, which led to the Cross, then we can say, 'Now I have begun.'¹²

CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW

Peter Maurin was born in Outlet, a virtually medieval village in southern France, on 9 May 1877. His peasant family could trace its ownership of the farm on which Peter was born for fifteen hundred years. At sixteen Peter Maurin entered the Christian Brothers. During his ten years in religious life he became quite deeply involved with the Sillon movement. The Sillon was democratic and Catholic:

. . . the purpose of the Sillon was to show the whole complex of religious and moral forces indispensable for the realization of its legitimate aspirations, to Christianize this democracy by the creation of a social elite of young Catholics who would affect the masses through Popular Institutes, public meetings, unions and cooperative institutions, finally civic action.¹³

When his temporary vows expired in 1903, Peter left the Brothers and devoted himself to the Sillon. By 1906, however, Peter was becoming disenchanted with the movement. He felt its analysis of the social situation was not sufficiently scholarly or coherent. He was particularly grieved when Sillon leader Marc Sangnier decided to run for political office. Having gained the permission of his father, and after a period of saving and preparation, in 1909 Peter Maurin left France to homestead in Canada. When the farm failed and his partner died, Peter drifted South, and in 1911 entered the United States. From then until 1926 he worked as an unskilled

laborer and, for a time, as a French tutor. In 1926

". . . suddenly he underwent some great religious experience. He never explained it to anyone, but from this time on his actions were different."¹⁴ After that time Peter began a concentrated study of history and social thought, particularly Church history and Catholic social thought. He conceived a synthesis. He had a vision, the vision of "a new society within the shell of the old," a "society where it is easier for men to be good." He dreamed of a newspaper and a movement which would popularize his program.

Peter's program was threefold. He called for 1) round table discussions for the clarification of thought, 2) houses of hospitality to serve the poor, 3) self subsistent farming communes. He dreamed of a green revolution, the abandonment of industrialism, and a massive move back to the land. He called himself a Catholic radical, a personalist, a communitarian. "My whole scheme is Utopian, Christian Communism."¹⁵

His writings, which later came to be called "Easy Essays," were unique. On the page they looked like verse. They were written primarily to be recited in public places, on street corners and in parks. Though quite scholarly, they are outwardly simple, direct, repetitious, and full of word play. They were a form of popular education, simple enough for all and yet richly thoughtful.

Peter looked like the peasant he was, stocky, gray reserved. He was an extremely poor man. He owned only the suit he wore, a pair of slightly bent wire glasses from a

second hand store, and the books, pamphlets, and papers with which his pockets always bulged. He stayed in a Bowery flop-house and ate one meal a day. He never talked about himself, never talked about personalities. He was a man absorbed by ideas. He was not a practical man, and so in the early 1930's he began searching for a practical person who could give some reality to his dreams. In December 1932 he met Dorothy Day. She was to be that person.

Dorothy Day was born in Brooklyn, New York, 8 November 1897. Her father was a journalist and her family was middle class and Protestant, though not religious. She lived as a child in Brooklyn, Oakland, and finally Chicago. Her childhood was quiet and sheltered, and she was an unusually sensitive and religious child. In her teens she developed a passionate and romantic social consciousness from reading Jack London and Upton Sinclair. At sixteen she won a scholarship, left home, and began her studies at the University of Illinois. There she wrote, struggled with poverty and her new found freedom, occasionally went to class, joined the Socialist Party, and gave up religion. She stayed for two years and then, at eighteen, followed her family back to New York.

In New York she went to work for the Socialist Call. She later worked with a student anti-conscription league, and for The Masses. She was alternately attracted to the Socialists, the Wobblies, and the anarchists. But the Socialists were

gradualists, and their theorizing was impenetrable. The Wobblies, were immensely attractive to her, but they were primarily a Western movement and were then in decline. The anarchists were European, seemed somewhat eccentric, and had no organization. She knew and felt clearly, however, what side she was on, the side of the workers and the side of the coming revolution. Like most young radicals she accepted the necessity of violence, " . . . we younger ones believed that nothing could be done except by the use of force."¹⁶

After serving thirty days for a Washington suffragist demonstration, she returned to New York and a series of odd jobs, literary friendships, and a somewhat Bohemian life. When the war came, she began to feel her life was without direction and embraced the rigorous discipline of nurses' training. After a strenuous year she left nursing in order to write. She spent a year in Europe writing a novel. She returned to work as a journalist in Chicago and New Orleans and, having sold her novel, bought a small house on the beach in Staten Island, New York.

In her autobiography, The Long Loneliness, Dorothy calls that section of the book which focuses on the years at the beach house, "natural happiness." During that time she lived in a common law relationship with Forster Battingham. It was a quiet and peaceful time. They were surrounded by great natural beauty, and she and Forster were happy. She read and wrote. Above all, it was a time during which there

was reborn in Dorothy the desire and need to pray. She turned, in her happiness, to God. Forster, an anarchist and atheist, was appalled. In March 1927, their daughter, Tamar Teresa, was born. Dorothy was determined to have the baby baptized. She decided on the Roman Catholic Church, because it was the church of the poor, the immigrants, the workers. Tamar was baptized, and Forster left. There were months of struggle and great pain and then finally in December 1927 Dorothy was received into the Catholic Church. There followed a series of jobs, a brief stint as a Hollywood script writer, and six months in Mexico. Finally Dorothy returned to New York and worked as a researcher and free lance writer.

In December 1932 the Communist-organized Unemployed Councils marched on Washington. Some radical farmers were demonstrating in the capitol at the same time. Dorothy went to cover the stories for two Catholic periodicals, America and Commonweal. The demonstrations touched her deeply:

I stood on the curb and watched them, joy and pride in the courage of this band of men and women mounting in my heart, and with it a bitterness too that since I was now a Catholic, with fundamental philosophical differences, I could not be out there with them . . . where was the Catholic leadership How puny my work had been since becoming a Catholic, I thought. How self-centered, how ingrown, how lacking in sense of community.¹⁷

After the demonstration she went to the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception:

There I offered up a special prayer, a prayer which came with tears and with anguish, that some way would open up for me to use what talents I possessed for my fellow workers, for the poor.¹⁸

When she returned to New York, Peter Maurin was waiting for her.

All through the next months Peter Maurin "indoctrinated" her. He was tireless. Dorothy was not so tireless, but she saw the need for a radical Catholic paper. There was, of course, no money. Nevertheless, they began. On 1 May 1933 Dorothy and several others distributed some twenty-five hundred copies of the new Catholic Worker in Union Square during the May Day rally. Peter was disappointed. "Everybody's paper is nobody's paper."¹⁹ There was, it seemed to Peter, too little of his vision and too much news of strikes, unions and wages. He left for a time. He returned, however, and asked that he not be listed as editor. He preferred to be a contributor and sign his own work. Peter Maurin's Easy Essays appeared monthly. He was the founder, teacher, and often the spokesman for the Catholic Worker, but he took little part in the preparation of the paper and what came to be the daily work of the house.

The paper and the movement grew prodigiously. Within the year circulation grew to twenty-five thousand, and at its first anniversary stood at thirty-five thousand. Dorothy and Peter had originally intended only to start a paper, but it soon became more. Young people were attracted, and what was an editorial office became a community. Monthly they wrote of the need for centers of hospitality, and people came to them in need of food, clothing, a place to stay. They did not refuse. What was an editorial office became a house of hospitality. Soon there was a bread line, and hundreds

were fed every day. A storefront center for food and propaganda was opened during the seamen's strike of 1936. There was much talk of farming communes, of going back to the land. A garden property was rented on Staten Island, and soon after that the Catholic Worker was given a small farm near Easton, Pennsylvania. In the late thirties there were more than twenty Catholic Worker houses of hospitality, a number of cells, several papers and several farms. The circulation of the newspaper reached one hundred and fifty thousand. The Catholic Worker had become a movement.

The circulation of The Catholic Worker began to drop as the Depression eased and as a result of its pacifist position on the Spanish civil war. By June of 1941 circulation had shrunk to seventy-five thousand, half of what it had been. It was to sink to a low of fifty thousand in World War II. About half the houses closed during the war as a result of internal dissensions over pacifism, and for lack of personnel. By the mid-1950s circulation had climbed back to sixty-five thousand, and by 1960 to about seventy thousand. By the end of that decade circulation had stabilized at about eighty thousand.

There have been many Catholic Worker houses since the war. Some continue, others were shortlived. Many other small institutions and projects have been inspired by the Catholic Worker, but have chosen not to be explicitly associated with the Movement. The house and paper in New York have continued uninterruptedly since 1933. Catholic Worker farming

communes have been somewhat less successful. They were communities of need and not intentional communities; they became houses of hospitality on the land. They have also served as retreat and conference centers, a haven from the city for many, and a source of fresh vegetables.

John Cogley has written:

The Worker which has existed for a quarter of a century without rules, regulations, memberships, committees or endowments and which has studiously rejected the techniques of organizations and the counsels of worldly caution, has lasted longer than most of the soberly conceived undertakings which were begun about the same time. In any real accounting, it must be held up as a model of efficiency and genuine prudence. It did what it set out to do. . . .

The movement which never sought power has had more influence on more influential Catholics than any other force in the American Church.²⁰

Before the 1930s -- it might be said, before the Catholic Worker -- American Catholics were little involved in movements of social reform. The Catholic Worker is also significant in that it is a lay Catholic movement. David O'Brien in American Catholics and Social Reform wrote:

It was from a Catholic point of view that the Catholic Worker movement was most important. It held American society up against the basic Christian teachings of love and brotherhood and challenged Catholics to act honestly on the result. . . . They stirred the American Catholic conscience as no one had done before.²¹

In the forties Ed Willock, a prominent Catholic layman said, "Those who adopt the Catholic Worker completely are few, yet, those who have been untouched by it are

fewer. . . ."22 More recently, Anglo-Canadian philosopher J. M. Cameron wrote:

They saved the soul of American Catholicism during the dry years and are wonderful examples of what can be done without the command of the media, without much vogue in university circles, without shrillness and theatricality.²³

In the moving "Postscript" to her autobiography, Dorothy Day wrote:

We were just sitting there talking when Peter Maurin came in.
 We were just sitting there talking when lines of people began to form, saying 'We need bread.' If there were six small loaves and a few fishes, we had to divide them. There was always bread.
 We were just sitting there talking and people moved in on us. Let those who can take it, take it. Some moved out and that made room for more. And somehow the walls expanded.
 We were just sitting there talking and someone said, 'Let's all go live on a farm.'
 It was as casual as all that, I often think. It just came about. It just happened.
 I found myself, a barren woman, the joyful mother of children. It is not easy always to be joyful, to keep in mind the duty of delight.
 The most significant thing about The Catholic Worker is poverty, some say.
 The most significant thing is community, others say. We are not alone anymore.
 But the final word is love. At times it has been, in the words of Father Zossima, a harsh and dreadful thing, and our very faith in love has been tried through fire.
 We cannot love God unless we love each other, and to love we must know each other. We know Him in the breaking of bread, and we know each other in the breaking of bread and we are not alone anymore
 We have all known the long loneliness and we

have learned that the only solution is love and
that love comes with community.
It all happened while we sat there talking,
and it is still going on. ²⁴

CHAPTER II

THE PACIFISM OF PETER MAURIN

Though it is clear that Peter Maurin was a pacifist, it was not he who articulated and developed the position of the Catholic Worker. He was strangely silent on the subject. "Maurin was completely a man of peace, but he never reached the point of making his pacifism a pronouncement."²⁵ Two Easy Essays deal with the question of war. Most of what is known of Peter's position and experience comes from Arthur Sheehan's biography of him.

Peter Maurin, then a Christian Brother, was conscripted into the French army in November of 1898. He served about ten months, after which time he returned to religious life and teaching. His brother, a member of the same religious community, recalls that:

Above all, after his year of military service, Aristide Peter Maurin reflected deeply. . . . From this time, he became interested in politics and held very advanced ideas on social organization and on pacifism, ideas common today but at that time seemingly subversive of the established order.²⁶

It was at that time that Peter became involved with the Sillon movement. Though the Sillon was not primarily a pacifist or antiwar movement, it was deeply interested in the question of peace. According to Peter's brother, "It returned again and again to a program for peace, religious peace, social peace, international peace."²⁷ William Miller, the historian of the Catholic Worker movement, wrote: "The Sillon, too, was in sympathy with a Tolstoyan kind of

pacifist opposition to the rising spirit of nationalism and militarism."²⁸ In 1907 Peter was again conscripted and spent about a month in the army. Having no positive reason to remain in France and resenting the continuing threat of conscription, he left France in 1909 to homestead on the plains of Saskatchewan. As I have recounted, the farm failed and he drifted South. Throughout World War I he lived in the United States doing unskilled labor. It was not until 1926, after some sort of personal conversion, that he began slowly to formulate the synthesis and program which would finally take concrete form in the Catholic Worker movement seven years later.

One may speculate that Peter's silence on the question of war is related to the fact that his thought took specific shape during the later 1920s and early 1930s, a period when the question of war was quite remote, having been eclipsed by far more pressing and immediate economic questions. It was the radical reconstruction of economic and social life, the vision of a new society, which absorbed him. Dorothy Day said that, "He much preferred to write about how things should be. . . ."²⁹ Dorothy also remembers that at the beginning of World War II Peter said, "Perhaps silence would be better for a time than to continue our opposition to war. Men are not ready to listen . . ."³⁰ Peter kept that public silence. Privately, however, according to Arthur Sheehan, he took a clearly pacifist position:

Peter's own views were based on the counsels of perfection. He did not engage in discussions on the morality of modern warfare but left that for others . . . At Easton, during a summer school, Peter explained to one student the natural right of self-defense and the conditions for a just war, but said his way was that of St. Francis, of following the counsels.³¹

Peter's views on peace reminded his listeners of St. Francis of Assisi, Gandhi and Tolstoy. All had been moved by Christ's Sermon on the Mount. Peter was steeped in this spirit Christ had proposed as the more perfect way³²

In his Easy Essay, "In the Light of History," Peter Maurin spoke of the causes and results of the first World War:

So since 1776
looking for markets
has engaged man's activities.
And since trade follows the flag,
industrial nations
have also become
imperialist nations.
The fight for markets
between two industrial nations,
England and Germany,
was the main cause
of the World War.
As President Wilson said,
the World War
was a commercial war.
But a commercial war
had to be idealized,
so it was called
a War for Democracy.
But the War for Democracy
did not bring Democracy
it brought Bolshevism...
Fascism...
Nazism...³³

In another essay, "War and Peace," he wrote:

We call barbarians
people living
on the other side of the border.
We call civilized
people living

on this side of the border.
 We civilized,
 living on this side of the border
 are not ashamed
 to arm ourselves to the teeth
 so as to protect ourselves
 against the barbarians
 living on the other side.
 And when the barbarians
 born on the other side of the border
 invade us,
 we do not hesitate
 to kill them
 before we have tried
 to civilize them.
 So we civilized
 exterminate barbarians
 without civilizing them.
 And we persist
 in calling ourselves civilized.³⁴

The essay continues with an historical discussion of invaders
 and invaded and who civilized whom. He concluded with
 these words which finally focus the issue of war and peace,
 as well as social reconstruction, on the question of means.

... Lenin and Trotsky
 accepted the idea
 that the end
 justifies the means.
 They thought
 that an idealistic end
 could be reached
 by bloody means.
 Because they resorted
 to bloody means,
 Stalin resorts
 to bloody means.
 The State has not yet
 withered away
 and the Communist ideal
 is still out of sight.³⁵

Of Peter Maurin's pacifism Arthur Sheehan wrote:

From his Sillon days, he had demonstrated his opposition to militarism, yet that was actually a negative approach. The positive view which he had thought out in his plans for the Green Revolution was the use of pure means. Christianity could succeed only on Christ's terms: 'Do good to those who hate you.' 'Love your enemy.' 'I send you as sheep among wolves.' War therefore brought no essential change in his attitude. The works of mercy merely had to be extended and practiced on a wider scale.³⁶

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF CATHOLIC WORKER PACIFISM

A. The Early Years

There is no reason to disagree with Dorothy Day's assertion that the Catholic Worker was pacifist from its inception. Nevertheless, it is also clear that that pacifism grew more explicit and was more and more clearly articulated in response to larger public events of the 1930s -- the question of revolutionary violence in the labor movement, the Spanish civil war, and the coming of World War II. In 1933 pacifism was a commonplace in socially progressive movements. Disillusionment with World War I was deep and widespread. The peace movement enjoyed a popularity and influence it had never before known. It was the time of the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Oxford Peace Pledge. It was also the time of the Depression; social and economic questions overshadowed any discussion of war. The Catholic Worker was to be a Catholic labor paper. As the first editorial said:

For those who are sitting on park benches...
For those who are huddling in shelters...
For those who are walking the streets in the
all but futile search for work.
For those who think that there is no hope for
the future, no recognition of their plight - this
little paper is addressed.
It is printed to call their attention to the fact
that the Catholic Church has a social program -
to let them know that there are men of God who
are working not only for their spiritual, but
for their material welfare.³⁷

Its purpose would also include urging Peter Maurin's long range program and reporting news of the struggles of workers.

Pacifism was incidental.

The first explicit mention of the issue of violence was in the fourth issue, September 1933. An article entitled "Strikers and Violence Two Separate Things" accuses the Communist Party of applauding and encouraging labor violence. In the same issue it was reported that a Reserve officer had advocated military training of young men working in reforestation projects and refers to the men as "timber for national security." The writer felt "cannon fodder" would be a more apt description, and says the phrase conjures visions of the dead in Belleau Wood. In October 1933 the Catholic Worker sent representatives to the Communist directed United States Congress Against War "to protest not only against imperialist war but against class war as well."³⁸ A member of the Catholic Worker participated in the peace demonstration which closed the Congress, "as a representative of Catholic pacifism."³⁹ In December 1933 having seen a toy catalogue, Dorothy Day commented on the horrible realism of war toys. They have "everything in fact but the blood, the anguish, the tortured cries, the filth, the stench, the vermin."⁴⁰

In the Spring of 1934 an unsigned article, "Is War Justifiable? War Preparations Cause Questioning," appeared. "But before this question passes away we may be plunged into a predicament that will be real and not hypothetical. In that event we must decide the question in accordance with

conscience. Nothing is a substitute for conscience."⁴¹

In the same issue there appeared a positive review of The Church and War by Franziskus Stratmann O.P., a German priest.

Father Stratmann's position was essentially that modern war is "irreconcilable with the traditional conditions for the 'just war.'"⁴² In the following years Father Stratmann was often cited by The Catholic Worker. In September 1934 The Catholic Worker ran a piece about a retired Marine General who described war as a "racket." In the same issue the editors offered for sale a batch of penny pamphlets including one entitled "War" by Arthur Coddington, a young Catholic Worker volunteer, and a one page leaflet, "The Catholic Worker is Anti-War," which was originally distributed at a Communist antiwar rally. Neither of the above is any longer available, but the latter was quoted, "Catholics are opposed not only to imperialist war but to class war!"⁴³

In October 1934 Dorothy Day contributed an important editorial which began with a quotation from St. Clement of Rome. In the years to come, Dorothy frequently used that quotation, "Why do the members of Christ tear one another? Why do we rise up against our own body in such madness? Have we forgotten that we are all members one of another?"⁴⁴ She described war as an illness which weakens the body of Christ. "All men are our brothers. The saint as well as the sinner

whom we may not judge. . . .This dogma of the Mystical Body precludes all ideas of class war. And it is to promulgate this dogma -- to bring it to the man in the street, that the Catholic Worker is dedicated."⁴⁵ This was to be an important, distinctive, and recurring note in Catholic Worker pacifism.

The Catholic Worker published a somewhat ambiguous piece in late 1934, "No Pacifism", in response to criticism of the antiwar leaflet. The critics argued that if the position espoused were correct, why didn't the Pope speak authoritatively during the last war, forbidding war participation under pain of excommunication. The Catholic Worker answered that the Pope was not a tyrant and that God wanted willing obedience. The article closed with an enumeration of the traditional conditions of a just war.

By late 1934 and early 1935 the issues of war and violence were becoming more prominent in The Catholic Worker. The "boxes" used for fill in the paper were often devoted to antiwar quotations. In December 1934 a review of Nicolai Berdyaev's Christianity and Class War ended with these words: "The Christian side in the class struggle is pacifist, in the name of mankind, his rights and his dignity, not in the name of a class, party or race. The Church must wage the class struggle -- which is not class war or class violence -- on behalf of justice and equity."⁴⁶ An article on the DuPonts,

J. P. Morgan, and war profiteering observed that, "Profit grabbing of any kind is the direct cause of a war. The profit-system makes a war -- is, in fact, a war. Don't forget it --- this is not your country -- it belongs to the warmakers."⁴⁷

An editorial in the same issue offered the CW "answer":

The only immediate remedy is the practice of the corporal and spiritual works of mercy. When asked what is the program of the Catholic Worker by those who are interested in political action, legislation, lobbying, class war, we reply - It is the program set forth by Christ in the Gospels. The Catholic Manifesto is the Sermon on the Mount. Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it. There is no use looking for a revival in business, a return of prosperity, until the hearts and minds of men be changed.⁴⁸

In March 1935 an important article by a prominent cleric appeared. It was Paul Hanley Furfey's "Christ and the Patriot," a powerful "dialogue" between a prudent and realistic man and the words of Christ. The same issue carried news of Papal peace statements, of the development of a new war gas, and of a group who urged the Pope to declare a five-year renewable "Truce of God." The following issues contained several angry letters in opposition to the pacifism of Father Furfey and the Catholic Worker. This was the first suggestion of how explosive the peace issue would become to the movement. Father Furfey answered those who attacked the Catholicism of the pacifist position by saying, "The pacifist who denies that a just war is even possible, contradicts the Church's teaching" but "another, infinitely higher

doctrine was preached by our Blessed Lord when He said that we should not resist evil, that we should do good to those who hate us."⁴⁹ An editorial the following month answered attacks from the left:

Agreeing with the necessity of force is making concessions to the immediate and the expedient. It is in reality denying the doctrine of the brotherhood of man and the dogma of the Mystical Body.... To become one with the workers - to be poorest of the poor, yes.

But to assent to the mob spirit is a betrayal.⁵⁰

By mid-1935 the scent of war was in the air, remote but real. The Catholic Worker ran an article "The World Prepares for War," in July-August 1935 and in that same issue, as well as in the following issues, condemned the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. An article in October 1935 applied just war conditions to Italian aggression and argued further that it was inconceivable that any modern war could be just. In November 1935 conscientious objection was described as the "duty of Christians," and the following issue contained the text of a talk by William Callahan, a Catholic Worker, to the Catholic Social Club of Brooklyn, "Catholics Should Be Conscientious Objectors in Time of War."

In succeeding months, the Catholic Worker renewed its warning against a Communist Party dominated "peace" movement, and urged very strongly that Catholics form their consciences on the question of war. An April headline displayed a note of urgency, "War Imminent: Catholics Must Judge It Now."

The Worker argued that the Catholic Church offers solid ground for conscientious objection. In May, a third anniversary editorial clearly reiterated CW pacifism:

The Catholic Worker is sincerely a pacifist paper. We oppose class war and class hatred, even while we stand opposed to injustice and greed... We also oppose imperialist wars. We oppose, moreover, preparedness for war. . . .⁵¹

It is important to observe that although the Catholic Worker was avowedly pacifist and was progressively more concerned with questions of war and violence, that position was not without ambiguity in 1936. It was a position focused on and formed by the question of violence in the American labor movement. About that question the Catholic Worker was clear. It was pacifist. It had, however, only begun to think through the question of pacifism in international relations. That larger pacifism only grew clearer under the pressure of events and in answer to objections. In these first years, the Catholic Worker position was a melange of predictable leftist rhetoric about war profiteers and imperialism, appeals to the New Testament, reflections on the applicability of the just war tradition to the modern situation, and the prudential advocacy of neutralism. As a Catholic movement it had yet to resolve two important theoretical issues, its attitude toward the just war (which seems to have been thought by many to be the only Catholic tradition dealing with the question), and its attitude toward the traditional distinction between counsels and precepts.⁵²

For the next several months The Catholic Worker struck several familiar notes in its treatment of the question of war -- it warned against the dishonesty of "united front" peace groups; argued against violence in the worker's struggle; called for a calm and lucid appraisal of war morality now, before the hysteria of the next war sets in; held "that a just war is impossible today;"⁵³ and warned readers of being duped, as in the last war, by war profiteers.

B. The Spanish Civil War

In the summer of 1936 war broke out in Spain. The world took sides. The Catholic Worker was very painfully in the middle. Despite some natural sympathy for the Republican cause, they could not condone the Government's bitter persecution of the Church. American liberals and radicals were as passionately pro-Loyalist as the American Catholic Church was anti-Loyalist and, though somewhat naively, pro-Franco. In the ensuing struggle Catholic Worker pacifism was greatly clarified. "The Mystical Body and Spain," the first mention of the war in the pages of The Catholic Worker, appeared in September 1936:

Who is right and who is wrong? We are inclined to believe that the issue is not so clear cut as to enable either side to condemn the other justifiably. There is much right and wrong on both sides. Our main concern is that the "members of Christ tear one another." This is not a condemnation. It is a cry of anguish. Spain doesn't need favorable publicity for the rebels. She doesn't need condemnation of the Loyalists. What she needs is the prayers of the rest of the Mystical Body. The Catholic Worker makes this appeal to its readers. Forget your anger. Let your indignation die. Remember only that the Body is being rent asunder, and that the only solution is love. Let's show ours by humbly praying the Source of Love that He intervene in the cause of the Body of which he is the Head.⁵⁴

Throughout the war the Catholic Worker was consistent in its position; anguished, pleading for peace, prayerful, neutral, and pacifist.⁵⁵

The following month The Catholic Worker announced the formation of Pax, an association of Catholics "who feel they

cannot in conscience, take any part in a modern war."⁵⁶ The article begins by quoting Father Stratmann to the effect that since modern war is inevitably unjust, we are bound to refuse military service. Pax would offer support for conscientious objectors and serve an educational function.

It must be remembered that, although the issues of war and violence were more prominent in The Catholic Worker as the thirties wore on, the bulk of the paper consisted of Peter Maurin's Easy Essays, labor news, and reports on CW houses of hospitality in New York and elsewhere.

In the course of the Spanish civil war there were several major articles on Spain in The Catholic Worker. Though there was no question of the seriousness with which the Worker viewed the war, there was a reluctance and some reserve in speaking of such tangled and difficult matters. Catholic Worker readers, like many others, felt deeply about the war. Pacifism satisfied few and circulation dropped precipitously. Often months passed without a direct mention of the war. In some Catholic dioceses The Worker was banned. Occasionally, Father Luigi Sturzo⁵⁹ wrote on war, and the Church and Fascism in what seemed indirect references to Spain. More of the "fill" boxes were devoted to quotations from the saints, the Fathers, and modern writers on war and violence. Some of the major articles were reprinted from prominent European Catholic publications.

In November, an editorial on Spain entitled "The Use of Force" appeared. It was unsigned, but the style indicates clearly that Dorothy Day was the writer:

Catholics, too, believe that suffering and the shedding of blood "must needs be" But their teaching, their hard saying is, that they must be willing to shed every drop of their own blood, and not take the blood of their brothers The Catholic Church cannot be destroyed in Spain or in Mexico. But we do not believe that force of arms can save it. We believe that if Our Lord were alive today He would say, as He said to St. Peter, "Put up thy sword" Christ is being crucified today, everyday are the people to stand by and see their priests killed? That is the question that will be asked. Let them defend them with their lives, but not by taking up the sword.⁵⁸

The following month a long and important article on Spain filled page one, "Spanish Catholic Flays Both Sides." An editorial note said the article expressed the position of the Catholic Worker. The piece was reprinted from the French Catholic periodical Esprit and was in the form of a letter from an anonymous Spanish intellectual and Catholic to Emmanuel Mounier, editor of Esprit. (It was later revealed that the author was Alfredo Mendizabal, who, with Salvador de Madriaga, founded the Spanish Committee for Civil and Religious Peace.) The letter argued against the insurgents on just war grounds and yet felt that the position of the Government had been deeply compromised by its reliance upon revolutionary militias:

My only possible attitude as a Christian and a man, is the refusal which I have given Shall we lean to the side of fascism? No, and a thousand times no! We reject the fallacious

dilemma, the stupid dilemma "Fascist or Communist." Exactly because the opposition of the Christian to those two regimes is founded on identical reasons.⁵⁹

In that same issue the following lines appear in an article called "For the New Reader," and intended to summarize the position of the Catholic Worker. "The Catholic Worker does not condemn any and all war, but believes the conditions necessary for a 'just war' will not be fulfilled today."⁶⁰ How does one explain the disparity between the tone and emphasis of these lines and those of the editorial, "The Use of Force," quoted above? Although many of the articles in The Worker were unsigned, it seems clear that most of the writing on peace was done by two people, Dorothy Day and William Callahan. It was Callahan who organized Pax. His concern was the just war tradition and he repeatedly argued for the impossibility of a just modern war. It was Dorothy Day who was responsible for the emphasis on the Mystical Body. She spoke little of the just war and seemed to be, far more clearly, an evangelical pacifist.

Throughout 1937 Catholic Worker "fill" was largely peace related. Regarding Spain and in response to an attack from Father Coughlin, the Catholic Worker said it would not be stampeded, but stood with those European Catholic journals -- Sept, La Vie Intellectuelle, Blackfriars -- which had assumed a position of neutrality. In late 1937 The CW reprinted a piece by Jacques Maritain on Spain. Maritain attacked the idea of a "holy war" in Spain, and accused Franco of carrying out a "white terror." There also appeared

a letter from Cardinal Verdier of Paris to La Paix Civile, the organ of the French Committee on Civil and Religious Peace in Spain, urging that distinguished group to avoid all partisan attitudes.⁶¹ "We have no regrets," wrote The Catholic Worker, "for . . . not taking a 'partisan attitude', its thoughts, its words, its actions were all for peace and reconciliation." ⁶²

In the Spring of 1937 Father Luigi Sturzo appealed from the front page of The Catholic Worker for a week of prayer for peace. In early 1938 Father Sturzo contributed two articles on international order and war. In mid-1938 Catholic Workers were physically assaulted while picketing the pro-Loyalist film Blockade.

Near the end of the war, in September 1938, in response to critical and questioning letters, Dorothy Day's signed editorial, "CW Stand On the Use of Force," appeared. It was the fullest expression of Catholic Worker pacifism to date:

I am writing this letter to explain as best I can the points which we are trying to bring out in The Catholic Worker. I am writing it with prayer because it is so hard to write of things of the spirit We all know there is a frightful persecution of religion in Spain In the light of this fact it is inconceivably difficult to write as we do. It is folly - it seems madness - to say as we do - 'we are opposed to the use of force as a means of settling personal, national or international disputes.' As a newspaper trying to affect public opinion, we take this stand. We feel that if the press and the public throughout the world do not speak of the counsels of perfection, who else will? We pray those martyrs of Spain to help us, to pray for us, to guide us in this stand we take. We speak in their name. Their blood cries out against a spirit of hatred and savagery. . . . And did they not rather pray, when the light of Christ burst upon them, that love would

overcome hatred, that men dying for faith, rather than killing for their faith, would save the world? Truly this is the folly of the cross! As long as men trust to the use of force - only a superior, a more savage and brutal force will overcome the enemy. We use his own weapons. . . . We are neglecting the one means - prayer and the sacraments - by which whole armies can be overcome St. Peter drew the sword and our Lord rebuked him. They asked our Lord to prove His Divinity and come down from the cross. But He suffered the "failure" of the cross

While we take this stand we are not condemning those who have seized arms and engaged in war. Who of us as individuals if he were in Spain today, could tell what he would do? Or in China! From the human natural standpoint men are doing good to defend their faith, their country. But from the standpoint of the Supernatural - there is the "Better way" - the way of the Saints - the way of love.

. . . .
 frankly, we are calling for Saints
 We must prepare now for martyrdom We must prepare now. There must be a disarmament of the heart. Yes, wars will go on due to the Fall

We are afraid of the word love and yet love is stronger than death, stronger than hatred. If we do not, as the press, emphasize the law of love, we betray our trust, our vocation. We must stand opposed to the use of force.

. . . .
 We are not talking of passive resistance. Love and prayer are not passive, but a most active glowing force.

. . . .
 We are praying for the Spanish people - all of them our brothers in Christ - all of them Temples of the Holy Ghost, all of them members or potential members of The Mystical Body of Christ.

. . . .
 This editorial is not intended to be a complete statement of The Catholic Worker's stand on the Spanish war. Neither does it purport to be anything dogmatic, merely an expression of the sincere convictions of The Catholic Worker staff.⁶³

This editorial was later reprinted and distributed as a pamphlet.

In the Fall of 1938 The CW ran an enthusiastic review of Richard Gregg's The Power of Nonviolence, one of the

first major Western treatments of Ghandian nonviolence. Late that same year they reprinted an antiwar piece by Jacques Maritain from Commonweal, and in early 1939 The Worker published a pamphlet of Maritain's neutralist articles on Spain. Throughout this time The Catholic Worker pleaded for the U.S. to continue its neutrality, and urged the maintenance of the arms embargo. "The work to be done is not to bring fuel to the fire but to try to extinguish it."⁶⁴ The June 1939 issue included a reprint of Father Paul Hanley Furfey's "Christ and the Patriot."

C. World War II

With the end of the Spanish civil war and the immanence of war in Europe, the Catholic Worker turned its attention to the struggle against conscription. In September 1939 The Catholic Worker ran a front page piece "Fight Conscription":

To fight war we must fight conscription, the acceptance of conscription. To this fight The Catholic Worker pledges itself as long as we are permitted to exist.⁶⁵

There appeared in this same issue an article by Dorothy Day,

"We are to Blame for New War in Europe":

The Catholic Worker considers the present conflict an unjust war. We believe Hitler is no more personally responsible than Chamberlain or Daladier or any other leader. The blame rests on the people of the entire world, for their materialism, their greed, their idolatrous nationalism, for their refusal to believe in a just peace, for their ruthless subjection of a noble country . . . We urge them (our readers) to place the blame where it rightfully belongs, on those of us who refused to change a vicious social order, or those of us who failed to work for peace by sharing the gifts of God with other less fortunate peoples. More than ever before we must urge Catholic Worker readers to bar hate from their hearts, to realize that all people are their brothers The peace will come about not by hating Hitler but by loving him. We must choose sides now; not between nations at war but between the world's way and Christ's way. The world hates; Christ loves. The world's way brings chaos and destruction; Christ's way brings peace and justice. Pray for Poland, pray for England, pray for France, pray for Germany. If this seems like a madman's advice, we can only say again that christians must be "fools for Christ's sake." We believe or we do not believe, and we are now given our chance to bear witness. Pray for peace.⁶⁶

Beginning in October 1939 The Catholic Worker ran an eight part article by Monsignor George Barry O'Toole⁶⁷ of Catholic University on conscription and the just war. The series was a scholarly, non-pacifist, Scholastic attack on conscription.

"Our Stand - An Editorial" appeared in June 1940:

Many of our readers ask: 'What is the stand of the Catholic Worker in regard to the present war?' . . . We repeat, that as in the Ethiopian war, the Spanish war, the Japanese and Chinese wars, the Russian-Finnish war - so in the present war we stand unalterably opposed to the use of war as a means of saving 'Christianity', 'civilization', 'democracy'. We do not believe that they can be saved by these means. For eight years we have been opposing the use of force - in the labor movement, in the class struggle, as well as in the struggles between countries The Sermon on the Mount is our Christian manifesto. Instead of gearing ourselves in this country for a gigantic production of death-dealing bombers and men trained to kill, we should be producing food, medical supplies, ambulances, doctors and nurses for the works of mercy to heal and rebuild a shattered world.

'And if we are invaded' is another question asked. We say again that we are opposed to all but the use of nonviolent means to resist such an invader. We are urging what is a seeming impossibility - a training to the use of non-violent means of opposing injustice, servitude, and a deprivation of the means of holding fast to the Faith. It is again the Folly of the Cross. But how else is the Word of God to be kept alive in the world. That Word is Love, and we are bidden to love God and to love one another. It is the whole law it is all of life.⁶⁸

In June 1940 Dorothy Day, Monsignor O'Toole, and Joe Zarrella of the New York house, testified before the Senate Military Affairs Committee against the proposed draft law. A report of that testimony appeared in the July-August Catholic Worker:

. . . we are committed to this stand opposing conscription. And because we believe that the counsels of Christ must be kept alive in the world, voices must be raised in spite of inevitable, immediate failure to accomplish our purpose The biggest issue of the world today is the work for peace, for tranquility in order. So we continue to work for a just social order at home, for charity to all, for personal responsibility instead of state responsibility we ask for ourselves the right to call attention by word and writing, to the precious, the beautiful, the glowing and loving counsels of Jesus Christ, our Brother.⁶⁹

Anti-conscription articles continued to appear regularly in the paper. Throughout 1940, Monsignor O'Toole continued to write for The CW, but the tone, if not the substance, of his contributions was changing. He argued for the right of conscientious objection, but denied that it was a duty. He advised registration for the draft and argued that if a conflict arose between the practice of the counsels of perfection and the duties of one's state in life, the latter took precedence. As the war raged in Europe and American involvement seemed inevitable, Dorothy wrote, "If our imaginations could really visualize the full horrors of war, we should not be able to keep our sanity. We think, almost hopelessly, what is there we can do but pray."⁷⁰ The paper focused on the question of conscientious objection. Woodcuts, articles, and "fill" referred the reader to the pacifist saints and martyrs of the early Church. Pax was reorganized in 1940 as the Association of Catholic Conscientious Objectors. There were eight hundred members. Like Pax, ACCO was organized by young men from the Catholic Worker and used The CW as its organ of communication. In January 1941 two full pages were filled with communications from objectors.

In every case, the position was grounded not in the just war tradition, but in the counsels of Jesus. In that same issue the following editorial appeared:

Pacifist, appeaser, these are words of scorn. Let us be honest and say that to a great extent that scorn is deserved. If we are not going to use our spiritual weapons, let us by all means arm and prepare. If we are not going to strip ourselves of our self-indulgences, of our goods . . . in order to show our love for our brother, and overcome him by that love, then let us firmly use force. Let us recognize the perilous position of the statesmen . . . and recognize that the state is in the temporal order and that they must make use of temporal means; also that the great mass of people are not educated, trained to the use of non-violent resistance The position of the Catholic Worker remains the same. We are Christian pacifists and try to follow the counsels of perfection We firmly believe that our stand makes for the common good.⁷¹

In late 1940 and early 1941 there was a major crisis within the Catholic Worker movement over the issue of pacifism. In June 1941 The Catholic Worker ran a long letter from H. K. Kendall of St. Francis, House, the Seattle, Washington Catholic Worker. Kendall spoke of the strife within their community between pacifists and non-pacifists. Since the conflict was exacerbated by the pacifism of the New York paper, they had begun to distribute the Chicago Catholic Worker. He referred to a letter from Dorothy Day to all the CW houses which he described as practically an "ultimatum." Kendall quoted Dorothy's letter:

Houses that oppose the stand we take to the extent 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.⁷²

Miller has quoted this same letter:

We know that there are those who are members of 'Catholic Worker' groups throughout the country who do not stand with us in this issue. We have not been able to change their views through what we have written in the paper, or by letters, or by personal conversation. They wish still to be associated with us, to perform the corporal works of mercy.⁷³

The letter was directed only and specifically against those groups which had suppressed the New York paper and actively opposed its pacifism. Since the Seattle group was largely non-pacifist, they chose to discontinue the use of the Catholic Worker name. (They later resumed distribution of the New York paper and the use of the name.) Kendall wrote:

The whole C.W. program is so much bigger than this one point of nonviolence It is not a matter of 'compromise' on this point. On the part of the 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.⁷⁴

Soon after, Father H.A. Reinhold, a prominent Seattle priest and friend of St. Francis House, wrote an angry letter to Dorothy which was published in The Catholic Worker and in which he accused Dorothy of carrying out a "purge." Years later Dorothy mentioned in an interview that the Los Angeles Catholic Worker group had actually burned copies of the paper in protest against its pacifism. In Pittsburgh Father Charles

Owen Rice moved to disassociate the Catholic Radical Alliance from the movement. The intellectual center of opposition seemed to be the Chicago Catholic Worker group. John Cogley, a leader of that group, on the threshold of joining the army, wrote Dorothy, "The Catholic Worker is gone."⁷⁵

In September 1941 Dorothy Day wrote:

Do not let us forget the children of Europe
 Don't let us forget the millions on the battlefields,
 and the wounded and agonized
 Make us remember to hold them in our thoughts, to
 succor them by our prayers, to suffer for them by
 our self-sacrifices, our fatigue and our own fast-
 ing. Make us remember to pray to suffer, so that
 we can share some of their sufferings, to lighten
 their suffering. Make us desire to pray for these
 things Make us know and realize an injury
 to one is an injury to all - that as long as one
 member suffers, the health of the whole body is
 lowered. Make us constant in our protest against
 this rending of the Mystical Body of Christ
 These are not the means your Son, our Brother, came
 to show us, these are not the means of love
 Make us remember that this war is the continuing
 passion of Christ
 Make us remember that in each shattered body, there
 suffers Christ It is Christ that is being
 bombed, burnt out, blinded, and buried alive . .
 . . War! The nobility of war for those who sit
 in high places, clothed in soft garments, feeding
 well, and sleeping well, cushioning themselves
 from the hard life by many little comforts and
 luxuries and putting from their minds these un-
 healthy thoughts, these morbid and cowardly thoughts
 of human suffering. Oh God, make us charitable
 towards these men . . . these rulers of the
 world
 Make us rather say with shame, 'Forgive us for the
 sin is ours.' Make us say that and act on that
 conviction. Make us, each of us who reads this
 prayer, beg for the grace to oppose this war by
 prayer and suffering, by penance for our own sins
 and begging for peace throughout the world.⁷⁶

Late in 1941 there appeared an article by a man who would, in the years to come, have a close association with the Catholic Worker. Ammon Hennacy's "God's Coward" was the story of his imprisonment in Atlanta penitentiary for his opposition to World War I. Hennacy spent nine months in solitary confinement. He went in an atheist and socialist, and emerged as a Christian anarcho-pacifist. He refused to register for the World War II draft, as he had done during the first War.

The January 1942 editorial in The Catholic Worker reflected, sadly and soberly on the U.S. entry into the war. "Our Country Passes from Undeclared to Declared War; We Continue Our Pacifist Stand" was written in Church, and addressed to our "dear fellow Workers in Christ." It was not only printed in the paper, but was first sent round to all the CW houses and cells. The accompanying front page woodcut was of St. Francis and was headed "Peace Without Victory."

We are at war But still we can repeat Christ's words, each day holding them close in our hearts, each month printing them in the paper We are still pacifists. Our manifesto is the Sermon on the Mount, which means that we will try to be peacemakers We will not participate in armed warfare or in making munitions, or by buying government bonds . . . neither will we be carping in our criticism. We love our country and we love our President . . . there will be great differences of opinion, even among our groups, as to how much collaboration we can have with the government in times like these . . . we beg that there will be mutual charity and forbearance among us all.⁷⁷

With the coming of war and the draft, the issue of pacifism held a new urgency for young men of Catholic Worker

persuasion. In late 1940 the historic peace Churches⁷⁸ and other religious pacifist groups formed the National Service Board for Religious Objectors to aid conscientious objectors.⁷⁹ Negotiations between the National Service Board and Selective Service resulted in the institution of Civilian Public Service camps, which were funded by and operated by NSBRO for those performing alternative service.⁸⁰ The Association of Catholic Conscientious Objectors was recognized as the Catholic affiliate of the Service Board and undertook the organization and support of a Catholic camp for conscientious objectors. The first camp opened in May 1941 and the first Catholic camp, Camp Simon, opened in Stoddard, New Hampshire in June of that year. The Catholic camp was distinguished by its poverty. Its only institutional support was the ACCO, in fact, the Catholic Worker. Gordon Zahn, a World War II Catholic conscientious objector, reported that men at other camps regularly skipped meals in order to send the extra money to the ACCO. Situated in the middle of an orchard, apples constituted the staple of the diet at Stoddard. Due to its poverty and the opposition of the Catholic Bishop of Manchester, the camp was moved in the Fall of 1942 to Warner, New Hampshire. It could not survive and was finally closed in March 1943. The men were distributed throughout CPS, but particularly to the already established unit at Alexian Brothers Hospital, a

Catholic hospital in Chicago, and the Rosewood State Training School in Maryland. There were one hundred and sixty-two Catholics in CPS during World War II. There are not available figures for the number of Catholics who performed noncombatant service. The Catholic Worker claimed that forty-four Catholics served jail terms for violations of the draft law during the war. Of those imprisoned, as far as I can discover, only three were closely associated with the Catholic Worker. Gordon Zahn has written that there was only one known Catholic conscientious objector during World War I.⁸¹

Dorothy Day opposed Civilian Public Service and Catholic Worker involvement in its support. In time, many peace movement leaders, who had been initially enthusiastic about CPS almost without exception, would come to agree with her. Zahn has reported on a visit she made to the Stoddard camp:

. . . she made her own position clear. She had opposed participation in the c.o. program at the outset because she considered it a form of cooperation with the war and conscription; had she been subject to the draft, she would have refused to register.⁸²

There was much discontent within CPS and the most vocal discontent was from the Catholic units. This was true, at least in part, because those units had included many of the more political and less religious objectors who chose ACCO camps over those of the peace churches. Late in the war, ACCO disaffiliated itself from CPS in protest against "slave labor." From the last months of the war until June 1948 the ACCO published a quarterly, The Catholic C.O.,

out of the New York Catholic Worker. The bulk of the work in the several year history of the ACCO was undertaken by a man who had long been associated with the Catholic Worker in Boston, Upton, Massachusetts, and New York, the biographer of Peter Maurin, Arthur Sheehan.

In February 1942 there appeared one of Dorothy Day's most powerful and lucid pacifist statements. It began with St. Clement's familiar words on the Mystical Body of Christ:

'But we are at war,' people say. 'This is no time to talk of peace. It is demoralizing to the armed forces. . . . ' Another Catholic newspaper says it sympathizes with our sentimentality. This is a charge always levelled against pacifists. We are supposed to be afraid of the suffering, the hardships of war. But let those who talk of softness, of sentimentality, come to live with us in cold, unheated houses in the slums. Let them come to live with the criminal, the unbalanced, the drunken, the degraded, the pervert. (It is not the decent poor, it is not the decent sinner who was the recipient of Christ's love.) Let them live with rats, with vermin, bedbugs, roaches, lice (I could describe the several kinds of body lice). Let their flesh be mortified by cold, by dirt, by vermin; let their eyes be mortified by the sight of bodily excretions, diseased limbs, eyes, noses, mouths. Let their noses be mortified by the smells of sewage, decay and rotten flesh. Yes, and the smell of sweat, blood and tears spoken of so blithely by Mr. Churchill, and so widely and bravely quoted by comfortable people. Let their ears be mortified by harsh and screaming voices, by the constant coming and going of people living herded together with no privacy. . . . Let their taste be mortified by the constant eating of insufficient food cooked in huge quantities for hundreds of people, the coarser foods, the cheaper foods, so that there will be enough to go around; and the smell of such cooking is often foul. Then when they have lived with these comrades, with these sights and sounds, let our critics

talk of sentimentality.

'Love in practice is a harsh and dreadful thing compared to love in dreams.'

Our Catholic Worker groups are perhaps too hardened to the sufferings in the class war, living as they do in the refugee camps, the refugees being as they are victims of the class war we live in always. We live in the midst of this war now these many years. It is a war not recognized by the comfortable people. They are pacifists themselves when it comes to the class war. They even pretend it is not there. Keep silence with a bleeding heart, one reader, a man, pro-war and therefore not a sentimentalist, writes us. But we cannot keep silent. We have not kept silent. We have not kept silence in the fact of the monstrous injustice of the class war, or the race war that goes on side by side with the world war (which the Communists used to call the imperialist war). Read the letters in this issue of the paper, the letter from the machine shop workers as to the deadening degrading hours of labor Remember the unarmed steel strikers, the coal miners, shot down on picket lines. Read the letter . . . of the treatment accorded agricultural workers in the North West. Are these workers supposed to revolt? These are Pearl Harbor incidents! Are they supposed to turn to arms in the class conflict to defend their lives, their homes, their wives and children? Last month a Negro in Missouri was shot and dragged by a mob through the streets behind a car. His wounded body was then soaked in kerosene. The mob of white Americans then set fire to it, and when the poor anguished victim had died, the body was left lying in the street until a garbage cart trucked it away. Are the Negroes supposed to "Remember Pearl Harbor" and take arms to avenge this cruel wrong? No, the Negroes, the workers in general, are expected to be "pacifist" in the face of this aggression. Perhaps we are called sentimental because we speak of love. We say we love our president, our country. We say that we love our enemies, too. . . . 'Greater love hath no man than this,' Christ said, 'that he should lay down his life for his friend.' 'Love is the measure by which we shall be judged,' St. John of the Cross said.

'Love is the fulfilling of the law,' St. John . . . said. . . . And how can we express this love - by bombers, by blockade?

'Love is an exchange of gifts,' St. Ignatius said. Love is a breaking of bread.

Love is not the starving of whole populations. Love is not the bombardment of open cities. Love is not killing, it is the laying down of one's life for one's friend.

Hear Fr. Zossima . . . 'Love one another, Fathers . . . Love God's people. Because we have come here and shut ourselves within these walls, we are no holier than those on the outside. . . .

'When he realizes that he is not only worse than others, but that he is responsible to all for all and everything, then the aim of our seclusion is attained. For know, dear ones, that every one of us is undoubtedly responsible for all men and for everything on earth, not merely through the general sinfulness of creation but each one personally for all mankind and every individual man'

. . . we must all admit our guilt, our participation in the social order which has resulted in this monstrous crime of war.

That should be our cry, with every mouthful we eat, 'We are starving Europe.' When we look to our comfort in a warm bed, a warm home, we must cry, 'My brother, my mother, my child is dying of the cold.'

I am lower than all men, because I do not love enough. O God, take away my heart of stone and give me a heart of flesh.'⁸³

The tone of The Catholic Worker throughout the war years was subdued. There were occasional pieces by European pacifists and Papal peace pleas were always highlighted. The Worker cried out for the relief of the suffering, and carried news of Catholic conscientious objectors. There was, understandably, far less news of labor. The paper was quieter, filled with letters, the news of other houses and life on the

land, and importantly, a new emphasis on spirituality. Though much curtailed, the work continued. Circulation fell sharply. Many houses closed for want of personnel. While there were about twenty houses in 1940, there were only about half that number by 1945. The New York house continued with a skeleton crew, the lion's share of the work falling to David Mason, a man beyond draft age. During the war years about half the material in The Catholic Worker was war related.

Late in 1942, Dorothy Day publicly announced, with forty-seven other women, her intention to refuse to register for the draft if it should be extended to women:

I will not register for conscription, if
conscription comes for women
I shall not register because I believe modern
war to be murder, incompatible with a religion
of love. By little and by little we resist.⁸⁴

An important series of articles by Father John J. Hugo, a priest of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, began in May 1943. The series, "Catholics Can Be Conscientious Objectors," was written in response to an article in Ecclesiastical Review which concluded that "this kind of protest (was) outside the limits of legitimate Catholic thought and action." An editorial described the Hugo series as "the most searching and most important article yet published dealing with the issue from a Catholic viewpoint."⁸⁵ Father Hugo's response was a forceful and closely reasoned defense of Catholic conscientious objection. He bemoaned the lack of serious Catholic debate on the war and described it as "a conflict of opposing

imperialisms." He said there were four possible legitimate bases for Catholic conscientious objection: 1) opposition to conscription as immoral, 2) conviction that the conditions for a just war have not been met, or 3) that a modern war could not possibly be just, or 4) that war is not Christ's way, that there is a higher way which the objector chooses.

Father Hugo's writings first began to appear in The CW in the late thirties, when he participated in a series of exchanges on agrarianism. His ten part series "In the Vineyard, Essays in Catholic Action" began in September, 1941 and was later published by the Catholic Worker as a pamphlet. Another series "The Weapons of the Spirit" began in November 1942 and was cut off after five installments so that he could devote himself to the series on Catholic conscientious objection. Weapons of the Spirit was also issued as a CW pamphlet. Father Hugo played an important role in the history of the Catholic Worker movement and particularly in the life and thought of Dorothy Day.

It was Father Hugo who finally resolved the problem of counsels and precepts in Catholic Worker pacifism. Though the problem was never dealt with directly, it is clear that in her early pacifist writings, Dorothy often implied that pacifism was a counsel of perfection. In a mid-1941 editorial she wrote:

There is much confusion of thought about counsels and precepts. The precept of perfection is incumbent on all. We all have to aim at it. We

have to love God with all our heart and soul and strength. This is total love. And this is a commandment. The counsels are a few of the means taken to achieve this end.⁸⁶

Father Hugo wrote:

Not to resist evil is a counsel, as is also the injunction to turn the other cheek However, to love one's neighbor, even to love one's enemy, is not a counsel but a precept. If then non-resistance to evil is a counsel and may be at times omitted without fault, the love which inspires such actions is under the precept and can never be omitted or suspended.⁸⁷

In 1938 Maisie Ward (of Sheed and Ward publishers) spoke enthusiastically to Dorothy of a retreat given by a French Canadian priest, Abbe Saey. Soon after, Dorothy learned from an old friend of the same retreat as given by a Quebec Jesuit, Onesimus Lacouture. In 1939 the same friend introduced Dorothy to Pacifique Roy, a Josephite priest then stationed in Baltimore, who had learned the retreat from Father Lacouture. Father Roy made a deep and immediate impression on Dorothy. "It was as though we were listening to the gospel for the first time. We saw all things anew."⁸⁸ The retreat was strict, requiring silence and fasting, and its emphasis, perfectionist. Soon, Father Roy was giving retreats and days of recollection for the CW community. Father Roy, however, claimed that there was a far better master of the retreat than he, and that was Father John Hugo. Dorothy Day met Father Hugo in July 1941. The next month Father Hugo directed a retreat at the Catholic Worker farm in Easton, Pennsylvania. Catholic Workers, at Dorothy's bidding, came from all over the country. One hundred and twenty five people took part in the retreat. The August

retreat became an annual event and was held regularly for the next six years and sporadically thereafter. Father Hugo also became Dorothy Day's personal spiritual director. It was a time of prayer, to some extent, of withdrawal, and of intense cultivation of the spiritual life at the Catholic Worker.

In September 1943 Dorothy made a startling and extraordinary announcement in the pages of The Catholic Worker. She was leaving the active work for a trial year. During that year she hoped to pray, think about the future, and spend more time with her daughter. She continued to write for the paper. Writing of that time William Miller said:

The heightened spiritual emphasis found in the Catholic Worker during the war years was ultimately a reflection of what was occurring in Dorothy Day's own spiritual life. And what was occurring there in that period was surely the critical junction in the history of the Catholic Worker movement The war almost seemed to suggest a redirection to her life. Worker houses had closed, the line at Mott Street had shrunk to one-tenth the size it had been in the Depression days. Peter Maurin was getting old Might she not, then, move toward a quieter and more contemplative life? In the war years it was this question which represented the interior history of the Catholic Worker movement.⁸⁹

In August 1944 Dorothy returned to Easton for the annual retreat. She had come to two decisions. She would return to the Catholic Worker, but Easton, having failed as a farming commune, would become a retreat center.

Father Hugo continued to be a frequent contributor to The Catholic Worker. In September 1943 he began another major series of articles, "The Gospel of Peace." After several

installments it was discontinued. Some months later the whole work was available as a CW pamphlet. This was the fullest expression of Father Hugo's pacifism. In it he wrote:

The very definition of a Christian life is to conduct one's self as Christ conducted Himself Can you think of Christ dropping bombs on helpless cities? . . . slaughtering? . . . maiming and killing? If you believe that war is in accordance with the Gospel, it should be possible to answer all these questions affirmatively If you cannot think of Christ doing these things, then war stands condemned by the Christian conscience.⁹⁰

He concluded:

. . . anyone who seeks to live by the Gospels and meditates on them deeply will invariably experience an unconquerable repugnance to the taking of life, especially with the cruel and indiscriminate methods of modern warfare. Such a one will be compelled by a kind of inner necessity to refuse to contribute towards war.⁹¹

Father Hugo's long essay, "The Immorality of Conscription," was printed as an eight page supplement to the November 1944 issue. With its printing the Catholic Worker renewed its pledge of 1940 to fight conscription "as long as we are permitted to exist." Father Hugo summarized his argument:

To summarize and conclude: On the plane of ethics, conscription must be condemned as opposed to democratic principles, as an infringement upon individual rights, a violation of the family, and as contradicting the patriotic duty that citizens owe the state itself. On a higher plane of truth and conduct we may say that conscription, since it is the chief element of militarism, and this in turn is the invariable instrument of exaggerated nationalism, is destructive of that international union of people which is demanded by Christian charity and implied in the doctrine of The Mystical Body of Christ.⁹²

The same article was reprinted as a special supplement in March 1945. Father Hugo added a number of lesser peace articles in 1945. Since the end of the war he has contributed occasionally to The Catholic Worker, though never again on questions of war and peace.

It should be added that the retreat was proscribed by ecclesiastical authority in the late 1940s. Father Hugo and others were expressly forbidden to preach the retreat. The grounds of the proscription were that the retreat was dangerously imprecise in its expressed and implied theology of nature and grace, that it tended toward an overly rigorous position. All of Father Hugo's writings including his retreat notes, Applied Christianity, do, however, bear an imprimatur. Dorothy, of course, accepted the prohibition of the retreats and granted that there may have been some impropriety in expression. She, nevertheless, continued to value the retreat highly, was convinced that it was essentially sound, and since that time has clung to the idea of some day writing a history of the retreat movement.

As the war dragged on The Catholic Worker featured several pacifist statements by Catholic priests, two in St. Paul, Minnesota and one in Pittsburgh, who had returned his draft card. In almost every issue some space was given to Pius XII's pleas for peace. Repeatedly The CW protested the bombing, quite eloquently in Gordon Zahn's May 1945 piece on the decimation of Cologne, but most powerfully and unequivocally in Dorothy Day's response to the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki,

"We Go On Record":

Mr. Truman was jubilant. President Truman. True man; what a strange name, come to think of it. We refer to Jesus Christ as true God and true Man. Truman is true man of his time in that he was jubilant. He was not a son of God, brother of Christ; brother of the Japanese, jubilating as he did. He went from table to table on the cruiser which was bringing him home from the Big Three Conference, telling the great news; "jubilant" the newspaper said. Jubilate Deo. We have killed 318,000 Japanese.

That is we hope we have killed them . . . the effect is hoped for, not known. It is to be hoped they are vaporized, our Japanese brothers, scattered, men, women and babies, to the four winds, over the seven seas. Perhaps we will breathe their dust into our nostrils, feel them in the fog of New York on our faces, feel them in the rain on the hills of Easton.

Jubilate Deo. President Truman was jubilant. We have created. We have created destruction . . .

. . .
 'We have spent two billion on the greatest scientific gamble in history and won' . . .
 ('UNRRA meets today facing a crisis of funds' . . .)
 ('Germany is told of Hard Winter by Eisenhower.')

('Pall of Apathy Shrouds Bitter, Hungry Vienna.')
 The papers list the scientists (the murderers) who are credited with perfecting this new weapon. . .

. . .
 This new great force will be used for good, the scientists assured us. And then they wiped out a city of 318,000. This was good. The President was jubilant. . . . And the scientists making the first tests in the desert prayed
 Yes, God is still in the picture. God is not mocked. . . . God permits these things. We have to remember it. We are held in God's hands, all of us, and President Truman, too, and these scientists who have created death, but will use it for good. He, God, holds our life and our happiness, our sanity and our health; our lives are in His hands. He is our Creator. Creator.

. . . . And I think, as I think on these things, that while here in the western hemisphere, we went in for precision bombing (what chance of precision now?), while we went in for obliteration bombing, Russia was very careful not to bomb cities, to wipe out civilian populations. Perhaps she was thinking of the poor, of the workers as brothers. And as I write, Pigsie, who works in Secaucus, New Jersey, feeding hogs, and cleaning out the excrement of hogs, who comes in once a month to find

beauty and surcease and glamor and glory in the drink of the Bowery, trying to drive the hell and smell out of his nostrils and his life, sleeps on our doorstep, in this best and most advanced and progressive of all possible worlds Here in this greatest of cities which covered the cavern where this stupendous discovery was made, which institutes an era of unbelievable riches and power and glory for man

Everyone says, 'I wonder what the Pope thinks of it?' How everyone turns to the Vatican for judgment, even though they do not seem to listen to the voice there! But Our Lord Himself has already pronounced judgment on the atomic bomb. When James and John (John the beloved) wished to call down fire from heaven on their enemies, Jesus said: 'You know not of what spirit you are. The Son of Man came not to destroy souls but to save.' He said also, 'What you do unto the least of these my brethren, you do unto me.'⁹³

Despite their horror over the atomic bombing of Japan, the Catholic Worker rejoiced that the war was finally over. There was, naturally, less mention of war and peace in the following months. Much attention was given to the retreat movement, discussions of voluntary poverty, and life on the land. The Worker pleaded for relief for war victims and there were often specific requests for aid from missions, orphanages, schools, and hospitals. The Worker also supported the movement to grant amnesty and immediate release to conscientious objectors in prisons and CPS camps. In early 1946 the Catholic Worker began its long history of protest against the testing of nuclear weapons.

D. The Cold War

Robert Ludlow had first contributed to The Catholic Worker in 1943. He was a convert to Catholicism and had spent World War II in the CPS project at the Rosewood Training School in Maryland. He was, with Gordon Zahn, an editor of The Catholic C.O. After the termination of CPS he came to live at the Catholic Worker. Personally, he was a reserved, scholarly and disciplined man. His lucid, severe, and articulate writings on anarchism and pacifism regularly illuminated the pages of The Catholic Worker for the next seven years. In early 1943 he wrote of his participation in a coordinated national protest against peace time conscription:

In mailing my draft cards and registration card to the President I have stated, 'I am returning to you my registration and classification cards as a protest against the whole conscription setup. I regret having in any way cooperated with or accepted conscription.' Conscription is wrong because war is wrong - it simply cannot be reconciled to the teachings of Christ.⁹⁴

He wrote, with some bitterness, of CPS:

It would have been better if we had gone to jail in the first place CPS was built on lies and has brought about slavery incompatible with the Christian ethic. It is a violation of the person and dignity of man, it is a thoroughly fascist affair. Its only witness is to stupidity, it is a mediocre and cowardly solution offered by a mediocre and cowardly government.⁹⁵

Though, in the course of the years, there was much talk of the just war tradition in The Catholic Worker, it had become increasingly clear that it was not fundamental to

Dorothy's pacifism. Her position was personal, prayerful, theological, though not in a technical sense, and, above all, Scriptural. Father Hugo accepted and used the just war tradition, but argued that ultimately it was insufficient because it was not Scriptural and theological. Ludlow's position was close to Hugo's, but his manner was more aggressive. He attacked the idea of a just war:

. . . Thomistic rules for a just war are academic and obsolete - war can never square with supernatural ethics or with the spirit of Christ. War is never a Christian solution. It must be rejected along with polygamy and divorce as having been superseded as belonging to a dispensation that has ended.⁹⁶

For the Christian a just war is un Christian - it may meet the requirements of strict justice but it does not meet the requirements of Christ . . . no war may be justified at the foot of the Cross.⁹⁷

Largely because of Robert Ludlow, there was a perceptible change of tone in The CW during the years immediately following the war. The paper became more theoretical and somewhat harsher. Ludlow himself was sometimes intemperate. There was a deep disillusionment with American power. The unequivocal war time pacifism of the Catholic Worker and the new prosperity, to some degree, had isolated the movement from the larger following it had enjoyed in the thirties. In May 1947 the circulation of The Catholic Worker was fifty-eight thousand, about one third what it had been in 1938. It is instructive to observe the notice given to the CW by America, an important mainstream Catholic weekly. Until the Spanish civil war America was enthusiastic about the Catholic Worker and often ran articles

by Dorothy Day and about the movement. America was very critical of the Worker's Spanish position however, and after 1939 there was scarcely a mention of the Catholic Worker until late 1972.

Ideologically, Ludlow was close to a group of young pacifist radicals. They had all been schooled in federal prisons or in anti-CPS protests and were dissatisfied with the moderation of the older established peace groups. It was they who were behind the 1947 anti-draft protest. In 1946 they had formed the short lived Committee for a Nonviolent Revolution. The group met in August 1947 at the CW farm and retreat center in Newburgh, New York. Ludlow was most different from them in that he was not an activist, but he did share with them the vision of a nonviolent revolution which he articulated in the pages of The Catholic Worker:

. . .as I have before remarked, it is only by Catholicism turning to the left and the left turning to Catholicism (something calling for little short of a miracle), that any hope of temporal salvation can be looked for. And by extreme leftists I mean those who reject totally the economy and mentality of bourgeois capitalist society - who are anarchist as against the modern idolatry of the state, who demand worker ownership of the means of production as against plutocratic control, who press for a decentralist and distributist economy . . . who demand communal ownership of natural resources, who are pacifists in this atomic age and whose revolution will be a nonviolent one.⁹⁸

He would later suggest that the ideas of Gandhi and the anarcho-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World might be fruitfully mated:

We will cease to have war when the workers cease to produce the instruments of war. And the workers will cease to produce the instruments of war when they have regained the old feeling of solidarity with all workers in the world. When loyalty to the working class takes precedence to loyalty to the State. When all of us . . . learn to live together, respecting the persons of all and cooperating against the common enemy (the boss class of all nations) and work for a better society founded on those principles of justice common to all of us.

. . .
If the workers were to reexamine the program of the I.W.W. and the techniques of Gandhi I think we would have a labor program that could not be surpassed.⁹⁹

Late in 1947 Dorothy Day wrote again of the doctrine of the Mystical Body:

An understanding of the dogma of the Mystical Body is perhaps the greatest need of the present time. It is a further explanation of the Incarnation. . . . Christ is the head and we are the members. And illnesses of injustice, hate, disunion, race hatred, prejudice and war weaken this Mystical Body, just as the prayer and sacrifices of countless of the faithful strengthen it. St. Augustine says that we are all members or potential members of the Mystical Body of Christ. . . . all men are our neighbors and Christ told us we should love our neighbors, whether they be friend or enemy All men are our brothers This dogma of the Mystical Body precludes all ideas of class war. And it is to promulgate this dogma - to bring it to the man on the street, that the Catholic Worker is dedicated.¹⁰⁰

In the following issue Dorothy attacked the Marshall Plan. The larger peace movement was somewhat ambivalent, though generally positive about the Plan. Dorothy argued that it was cold war aid, only for the politically "acceptable," and opposed it because "its prime purpose (is) the extension and propagation of an economic system we believe to be unjust and immoral."¹⁰¹ In a 1948 letter to Commonweal Dorothy Day responded sharply

to the first waves of cold war rhetoric in that publication:

So don't let us talk any more of saving our Faith when we beat the drums for a war with Russia. It is a war between Empires, and neither of them is Christian. War is deviltry. It calls for sacrifices indeed, but not at the altar of love. "Greater love hath no man than this." A great blasphemy this, to use Christ's words in connection with men going to war Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his brothers, and the Russians are our brothers, the Negro is our brother, the Japanese are our brothers, the Germans, the Mexicans, the Filipinos, the Jew, the Arab So let's not have any more talk about God and country. The battle is for this world, for the possessions of this world.¹⁰²

Robert Ludlow often wrote of Gandhi and his importance. He wrote at the time of Gandhi's death, "There is no public figure who has more conformed his life to the life of Jesus Christ than Gandhi In him we have a new intercessor with Christ, a modern St. Francis, a pacifist martyr."¹⁰³ Soon after, in the Spring of 1948, the Catholic Worker turned its attention again to the renewed threat of conscription. CW volunteers leafleted at New York colleges against the draft. In April 1948 Father Hugo's "The Immorality of Conscription" was reissued. In an editorial in that issue Ludlow wrote:

What would we advocate? Wholesale disloyalty to Americanism. Wholesale refusal to fight. Wholesale withdrawal of labor (a general strike) from all industries that further the war effort. We would urge a mighty band of Catholic conscientious objectors who will refuse induction, who will follow Jesus of Nazareth, Prince of Peace, in the way of nonviolence, in love for all mankind.¹⁰⁴

A leaflet, "Defeat U.M.T.! Oppose War!", was also included in that same issue.

It must not be overlooked that balancing the presence of Robert Ludlow in The Catholic Worker was that of Tom Sullivan. Before the war, Sullivan had worked with the Chicago CW. He volunteered for the War and fought in the South Pacific. Dorothy Day said of him in her autobiography, " . . . his attitude is that if other men have to suffer in the war, he will suffer with them."¹⁰⁵ Sullivan wrote a monthly column of house news. It was folksy, home-spun and funny.

For the fifteenth anniversary issue Dorothy Day reflected on what had distinguished the Catholic Worker from other lay Catholic social movements:

We wish that they all felt as we do, that we had that basic unity which would make us agree on pacifism and distributism.
 We feel that the two go together
The Catholic Worker movement is distinguished from other movements in its attitude to our industrial civilization, to the machine and to war
 Peter Maurin's vision of the City of God included pacifism and distributism It is the talent Christ has given us and we cannot bury it.¹⁰⁶

In the issue of July-August 1948, the peace time draft having been instituted, The Catholic Worker carried a short but prominent piece by Robert Ludlow, "Reasons Why We Should Not Register:"

1. Registration is a recognition of the government's right to conscript for war or slave labor in C.O. camps.
2. Registration is wrong because war and slave labor are wrong.
3. War is wrong because it violates the Christian commandment of love expressed in the Sermon on the Mount.
4. It is better to go to jail than to violate Christ's teaching.

5. Conscription is egalitarian in that all are made slaves of the government.
 6. Conscription is a device to ensure the continuance of a military caste and foster militarism upon the country. It guarantees that there will be another war
 7. . . . discrimination against Negroes in the army is officially sanctioned
- We should establish the habit of civil disobedience in a day when the national state is a great danger.¹⁰⁷

Ludlow's "Reasons..." was published again in somewhat shortened form in September 1948. Because of this article, Dorothy was called to the Chancery and censured -- as she was in several other instances. It was not run again. The position of the CW remained the same, but Dorothy agreed that perhaps the article had been too directive. Dorothy, Ludlow, and another young editor, Irene Naughton, picketed a registration center. Ludlow was arrested. A notice appeared in February 1949 asking those who were interested in a campaign of anti-draft civil disobedience to contact the Peacemakers.¹⁰⁸ The Peacemakers were again referred to in a notice in Spring 1949 directing those interested in tax refusal to contact them.

In the anniversary issue 1949 Robert Ludlow's important "Catholic Worker Positions" appeared. It has often been reprinted in the paper and was printed as a handbill. With particular reference to Catholic Worker pacifism he wrote:

The general aim of the Catholic Worker Movement is to realize in the individual and in society the expressed and implied teachings of Christ
 . . . We advocate: A complete rejection of the present social order and a non-violent revolution to establish an order more in accord with Christian

values. This can only be done by direct action since political means have failed . . . we advocate a personalism which takes on ourselves responsibility for changing conditions to the extent that we are able to do so

. . .
We believe further that the revolution that is to be pursued in ourselves and in society must be pacifist. Otherwise it will proceed by force and use means that are evil and which will never be outgrown, so that they will determine the END of the revolution and that end will again be tyranny. We believe that Christ went beyond natural ethics and the Old Dispensation in this matter of force and war and taught non-violence as a way of life. So that when we fight tyranny and injustice and class war we must do so by spiritual weapons and by non-cooperation. Refusal to pay taxes, refusal to register for conscription, refusal to take part in civil-defense drills, non-violent strikes, withdrawal from the system are all methods that can be employed in this fight for justice.¹⁰⁹

In the same issue Ludlow wrote of the relationship between Christianity and Gandhian nonviolence. "The method of resistance to evil adopted and taught by Gandhi is nothing more nor less than the externalization in society of the Sermon on the Mount."¹¹⁰

On 15 May 1949 Peter Maurin died. He was 72. He had suffered a stroke in 1944 and could neither write nor think clearly in the intervening years. He had lived those years at the Catholic Worker retreat center, first at Easton, Pennsylvania and later in Newburgh, New York where he died. At that time Dorothy wrote of Robert Ludlow as "our chief editorial writer" and the one who "more than any other takes Peter's place here as thinker and man of vision."¹¹¹

In late 1945 Dorothy wrote pointedly in protest against the denial of bail to the imprisoned leaders of the Communist party. She spoke, too, of the possibility that class war might

someday break out openly in the United States:

. . . if we are truly living with the poor, working side by side with the poor we will inevitably be forced to be on their side, physically speaking. But when it comes to activity, we will be pacifists. I hope and pray, nonviolent resisters of aggression, from whomever it comes, and our activity will be the works of mercy. Our arms will be the love of God and our brother.¹¹²

She reflected, in the same article, on the long range goals of the Catholic Worker movement:

Well, when it comes to it, do we of the Catholic Worker stand only for just wages, shorter hours, increase of power for the workers, a collaboration of employer and worker in prosperity for all? No, we want to make "the rich poor and the poor holy," and that too is a revolution obnoxious to the pagan man. We don't want luxury. We want land, bread, work, children, and the joys of community in play and work and worship. We don't believe in those industrial councils where the heads of United States Steel sit down with the common man in an obscene agape of luxury, shared profits, blood money from a thousand battles No, the common good, the community, the commune must be considered.¹¹³

In answer to a letter critical of his pacifism, Ludlow argued that there was a tradition of pacifism within the Catholic Church, though admittedly it had fallen into obscurity. "It was the ordinary outlook of the primitive Christian."¹¹⁴ Since there were both soldier saints and pacifist saints, there could be no definitive argument from authority. After answering the letter point by point Ludlow concluded:

I know this is a minority viewpoint in the Church today. I know there have been saints who taught otherwise. But I know also that there are sufficient witnesses in the early

Fathers and among the saints to hold to this as a legitimate Christian teaching, a teaching that may some day gain ascendancy among the theologians who may be forced, because of the many evils of war today, to reexamine the mind of the Church on this and return to what was and still is contained in the deposit of faith regarding it.¹¹⁵

In 1949 and 1950 the Catholic Worker continued to protest the draft, abhorred the development of the hydrogen bomb, picketed the Internal Revenue Service in protest against the military use of income taxes, and praised those who were jailed for their refusal to participate in the last war. In Summer 1950 the cold war grew hot, the Korean War had begun, and Dorothy Day wrote:

It is heartbreaking once again to see casualty lists in the New York Times and feel the lack of peace in all hearts as fear grows of more widespread conflict. Once again we must reiterate our absolute pacifist position. We believe that not only atomic weapons must be outlawed, but all war, and that the social order must be restored in Christ, so that we may have true peace, "tranquility in order"¹¹⁶

Some months later Robert Ludlow, when asked if he was opposed to the Korean war only on pacifist grounds, replied:

Apart entirely from the question of pacifism I am opposed to American aims in Korea or anywhere else in the world because I am opposed to that political and economic system that is called "The American Way." I believe that the American system is a system of exploitation. . . . the United States government is committed to the policy of upholding any reactionary regime that may exist because it regards Communism as the alternative.¹¹⁷

There was little news of the Korean war in The CW, though it was often alluded to.

In May 1951 Dorothy Day reaffirmed the pacifism of the Catholic Worker Movement:

. . . we wish to state again our faith in this our life here on earth, that All men are brothers. It is our faith, our conviction, and we do state it again solemnly
For this we are put into the world, to love and give up our lives for others
This faith, this love is a force not yet explored We reaffirm these truths, this position we take in regard to war and peace and the state . . . The New Testament has all the answers.¹¹⁸

Later that same year when Larry Gara, a Quaker college teacher, was jailed for counseling a draft resister, Dorothy wrote, "If Larry Gara is guilty then I, too, am guilty because I will do everything in my power to strengthen and sustain those who are building up the case against war."¹¹⁹

Throughout the early 1950s The Catholic Worker continued to quote with some frequency from the speeches and writings of Father Franziskus Stratmann. Some space was also given to the work of Father Pierre Lorson, a French Jesuit, who like Stratmann, argued for the legal recognition of conscientious objection and for the impossibility of a modern just war. Around the same time The CW began to highlight the work of another European priest, Father Johannes Ude, an Austrian Jesuit. In his major work, Thou Shall Not Kill!, Father Ude argued that the commandment not to kill was absolute.

The Catholic Worker devoted little space to Senator McCarthy's activities. They did, however, protest forcefully the anti-communist Smith and McCarran Acts. Dorothy spoke at a rally in Carnegie Hall in protest against the law in early

1952. The Catholic Worker also protested the death sentence imposed on Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and, as the day of execution drew near, pleaded for their lives. After their deaths, Dorothy wrote, "Let us have no part with the vindictive State and let us pray for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg."¹²⁰ Until his release many years later, the Catholic Worker repeatedly appealed, as well, for the release of the Rosenbergs' alleged accomplice, Morton Sobell. If anything, during the early fifties, the Catholic Worker was somewhat more politically active. Catholic Workers still periodically picketed Internal Revenue, and in 1952 picketed the Spanish consulate in protest against Franco's violent repression of labor. Beginning in 1952, and for some years thereafter, the CW held an annual pacifists' conference at Peter Maurin Farm on State Island.

Throughout the 1940s Ammon Hennacy irregularly contributed reports of his activities to The Catholic Worker under the title, "Life at Hard Labor." He had been a reader of The CW since the 1930's when he met and was much impressed by Peter Maurin. He first met Dorothy Day in 1941. She was, he said, " . . . the one person I know who lived the ideals which I believed."¹²¹ Throughout the forties he grew closer to the Worker because of his deep respect for Dorothy and because, of all the peace groups, only the Catholic Worker, he said, saw the importance of his consistent position of tax refusal. Ammon would come to affect the Catholic Worker profoundly in the decade of the fifties.

Ammon was born in 1893 in Ohio. As a young man he became a Socialist, though his real love was the more romantic I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World). Imprisoned in World War I, he spent nine months in solitary confinement in Atlanta Penitentiary.¹²² In solitary he read the Bible, especially the Sermon on the Mount, and later Tolstoy's The Kingdom of God is Within You. He became a Christian, an anarchist, and a pacifist. The conversion was for life. After some years of farming, odd jobs, travelling, and political activism, his common law marriage dissolved, and "life at hard labor" began. He worked as an agricultural day laborer throughout the Southwest, so as to avoid paying taxes, and spent his free time writing, speaking, travelling, picketing and distributing The Catholic Worker. He never registered for the draft, and he never paid taxes. He was bright, unscholarly, folksy, direct and brave. He was, for many, a singularly powerful and magnetic figure. In late 1952, under the influence of the Catholic Worker, he entered the Catholic Church. Dorothy Day and Robert Ludlow were his godparents. In early 1953 he joined the staff of the Catholic Worker in New York.

A major article on the French war in Indochina appeared in May of 1954 during the siege of Dien Bien Phu. Dorothy Day wrote of Blessed Theophane Venard, an anti-colonialist French priest martyred in Indochina in 1852. The Venards, Christian witnesses, not French soldiers, she argued, could be the only legitimate Christian presence in the "third world."

We are going to be forced sooner or later to face the ultimate issues. To recognize that it is not Christianity and freedom we are defending, but our own possessions. And in saving our lives, as we think, we are assuredly going to lose them. It is the poor of the world, it is the exploited, it is the dominated, that will conquer.¹²³

In early 1954 Robert Ludlow left the Catholic Worker. Soon after his departure Martin Corbin began contributing a column of peace news much like Ludlow's original "Pax" column. Some time later, Corbin, too, left the CW but returned as managing editor in the middle sixties. Around the same time Ammon Hennacy published his Autobiography of a Catholic Anarchist.¹²⁴ In June 1955 Ludlow contributed "A Reevaluation," a qualified rejection of his former anarchism, though not his pacifism. The dominant figure during this period of Catholic Worker history was undoubtedly, Ammon Hennacy. "Specifically he led the movement into a new level of pacifist activism" ¹²⁵

Ammon was the "office manager" and mail man. He answered correspondence and wrote his column. Every afternoon he undertook some form of public activity, usually selling the paper on the streets, but often it was street speaking or picketing. He picketed Internal Revenue and Atomic Energy Commission. Every year he fasted and picketed around August 6, Hiroshima day, and continued for as many days as it had been years since that great crime. It was an act of penance and a protest. In 1958 he lengthened the fast to forty days. Dorothy felt that Ammon's fasting was the most important of his many contributions to the Catholic Worker. From time to time, he left for a cross

country speaking tour. He served as a liaison with the larger peace movement, particularly with the War Resisters League, and regularly involved the CW in peace action. In 1957 he took part in a vigil and picket at the A.E.C. in Las Vegas. In 1958 he demonstrated against missile bases in Florida. He took part in a walk protesting the building of nuclear submarines in New London, Connecticut. In 1959 he was arrested --- as was Karl Meyer, the young director of the Chicago Catholic Worker --- for trespassing at the missile base in Omaha, Nebraska and subsequently served a six-month sentence at the Federal Correctional Institution in Sandstone, Minnesota.

Ammon and Dorothy led the annual Civil Defense protests in New York City from 1955 until their termination in 1961. In 1955 Ammon and Dorothy interested several peace groups in co-sponsoring a demonstration against the annual Civil Defense air raid drills. The purpose of these drills was, supposedly, to prepare the populace for a nuclear attack. When a signal was given, everyone in the streets was supposed to proceed to a shelter, a subway or a basement. Failure to comply was a misdemeanor. Ammon and Dorothy wanted to assemble a group in a public park who would refuse to take shelter. That first year their statement read:

We make this demonstration, not only to voice our opposition to war, not only to refuse to participate in psychological warfare, which this air raid drill is, but also as an act of public penance for having been the first people in the world to drop the atom bomb, to make the hydrogen bomb.¹²⁶

Twenty-six were arrested, including Dorothy, Ammon and eight other Catholic Workers. Sentence was suspended. In 1956 eighteen were arrested including Dorothy and Ammon and two other Workers. All served sentences of five days. In 1957 there were only ten civil disobedients and five of them were from the Catholic Worker. The demonstration was held in a small park across the street from the CW. All were arrested and served thirty days. In 1958 the group was again very small, five from the CW and four others. Their sentence was suspended. In 1959 the numbers increased and there were nineteen participants. Most of the group got suspended sentences, but those who had been charged before received sentences of five days. It was that year that a judge rather wearily asked Ammon how many times he had done this. Ammon said, "Five times, next year it will be six."¹²⁷ The same judge felt Ammon should be more conscientious about rendering to Caesar. "I told him that God was not getting enough around here and Caesar was getting too much and that someone had to stand up for God."¹²⁸ In 1960 there were five hundred demonstrators, as well as another less serious five hundred who stood by laughing. In 1961, the last year of the drills, there were two thousand people in the park who refused to take shelter. Much of the organizational work behind the growth of the demonstrations was undertaken by the War Resisters League. The distinctive element in Catholic Worker participation in the demonstrations was the emphasis on penance. Looking back on those years in her book Loaves and

Fishes Dorothy wrote:

We were setting our faces against things as they are, against the terrible injustice of our basic capitalist industrialist system perpetrated by making profits out of preparations for war. But especially, we wanted to act against war and getting ready for war: nerve gas, germ warfare, guided missiles, testing and stockpiling of nuclear bombs, conscription, the collection of income tax - against the entire militarism of the state. We made our gesture; we disobeyed a law.¹²⁹

In late 1956 the Catholic Worker protested the bitter fighting over the Suez Canal and Edmund Egan, a young Catholic philosopher and pacifist, struggled with the issue of Hungary:

Perhaps the greatest single objection to war is the necessary abnegation of individual conscience which it entails
 . . . in an armed conflict there is an insuperable advantage on the side of the less morally scrupulous combatant, an advantage which the other side must meet in kind if it hopes to win the war. This is the inner dialectic of force and it obtains whatever the justice of the cause fought for
 The old way has run out of possibilities; in the old way there is no hope, and the new way of pacifism is not the way of nations or of societies. The only hope remaining is that the individual may refuse to enter the vicious circle that he may be true to himself, and to his fellow men, by accepting his necessary alienation from their sad and noble struggles.¹³⁰

Throughout the latter half of 1956 The Catholic Worker printed news of the violent harassment of the Koinonia, a Protestant, pacifist, ecumenical, interracial community in Georgia. At the peak of the violence in the Spring of 1957, Dorothy travelled to Georgia to stand with them. In addition to suffering some relatively minor harassment, the car in which she sat while serving as a sentry late one night was

blasted with a shot gun. She and the other occupants of the car were unhurt. She returned to New York after Easter. Three other members of the New York CW later went to help the Koinonia. Each, in turn, stayed for two weeks and helped with work and sentry duty.

In the midst of the peace activity of the 1950's Dorothy offered this explanation to her disgruntled critics:

There is the usual complaint of some of the older readers who also drop in to call, that the paper is not what it used to be. Too much stuff about war and preparation for war, and the duty of building up resistance. But I repeat, in Peter Maurin's day, the problem was unemployment. It was the time of depression. We still need to build up a vision of a new social order where in justice dwells, and try to work for it here and now. We still need to perform the works of mercy

But the work of non-violent resistance to our militarist state must go on. Some readers, and old friends too, ask us why we do not protest Russian tests as well as English and American. We can only say we have - over and over . . . we believe in taking the beam out of our own eye, we believe in loving our enemy, and not contributing to the sum total of hatred and fear of him already in the world.

. . . .
It is that very use of force that is the heart of the problem today. The means become the ends. We cannot force people to be good, to be just, to share with their brothers. But Peter Maurin said, we must make the kind of society in which it is easier to be good. We must make it and we can only begin with the works of mercy, with sharing what we have, with voluntary poverty. We must do more. We cannot be silent in the face of the bomb tests, we cannot ignore what we have done in the past to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. 131

Several months later, in the twenty-fifth anniversary editorial, she wrote, "We were always pacifists, many opinions to the contrary Everything we knew in the Gospel was against the

use of force."¹³²

Early in 1959 Charles Butterworth of the Catholic Worker, a shy and modest man, a graduate of Harvard Law School, was arrested when agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation came to the Catholic Worker looking for a young deserter. Butterworth excused himself from the room and warned the young man. Charles Butterworth was indicted.

I believe that modern atomic war is contrary to God's will and that God is calling many people to refuse military life. The best position a person can take is to openly refuse cooperation and accept the punishment due.¹³³

I am not fighting . . . the rule of law as such. I am fighting the war system which I see now as essentially immoral. But if law is used to support that system then such law becomes infected and loses all moral sanction. If such a war law touches me I must react by non-cooperation to the limit of my strength.¹³⁴

He received a suspended six-month sentence.

In the fall of 1959 The Catholic Worker published an article by a young scholar, James W. Douglass, on the morality of nuclear warfare. His long and thoughtful articles appeared regularly during the sixties. During that time he emerged as a prominent lay Catholic theologian and peace activist. In 1959 mention was often made of Archbishop Thomas Roberts, an English Jesuit and the retired Archbishop of Bombay, for his protests against war preparations. News of Archbishop Roberts, as well as his writings, appeared often in The Catholic Worker throughout the sixties. He was to lead the campaign for a powerful statement on war and peace at the Second Vatican Council.

E. The Sixties and Vietnam

There continued to be a great variety of pacifist material in The Catholic Worker. The Fathers of the Church were quoted and the stories of pacifist saints retold. Capital punishment was protested. There were articles on Algeria and news from France on nonviolent protests against the war. There was news of nonviolence in South Africa. There was much news of stepped up peace action, from the sailing of the "Golden Rule" into the Pacific test area to the fast of jailed tax resister Rose Robinson. There was much praise for Gandhi and the prominently featured work of European peace priests. The works of mercy were repeatedly contrasted with the works of war. In January 1961 there began a long series of reports on the Committee for Nonviolent Action's (CNVA) San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walk. Karl Meyer of the Chicago Catholic Worker, a dedicated peace activist, had joined the walk in Chicago. Englishman Peter Lumsden, who later founded a Catholic Worker house in London, joined the walk in England.

In the early 1960s there was much attention in The Catholic Worker devoted to developments in Castro's Cuba. David Dellinger, long time peace activist, contributed an enthusiastic piece about Cuba and his stay there. In 1961 Ed Turner, a CW editor, travelled to Cuba and reported approvingly. Dorothy Day wrote extensively about Cuba in 1961 and

1962. In the Fall of 1962 she spent about a month in Cuba. She went, she said, "to look for concordances." She was drawn to and deeply moved by what she saw in revolutionary Cuba. Though her enthusiasm was not unqualified, it was sufficiently great that Robert Ludlow was moved to ask in a letter to The CW if she and the movement had abandoned pacifism. Faced with Cuba, Dorothy Day was forced to consider anew the specific relationship between pacifism and revolutionary violence.

We are certainly not Marxist socialists nor do we believe in violent revolution. Yet we do believe that it is better to revolt, to fight as Castro did with his handful of men . . . than to do nothing. We are on the side of the revolution.¹³⁵

It is too late now to talk of non-violence, with one invasion behind them and threats of others ahead of them. And according to traditional Catholic teaching the only kind Fidel Castro ever had, the good Catholic is also the good soldier.

. . .
I am most of all interested in the religious life of the people and so must not be on the side of a regime which favors the extirpation of religion. On the other hand, when that regime is bending all its efforts to make a good life for the people, a naturally good life (on which grace can build) one cannot help but be in favor of the measures taken.

. . . . If religion has so neglected the needs of the poor and of the great mass of workers and permitted them to live in the most horrible destitution . . . then that religion is suspect On the other hand, if those professing religion shared the life of the poor and worked to better their lot and risked their lives as revolutionists do, and trade union organizers have done in the past, then there is a ring of truth. . . .¹³⁶

With the coming of the sixties and a general resurgence of the peace movement, there was a perceptible change in The Catholic

Worker. There was more news of peace action and, of course, the Catholic Worker continued to be involved. There was somewhat less space given to the defense and explanation of pacifism. By the early sixties the staff was solidly pacifist whereas, as late as September 1950 Dorothy could write, "Officially we are a Catholic pacifist paper and generally accepted as such. Actually there are not many pacifists among us."¹³⁷ In The Long Loneliness, published in 1952, she said, "It is a matter of grief to me that most of those who are Catholic Workers are not pacifists" ¹³⁸

Thomas Merton, Trappist monk and writer, became a frequent contributor to The CW in the 1960s. In the early part of the decade his writing for The Worker focused on the question of war, and, in particular, the threat of nuclear war. Later in the decade when he moved from Gethsemani monastery to a nearby hermitage, he stopped writing of practical matters, though he continued to contribute to The Worker. Two other prominent American Catholic priests began to write occasionally for The Catholic Worker in the early sixties, Daniel and Phillip Berrigan. During the early years of the decade there was much news of the Congress of Racial Equality's Freedom Rides, CNVA's Polaris Action, a long term project of education, agitation, and nonviolent civil disobedience at the Connecticut manufacturing site of Polaris submarines, and the Living Theatre's audacious World Wide Strike for Peace.

In 1962 and 1963 a book length work, "Maria Montessori/World Peace Through the Child," appeared in six long installments in The Catholic Worker.

Two Catholic peace organizations had grown out of the Catholic Worker, Pax and its successor the Association of Catholic Conscientious Objectors. In 1963 the American Pax Association, an affiliate of English Pax, was born during a discussion at the CW. The American Pax Association described itself as "an association of Catholics and others who seek to promote peace and who seek to encourage the practical application of Christian principles to the question of war."¹³⁹ Dorothy Day was listed as a sponsor. The organization published a quarterly, Peace, was active in the peace lobby at Vatican II, supported Catholic conscientious objectors, and, for some years, held an annual weekend peace conference at the Catholic Worker farm. In 1964 the Catholic Peace Fellowship was organized by a couple of Catholic Worker veterans as the Catholic affiliate of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. It described itself simply as an "educational service conducted by the Roman Catholic members of the FOR." Dorothy Day was also listed as a sponsor of CPF. At its inception, three of its four co-chairmen had, at one time, been managing editors of The Catholic Worker. The CPF, like the FOR and unlike the just war oriented Pax Association, was pacifist. The group offered draft counseling for the flood of Catholic conscientious objectors in the sixties, built up a national network of local groups, and was prominently active in a variety of peace projects.

Both organizations have survived into the seventies, though CPF is undoubtedly the larger and more influential.

In 1963 Ammon Hennacy left the Worker to begin his own house of hospitality in Salt Lake City, Utah. He continued to write for the paper until his death at 76 in January 1970. Two other Catholic Workers now provided a liaison with the peace movement, reported peace action, and led the way in continuing Ammon's activist role. They were Karl Meyer, director of the Chicago Catholic Worker, and Tom Cornell, managing editor of The Catholic Worker in the sixties and a veteran of CNVA polaris Action. Tom Cornell was also, with Jim Forest, a founder and stalwart of the CPF.

A brief survey of the peace related material in The Catholic Worker in the second half of 1963 is instructive. In July-August there appeared a long piece, "On the Bomb", about the development of French nuclear weapons by Lanza del Vasto, one of Europe's most distinguished exponents of nonviolence, a companion of Gandhi, and founder of the Community of the Ark. In the same issue Benedict Moore (a pseudonym for Thomas Merton) contributed "Danish Non-Violent Resistance to Hitler." Much space was given to a report of the massive civil rights march on Washington. There was news of Ammon Hennacy's continued tax resistance in "No Taxes for War" and there were reviews of the Peacemaker's Handbook on the Nonpayment of War Taxes and Edmund Wilson's The Cold War and the Income Tax. Tom Cornell reported on the annual Pacifists' Conference at Peter Maurin

Farm which attracted one hundred and fifty participants in 1963 and on the CW co-sponsored vigil and sit-in August 6 at the Atomic Energy Commission. Three Catholic Workers were arrested in the civil disobedience. A. J. Muste, long time leader of the American peace movement, was also arrested. Dorothy Day was in the vigil line that day and wrote, "I contemplated him as I stood for a while with the line, and thought of Churchill and of Muste, almost of an age, in the sight of God who stands higher? There is no doubt in my mind as to which is the more significant figure."¹⁴⁰ A Norwegian priest contributed an article on Pope John's encyclical Pacem in Terris and there were two pieces on Archbishop Roberts and the prospects of a strong peace statement from Vatican II. James Douglass contributed a major review of Leslie Dewart's book on Cuba, Christianity and Revolution. There was also a letter which signalled the beginning of an important chapter in the history of Catholic Worker peace testimony. The correspondent was Murphy Dowouis, who reported that he had returned his Selective Service cards and intended to refuse induction.

In 1964 there was news of another CNVA walk from Quebec to Washington to Guantanamo, Cuba. In May of 1964 the Catholic Worker co-sponsored an anti-conscription demonstration which culminated in the public destruction of draft cards. There were articles on Franz Jagerstatter, an Austrian peasant and a Catholic executed for refusing to serve in Hitler's armies, whose story was told in Gordon Zahn's In Solitary Witness.

There was a pastoral letter on nuclear war by the Bishop of Laval, France. Importantly, attention had begun to turn to Vietnam. In fact, the Catholic Worker had some time before, in August 1963, mounted a demonstration to protest U.S. involvement in Indochina. They had picketed outside the apartment building of the South Vietnamese observer to the U.N. The picketing continued for about ten days. About one hundred and fifty people participated on the final day. This may have been "the first demonstration specifically and solely in protest of America's involvement in the war in Indochina" ¹⁴¹

Ammon Hennacy's periodic call to tax resistance was then headlined "No taxes for War in Vietnam." In August of 1964 the Catholic Worker co-sponsored a silent vigil for peace in Vietnam outside the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City. In the December issue there was a call to a national war protest. For the first time, in December 1964, a list of "prisoners of peace", those imprisoned for refusing the draft, was published. As yet, there were no Catholic Workers among the nine young men.

Dorothy Day continued "On Pilgrimage," in print as well as in fact, in the sixties. It had already carried her to Cuba and was, in the course of the decade, to carry her farther still. In the summer of 1963 she travelled to Danville, Virginia, a racial hot spot, and the scene of a nonviolent campaign. She listened, reported, marched, and spoke at a rally. In the Spring of that same year she had travelled to Rome with an international, ecumenical pacifist group,

Mothers for Peace, to thank Pope John for Pacem in Terris, to pledge their continued peace work, and to request of him "a more radical condemnation of the instruments of modern warfare."¹⁴² During that time Dorothy also had an hour long meeting with Cardinal Bea and pleaded with him for a strong conciliar peace statement. She returned to Rome in the Fall of 1965 at the opening of the last session of the Council. She joined about twenty other women led by Chanterelle del Vasto in a ten day fast for peace and in an appeal to the Council Fathers for a clear condemnation of nuclear war.

In February 1965 a "Declaration of Conscience" appeared in The Catholic Worker. It had already been signed by many, including Dorothy Day. It read, in part:

We hereby declare our conscientious refusal to cooperate with the United States government in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam.

We encourage those who can conscientiously do so to refuse to serve in the armed forces and to ask for discharge if they are already in. Those of us who are subject to the draft ourselves declare our own intention to refuse to serve.

We urge others to refuse and refuse ourselves to take part in the manufacture or transportation of military equipment

We shall encourage the development of other nonviolent acts, including acts which involve civil disobedience, in order to stop the flow of American soldiers and munitions to Vietnam.¹⁴³

In the same issue there was a call to a national antiwar demonstration. In the next issue there appeared the text of a speech given by Father Daniel Berrigan at that antiwar rally. "To wage war in modern times, as the war is being waged in Vietnam, is forbidden. In such war, man stands outside the

blessing of God. He stands, in fact, under His curse." He called on his hearers " . . . to stand in peaceable conflict with the powers of the state."¹⁴⁴

Throughout the middle sixties much attention was given to the peace issue and the Vatican Council. The July-August issue of 1965 was headed "Special Issue - War and Peace at the Vatican Council." It featured work by James Douglass, Gordon Zahn, Dr. Spock, and an editorial "We Are All Under Judgment." The editorial called the threat of war "the over-arching fact of our age."

We are all under the judgment of love. If all of us, lay and clerical alike, must meet the same judgment, we should look with terror at any human activity which makes it impossible for us to perform the works of mercy It is at this face of modern war that we ask our Sheperds to look.
 . . . we beg clear words and deeds from the Fathers of the Council.¹⁴⁵

The Worker enthusiastically reported Pope Paul's peace message delivered at the United Nations on the feast of St. Francis, October 4.

In the special issue devoted largely to the Council, Dorothy wrote of a request from Tom Cornell for a "clear, theoretical, logical, pacifist manifesto." Dorothy responded simply, "I can write no other than this: Unless we use the weapons of the spirit, denying ourselves and taking up our cross and following Jesus, dying with Him and rising with Him, men will go on fighting"¹⁴⁶ In the next issue she

turned her attention specifically to the war:

Souls are being lost. War is a sin against Love, against life. God is Love, and He wills that all men be saved. The whole purpose of our life is Love. Why did God create us? Because He loved us. Why do we love Him? Because he first loved Us. And God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son to us, to show us our salvation, knowing that in the exercise of our freedom we were going to continue to crucify Him to the end of the world. We are doing it now in Vietnam, in the death of every man, woman and child. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of my brethren ye have done it unto me."¹⁴⁷

In the Summer of 1965 peace action increased as the war expanded. A group of young Catholic Workers organized "peace caravans" and travelled to many colleges, particularly Catholic colleges, in the Northeast, to distribute literature and hold antiwar meetings. On 29 July 1965 during an antidraft demonstration at the Whitehall Street Induction Center, Chris Kearns of the Catholic Worker burned his draft card. A picture of that action appeared in Life magazine and seemed to strike a Congressional nerve. On August 30 a hastily drafted bill, making the willful destruction or mutilation of a draft card a felony, became law. At the conclusion of an article in The Worker reporting on the Assembly of Unrepresented Peoples -- a Washington demonstration at which 360 were arrested, including about ten from the Catholic Worker -- Tom Cornell called for a group draft card burning to protest the new law.

The next several months in the life of the Catholic Worker were eventful and dramatic. In September, Karl Meyer, who had first disaffiliated himself from Selective Service in 1959, asked for a new set of cards, tore them, and forwarded them to the office of the United States' Attorney in Chicago.

David Miller, a young Catholic Worker, was scheduled to speak for the Catholic Worker at a rally in lower Manhattan on 15 October 1965. He spoke two sentences, "I believe the napalming of villages is an immoral act. I hope this will be a significant political act, so here goes."¹⁴⁸ With that he burnt his card. It was front page news across the country. The demonstration which Tom Cornell had called for in August came to fruition on 6 November 1965 in Union Square. A group of five men read brief statements and burned their draft cards. Tom Cornell, who at various times had burnt nine other draft cards before the new law was passed, was one of them, as was Jim Wilson of the Catholic Worker. A. J. Muste spoke of the action of that day and of the immolation only days before of a young Quaker. Dorothy Day also spoke that day:

When Jesus walked this earth true God and true Man, and addressed the multitudes, a woman in the crowd cried out: "Blessed is the womb that bore you, and the breasts that gave you sustenance." Jesus answered her: "Rather, blessed are those who hear the word of God and keep it."
 And the word of God is clear, in the New Testament and the Old. "Thou shalt not kill," "Love thy enemies," "Overcome evil with good." To love others as He loved us, to lay down our lives for our brothers throughout the world, not to take the lives of men, women, children, young and old, by bombs and napalm and all the other instruments of war.
 Instead He spoke of the instruments of peace, to be practiced by all nations: feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, not destroying their crops . . . He commanded us to feed the hungry, shelter the homeless, to save lives, not destroy them. These precious lives for whom he willingly sacrificed His own.
 I speak today as one who is old, and who must endorse the courage of the young . . . I speak as one who is old, and whose whole lifetime has seen the cruelty and hysteria of war . . .

I wish to place myself beside A. J. Muste to show my solidarity of purpose with these young men and to point out that we too are breaking the law

We two, by law, should be arrested and we should esteem it an honor to share prison penalties with these others.¹⁴⁹

A. J. Muste called it "The most powerful single demonstration since World War II."¹⁵⁰

Carved in stone, across the street from the United Nations, are the words of Isaiah, "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks"

Early on the morning of November 9, Roger LaPorte, a quiet young man, who for several weeks had been helping to serve supper at the Catholic Worker, and who was a witness to the events of November 6, sat down at the foot of those words and immolated himself. He died thirty hours later. He told the ambulance attendant, "I am a Catholic Worker, I am anti-war, all wars. I did this as a religious action . . . all the hatred in the world . . ."¹⁵¹ The Catholic Worker issued the following statement:

We are deeply shocked, perplexed, and grieved by the immolation of Roger LaPorte this morning before the United Nations. He was trying to say to the American people that we must turn away from violence in Vietnam, and he was trying to say something about the violence that is eroding our society. . . . And so he made this sacrifice, attempting to absorb this violence and hatred personally, deflecting it from others by taking it voluntarily to himself. At the same time, we strongly urge people committed to peace to employ other means in expressing their commitment We hope that he has communicated something to the American people. We hope that all people dedicated to peacemaking will redouble their efforts in a positive life-giving way.¹⁵²

In her article "Suicide or Sacrifice" Dorothy wrote, "Roger intended to lay down his life for his brother in war-torn Vietnam There will be undoubtedly much discussion and condemnation of this sad and terrible act, but all of us around the Catholic Worker know that Roger's intent was to love God and to love his brother. May perpetual light shine upon him and may he rest in peace."¹⁵³

Later in November Murphy Dowouis, who had worked with Ammon in Salt Lake City and was then at the New York Worker, was arrested for induction refusal. He was returned to his home state, Louisiana, and there sentenced to two years. Jim Wilson, who did not join the other November 6 card burners in a legal defense, but rather entered a guilty plea, was sentenced to two years probation in March 1966. In late 1965 The Catholic Worker reprinted Dwight Macdonald's "Why Burn Draft Cards" from the 1947 Politics. In early 1966 there appeared a long piece on Don Lorenzo Milani, an Italian priest on trial for advocating conscientious objection. In April 1966 there was news that Terry Sullivan, formerly of the St. Louis, Chicago, and New York Catholic Workers had publicly destroyed his draft card with two others. He was subsequently sentenced to one year. In that same issue there appeared a very practical article, "On Doing Prison Time for Draft Refusal."

News of war and war resistance was prominent in The Catholic Worker in 1966. Pope Paul's peace please were printed. There appeared the peace statement of a Vietnamese

Buddhist monk, pacifist and poet. There was a report from Karl Meyer of a peace mission he undertook in Saigon with A. J. Muste and other pacifist leaders. There was also much news of Cesar Chavez and his efforts at organizing California agricultural workers. Dorothy Day described Chavez as "the present foremost example of non-violent resistance to oppression."¹⁵⁴ The year had begun with a striking page one woodcut by art editor Rita Corbin. Under the headline "Which Shall We Perform" she had strikingly contrasted in words and drawings the works of mercy and the works of war.

The Eastern Conference on Noncooperation with Conscription was held in New York 28 - 30 October 1966. The idea of the conference grew out of discussions at the Peacemakers' Training Session held in August at the Catholic Worker farm. Its purpose was to draw together young men who had decided upon or were seriously considering draft resistance, and to formulate and publicize a statement of noncooperation. The call to the conference was signed by six men, four of them, Dave Miller, Jim Wilson, Paul Mann, and Jack Cook were Catholic Workers. The statement of the conference appeared for years in the Peacemaker as "Saying 'No' to Conscription."

We, the undersigned men of draft age (18-35), believe that all war is immoral and ultimately self-defeating.

We believe that military conscription is evil and unjust. Therefore, we will not cooperate in any way with the Selective Service System. We will not register for the draft.

If we have registered, we will sever all relations with the Selective Service System.

We will carry no draft cards or other Selective Service certificate.

We will not accept any deferment . . .
 We will not accept any exemption . . .
 We will refuse induction into the armed forces.
 We urge and advocate that other young men join
 us in noncooperating with the Selective Service
 System.
 We are in full knowledge that these actions are
 violations of the Selective Service laws
 punishable by up to 5 years imprisonment and/or
 a fine of \$10,000.¹⁵⁵

The issue of December 1966 carried news of Jim Wilson's
 sentencing for induction refusal.¹⁵⁶ In his statement to the
 court he said, " . . . I am not a hired killer. Our society
 must face up to the truth. If you want anyone killed, you
 must do it yourself. I have committed this crime: I refuse to
 kill."¹⁵⁷ The sentence was three years. Not long after his
 imprisonment, his second child was born.

The January 1967 Worker carried a Karl Meyer article
 urging people to refuse the 10% telephone excise tax, a
 Vietnam war tax. There was an interview with a Vietnamese
 Buddhist monk and an article, "The Economics of Peace," which
 called for the creation of a fund to be invested in socially
 constructive projects. Most importantly, Dorothy reflected
 painfully on Cardinal Spellman's recent call for victory in
 Vietnam and his description of it as a "war for civilization."

It is not just Vietnam, it is South Africa, it
 is Nigeria, the Congo, Indonesia, all of Latin
 America It is the fact that whether we
 like it or not, we are Americans We
 are eating while there is famine in the world.
 . . . We are Dives. Woe to the rich! We are
 the rich. The works of mercy are the opposite
 of the works of war We are not performing
 the works of mercy but the works of war. We
 cannot repeat this enough. . . . Deliver us,
 O Lord, from the fear of our enemies which
 makes cowards of us all.

I can sit in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament and wrestle for that peace in the bitterness of my soul, a bitterness which many Catholics throughout the world feel, and I can find many things in Scripture to console me, to change my heart from hatred to love of enemy. "Our worst enemies are those of our own household," Jesus said.

. . . Maybe they are terrified, these princes of the Church But what words are those he spoke - going against even the Pope, calling for victory, total victory? Words are as strong and powerful as bombs, as napalm. How much the government counts on those words, pays for those words to exalt our own way of life, to build up fear of the enemy

As to the Church, where shall we go, except to the Bride of Christ, one flesh with Christ? Though she is a harlot at times, she is our Mother . . . we are all noe, all one body, Chinese, Russians, Vietnamese, and He has commanded us to love one another.

"A new command I give, that you love others as I have loved you," not to the defending of your life, but to the laying down of your life. A hard saying.

"Love is indeed a harsh and dreadful thing" to ask of us, of each one of us, but it is the only answer.¹⁵⁸

In February The Catholic Worker ran a page one excerpt from A. J. Muste's "Of Holy Disobedience." Tom Cornell wrote A. J. Muste's obituary and Dorothy added words of praise. There was an informative article on emigration to Canada in that issue. Reports of demonstrations continued, and in March-April they printed Phillip Berrigan's "Can We Serve Both Love and War." From March 12-26 three Catholic Workers, Jack Cook, Bob Gilliam, and Dan Kelly fasted from all but water in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington as an "appeal to all our fellow Catholics to consider and to make a decision about their participation in this war."¹⁵⁹ Several others from the New York Worker, as well as other

friends, joined them for a part of the fast. A photograph of the three from the Washington Post appeared in the March-April Catholic Worker along with an article by Jack Cook, who wrote, "It was . . . an act of atonement if you will, for the guilt we all bear for the crimes being done in Vietnam; to offer our slight discomfort for the anguish of the Vietnamese."¹⁶⁰

In 1967 and 1968 The Catholic Worker printed antiwar sermons, articles on Teilhard and war and on World War I critic Randolph Bourne. Dorothy wrote of the work of Danilo Dolci, an Italian exponent of nonviolence. The Fathers Berrigan continued to contribute and Thomas Merton added a major article "The Vietnam War: An Overwhelming Atrocity." There was a theoretical piece on civil disobedience and the reprint of an article on the Gospel and nonviolence by a French lay theologian. British scholar and pacifist Joan Tooke, author of The Just War in Aquinas and Grotius, contributed "Just War Is Not Just." There was praise for Martin Luther King and his dedication to nonviolence, at the time of his murder. Gordon Zahn contributed an article on the ambiguity of the military chaplaincy. In the Spring of 1967 there was a mass draft card burning in Central Park, and in October of that year the Resistance organized and coordinated a nationwide return of draft cards. The Catholic Worker did not participate because no one any longer had a draft card.

In August of 1967 Bob Gilliam was sentenced to two years by a federal court in Minnesota. In his statement to

the court he said:

. . . I have refused to cooperate with Selective Service because conscription is a war institution. To cooperate with conscription is to support war. Jesus would not cooperate, I am sure, and if I am loyal to him, I must do the same. War and Christianity are absolutely incompatible and a man cannot serve both. Civil law is not absolute. Christ's command to love one another as he has loved us is absolute. One must obey God rather than man.¹⁶¹

A long piece edited from his letters appeared in The CW the following summer. That same summer, 1968, saw the arrest and imprisonment of Tom Cornell, Dan Kelly, and Dave Miller.

Jack Cook began a three year sentence in January of 1969.

Chris Kearns and Pat Jordan, Catholic Worker noncooperators, were placed on several years probation. There were other Catholic Workers who resisted the draft, but who were never prosecuted. There were, as well, many others, somewhat more peripherally involved with the Catholic Worker, who also resisted the draft. On all these going on Dorothy Day commented quite simply, "As for the young people going to jail, I think that's a splendid thing to do."¹⁶²

In October 1967 Father Phillip Berrigan and three others poured blood in the files of a Baltimore draft board. With that action was born the so-called "ultra-resistance."¹⁵² In May of 1968 Father Phillip Berrigan, with his brother Daniel and seven others, burned with napalm several hundred draft files in suburban Baltimore. In September of 1968 fourteen men destroyed thousands of "1A" draft files in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Among that group were Jim Forest, formerly managing editor of the CW and one of the founders

of the Catholic Peace Fellowship, and Irish born Michael Cullen, the director of Casa Maria, the Milwaukee Catholic Worker. News of these actions appeared in The Catholic Worker. The Worker offered affection and support but there was disagreement as to whether it was nonviolent. Tom Cornell reported approvingly in "Nonviolent Napalm in Catonsville."

In early 1969 Dorothy wrote:

But how can we show our love by war, by the extermination of our enemies? If we are followers of Christ, there is no room for speaking of the "just war." We have to remember that God loves all men, that God wills all men to be saved, that indeed all men are brothers. We must love the jailer as well as the one in prison. We must do the seemingly utterly impossible thing: love our enemy.¹⁶⁴

That year Ammon Hennacy's "God's Coward" was reprinted. There were letters from men in prison and several long articles on Gandhi by Eileen Egan of the Pax Association and Catholic Relief Services. News of the farm workers' nonviolent struggle continued. There were articles by Don Helder Camara, the saintly Brazilian Archbishop and advocate of nonviolence. The sixties, the decade of Vietnam, closed with Dorothy Day's words on the slaughter:

The need for prayer! . . . a word of such horrors just last week that it is hard to see how happiness can ever come to us again. I accuse the government itself, and all of us, because we are Americans, too, of these mass murders, this destruction of villages, this wiping out of peoples, the kidnapping, torture, rape and killing that have been disclosed Reparation is needed. We must do penance for what we have done to our brothers. We are our brothers keeper. Love is the measure by which we will be judged.¹⁶⁵

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The pacifism of the Catholic Worker is the pacifism of Dorothy Day. There have been others, within and without the movement, who have contributed to the Catholic Worker peace testimony. None, however, have been there from the beginning or spoken with the particular intensity and clarity of Dorothy Day. Time and again it was she who defined and defended the pacifism of the Catholic Worker. John Cogley has written that " . . . the abiding imprint of the movement has always been that of Miss Day herself, whose genius it has been to cut through all kinds of distractions, abstractions and intellectual complexities to get at the heart of Christianity itself."¹⁶⁶ This is particularly true of her writings on peace.

In the 1930s William Callahan played an important role in the expression of Catholic Worker pacifism. It was he who insisted upon the importance of the issue. He wrote often of the just war, conscientious objection, and the importance of forming one's own conscience in the light of Catholic tradition. He organized Pax. The essence of his position was the impossibility of a modern war being found just as judged by the traditional Scholastic criteria. He argued that the means of modern warfare, which seemed necessarily to involve the death of the innocent, were illicit, and that due to their great destructiveness there could no longer be a right proportion

between the good achieved in war and the evil done. His position was, however, ambiguous and could not accurately be called pacifism. It was he who was responsible for the occasional noted of ambiguity in the CW position in the late thirties. His writings were those of a young man, bright and clear, but abstract, brittle, somewhat shallow. He left the Worker in 1940.

In the forties the influence of the thought of Father John Hugo is unmistakable. In "Catholics Can Be Conscientious Objectors," Weapons of the Spirit, and The Gospel of Peace he built a solid case for Catholic pacifism. His argument was original and yet traditional, coherent, and theologically founded. He dealt clearly with the difficulties of the just war tradition and the distinction between counsels and precepts in relation to Catholic pacifism. It was his position which was widely adopted by World War II Catholic Worker conscientious objectors in facing their draft boards. It could be said that the technical defense of Worker pacifism fell to Father Hugo. Miller writes that, "Dorothy Day was concerned for those Catholics who insisted that every question be put to the test of close theological analysis also be given reasons for the Worker's position."¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, he can in no way be said to have originated the position. He rationalized it. His role was to make of what was already there a theological case.

After Father Hugo, and much influenced by him, there was Robert Ludlow. Ludlow was a far more political and

a far more angry man than Father Hugo. His writing was a good deal more appealing. He introduced a serious consideration of the importance of Gandhian nonviolence and argued for a non-violent revolution. He heightened the emphasis on noncooperation with war institutions and the need for civil disobedience. He insisted upon and wrote frequently about the link between anarchism and pacifism. He, however, left the movement in 1954 and a year later rejected anarchism. His writing, though clear and powerful, was sometimes immoderate and marked by a degree of coldness.

Ammon Hennacy was important because of his activism, because he did what he said. It was Ammon who established a liaison with the larger peace movement. More than any other figure it was Ammon who got Catholic Workers into the streets and the jails. He was an important example to many of the young Catholic Workers who went to prison in the sixties. It was he who pressed the personalist logic of the "one man revolution." "His basic point, he said, was that one person could secede from the system, and take the alternative of a life of hard labor."¹⁶⁸ His manner, however, was grating to many, and there were those, not without cause, who called him arrogant. He was blind to many things. In 1963 he left New York for Salt Lake City, and later in the decade he left the Church.

Throughout all this there was Dorothy Day. At every critical juncture it was she who spoke for the Catholic Worker.

It was she who spoke for the movement in 1938 on the use of force in Spain, in 1941 when war came for the United States, after Hiroshima in 1945, and in the sixties in response to Vietnam. Her best writings on peace stand far above any other peace writing in The Catholic Worker. The best of her writings do not make a case for pacifism in any ordinary sense. They are meditations. They are prayerful. They were often written in Church. They are deeply felt, anguished, sometimes angry. They are bouquets of quotes, from the Saints and Scripture, anecdotes, exhortations, prayers, tears. They have a powerful, luminous intensity. They are, at their best, incandescent.

Many, both among her followers and critics, have wished she were more systematic in her pacifism. Dorothy Day has never felt the necessity of being systematic. She writes of things as they come to hand and in her own way. She has insisted, implicitly, that every implication of pacifism may not be resolvable, that it is finally no easy matter. "Love in reality is a harsh and dreadful thing compared to love in dreams." The substance of her pacifism, finally, is very deep but simple, a thing of few parts. She is convinced that the Word of God forbids violence and requires peacemaking. Her pacifism is evangelical. It can be said that there are three foundation stones of her pacifism: the Sermon on the Mount, the works of mercy, and the Mystical Body of Christ. Each of these themes has been emphasized repeatedly in the pages of The Catholic Worker.

By the Sermon on the Mount is meant not only the fifth through the seventh chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, but the whole moral teaching of Jesus in the New Testament which those chapters summarize. It is Dorothy Day's conviction that the love which Jesus enjoins upon his followers excludes violence, that killing and Christian love are utterly incompatible. "I give you a new commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you." That love which he commands is like his own, generous and forgiving. That love extends explicitly and especially to enemies. That love led to the laying down of his own life for the sake of others. That love led to the Cross, the "folly of the Cross," to which his followers are also called. The pacifism of Dorothy Day is rooted in the Gospel.

The day to day work of the Catholic Worker for forty years has been defined by the works of mercy: to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to shelter the homeless.⁶⁹ Dorothy Day has over and over again reminded her readers that it is on the performance of these that all will be judged. "Whatever you do unto these the least of my brothers, you do unto me." "Love is the measure by which we will be judged," she has so often written, and the works of mercy are the concrete form of love. The works of mercy are the Christian works par excellence. Arthur Sheehan refers to the works of mercy as "Peter's peace plan."¹⁷⁰ Repeatedly the Worker has contrasted the works of mercy with their opposite, the works of war. A choice must be made. One cannot do both

and, the works of mercy are necessary for salvation. More than that, the Catholic Worker contends, the performance of the works of mercy goes a long way toward removing the occasion of war.

Finally, Dorothy argues, war must be rejected because it violates the unity of the Mystical Body of Christ. He is the vine and we are the branches. How frequently Dorothy has begun an important peace statement with the words of St. Clement of Rome, "Why do the members of Christ tear one another?" Dorothy has had a deep and living sense of human solidarity since her childhood. "I always felt the common unity of our humanity; the longing of the human heart for this communion."¹⁷¹ That sense of solidarity led her as a young woman into radical movements and found its firmest foundation and fullest expression in the Catholic theology of the Mystical Body. Dorothy's favorite expression in this connection is the old Wobblie slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all." In his book on American Catholic social thought David O'Brien wrote, "Dorothy's conviction of solidarity went back to her radical days - her involvement with the Industrial Workers of the World and with the suffragettes, and her hatred of poverty, prisons, and war Her fears at her conversion that she had abandoned the poor were answered by the idea of the Mystical Body."¹⁷² Dorothy has never seen this doctrine in any exclusive sense, since God wills that all be saved and all are, at least, potential members of Christ.

Dorothy has often reflected on the implications of this doctrine. As we are all one, there is no private good or

evil. Every good act, every evil act, enhances or demeans the life of the whole. Because of this we each bear the guilt for the sin of Hiroshima. We each owe penance for that sin. Conversely, there is an economy of good, and each tiny and anonymous good goes to the building up of the whole. Here Dorothy finds the hope that overcomes futility.

When I lay in jail thinking of these things, thinking of war and peace and the problem of human freedom, of jails, drug addiction and prostitution, and the apathy of great masses of people who believe that nothing can be done - when I thought of these things I was all the more confirmed in my faith in the little way of St. Therese. We do the things that come to hand, we pray our prayers and beg also for an increase of faith - and God will do the rest. . . . We must lay one brick at a time, take one step at a time; we can be responsible only for an increase of love in our hearts that will vitalize and transform all our individual actions, and know that God will take them and multiply them, as Jesus multiplied the loaves and fishes.¹⁷³

Dorothy has written a book on St. Therese and her "little way." After visiting the Gauchats, Catholic Workers since the thirties, whose work has been taking severely disabled and retarded children into their family, she wrote:

If I did not believe . . . if I did not have faith that such work as the Gauchats does lighten the sum total of suffering in the world, so that those suffering on both sides in this ghastly struggle (Vietnam), somehow mysteriously find their pain lifted and perhaps some balm of consolation poured on their wounds, if I did not believe these things, the problem of evil would indeed be overwhelming.¹⁷⁴

NOTES

¹This not to slight the Catholic Worker farm at Tivoli, New York, of which more will be said later. It is essentially a house of hospitality on the land.

² The figure of eighty thousand may be inflated. Catholic Worker record keeping is notoriously lax and quite a few papers go out in bundle subscriptions.

³Dorothy day, The Long Loneliness (New York: Curtis Books, 1972, original copyright 1952, Harper and Row), p. 229.

⁴St. Maximilian was a Christian martyred in 298 for his refusal to serve in the Roman army.

⁵Franz Jagerstatter was an Austrian peasant executed by the Nazis for his refusal to serve in Hitler's army.

⁶"The aim of Distribution is family ownership of land, workshops, stores, transport, trades, professions, and so on." Dorothy Day, "Articles on Distributism," The Catholic Worker (hereafter CW), 15:4 (June, 1948), p. 7.

⁷George Woodcock, Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements (Cleveland, Ohio: Meridian Books, World Publishing, 1962), p. 234.

⁸"Prof. Jacques Maritain Writes Characteristically to Peter Maurin," CW, 2:7 (December, 1934), p. 8.

⁹Quoted in CW, 39:3 (March-April, 1973), p. 6.

¹⁰Day, Long Loneliness, p. 195.

¹¹Quoted in Maisie Ward, Unfinished Business (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964), p. 186.

¹²Dorothy Day, Loaves and Fishes (New York: Curtis Books, 1972, original copyright, 1963, Harper and Row), p. 210.

¹³Peter Maurin's brother as quoted in Arthur Sheehan, Peter Maurin: Gay Believer (Garden City, New York: Hanover House, Doubleday, 1959), p. 59.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 97.

¹⁶Day, Long Loneliness, p. 317-318.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 187-188.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 189.

¹⁹William Miller, A Harsh and Dreadful Love: Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement (New York: Liveright, 1973), p. 65.

²⁰From his "Foreword" to Peter Maurin, The Green Revolution (Fresno, California: Academy Guild Press, Second Revised Edition, 1961), prefatory material unpaginated.

²¹David J. O'Brien, American Catholics and Social Reform: The New Deal Years (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 209-210.

²²Ed Willock, "Catholic Radicalism" in Gordon Zahn ed. Readings in Sociology (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1959), p. 281.

²³J.M. Cameron, "Confusion Among Christians," The New York Review of Books, 20:9 (May 31, 1973), p. 20.

²⁴Day, Long Loneliness, p. 317-318.

²⁵Miller, p. 158.

²⁶Sheehan, p. 51.

²⁷Ibid., p. 59.

²⁸Miller, p. 27.

²⁹From her "Introduction" to Maurin, prefatory material unpaginated.

³⁰Day, Long Loneliness, p. 205.

³¹Sheehan, p. 205.

³²Ibid., p. 198.

³³Maurin, p. 81-82.

³⁴Ibid., p. 149.

³⁵Ibid., p. 151.

³⁶Sheehan, p. 198.

- 37 "To Our Readers," CW, 1:1 (May, 1933), p.1.
- 38 "Catholic Worker Delegate to Attend Peace Conference," CW, 1:5 (October, 1933), p. 2.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Dorothy Day, "Commentary Column," CW, 1:7 (December 15, 1933), p. 2.
- 41 "Is War Justifiable? War Preparations Cause Questioning," CW, 1:10 (April, 1934), p. 5.
- 42 Gordon C. Zahn, War, Conscience and Dissent, (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), p. 88.
- 43 "The Catholic Worker Leaflets," CW, 2:4 (September, 1934), p. 5.
- 44 Dorothy Day, "The Mystical Body of Christ," CW, 2:5 (October, 1934), p. 3.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 A.H. Coddington, "Book Reviews," CW, 2:7 (December, 1934), p. 8.
- 47 "'Our Country' Say DuPont Boys in Senate Hearing," CW, 2:8 (January, 1935), p. 1.
- 48 Dorothy Day, "Mid-Winter," CW, 2:8 (January, 1935), p.4.
- 49 Paul Hanley Furfey, "Maximum-Minimum," CW, 3:1 (May, 1935), p. 5.
- 50 Dorothy Day, "Class War," CW, 3:2 (June, 1935), p. 4.
- 51 Dorothy Day, "Pacifism," CW, 4:1 (May, 1936), p. 8.
- 52 Catholic theologians have traditionally distinguished two kinds of moral pronouncements in The New Testament, precepts, the fulfillment of which is necessary for salvation and which are binding on all believers, and counsels, which are a call to a higher life and are directed only to those so called. The passages of the Sermon on the Mount relating to violence are usually taken to be counsels.

53 "Ethics of War," CW, 4:5 (September, 1936), p. 4.

54 Dorothy Day, "The Mystical Body and Spain," CW, 4:5 (September, 1936), p. 4.

55 The American Catholic press was uniformly hostile to the Loyalists and, to a great degree, enthusiastic about General Franco. The Catholic Worker stood alone among Catholic publications until the summer of 1938 when Commonweal adopted a position of neutrality.

56 "C.W. to Organize Catholic Group to Protest War," CW, 4:6 (October, 1936), p. 1.

57 Father Luigi Sturzo was a Sicilian priest, a politically active social democrat, and an anti-Fascist, exiled from Italy by Mussolini.

58 Dorothy Day, "The Use of Force," CW, 4:7 (November, 1936), p. 4.

59 Alfredo Mendizabal, "Spanish Catholic Flays Both Sides," CW, 4:8 (December, 1936), p. 1, 8.

60 "For the New Reader," CW, 4:8 (December, 1936), p. 6.

61 Many prominent French Catholics including Maritain, Mauriac, Bernanos, Mounier, and Massignon belonged to this Committee.

62 "Cardinal Verdier on Partisan Attitudes," CW, 6:1 (May, 1938), p. 6.

63 Dorothy Day, "CW Stand on the Use of Force," CW, 6:4 (September, 1938), p. 1, 4, 7.

64 Ibid., P. 1.

65 "Fight Conscription," CW, 7:1 (September, 1939), p. 1.

66 Dorothy Day, "We Are to Blame for New War in Europe," CW, 7:1 (September, 1936), p. 1, 4.

67 Monsignor O'Toole, with two other priests, had founded the Pittsburgh Catholic Radical Alliance, a Catholic Worker off-shoot.

68 Dorothy Day, "Our Stand - an Editorial," CW, 7:9 (June, 1940), p. 1, 4.

⁶⁹Dorothy Day, "CW Fights Draft at Senate Hearing," CW, 7:10, (July-August, 1940), p. 2.

⁷⁰Dorothy Day, "Let Your Prayers Be For Peace!" CW, 7:11 (September, 1940), p. 1.

⁷¹Dorothy Day, "Pacifism is Dagnerous So is Christianity," CW 8:3 (January, 1941), p. 4.

⁷²H. K. Kendall, "Seattle Letter Shows Divisions Rebukes Pacifist," CW, 8:9 (June, 1941), p. 6.

⁷³Miller, p. 168.

⁷⁴Kendall, P. 6.

⁷⁵Miller, p. 174.

⁷⁶Dorothy Day, "God, Hear Our Prayer," CW, 8:10 (September, 1941), p. 1.

⁷⁷Dorothy Day, "Our Country Passes from Undeclared to Declared War; We Continue Our Pacifist Stand," CW, 9:3 (January, 1942), p. 1, 4.

⁷⁸The historic peace Churches are the Society of Friends, the Church of the Brethren, and the Mennonites.

⁷⁹According to United States Selective Service law, those young men who were conscientiously opposed to all war by reason of religious training and belief, and who were found sincere, had the option of entering the military as noncombatants or performing unpaid alternative civilian service.

⁸⁰The National Service Board, in some cases, assumed management of what had been installations of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Many camps were involved in conservation and reforestation projects, others were institutional service units.

⁸¹Zahn, War, Conscience and Dissent, p. 149.

⁸²Gordon Zahn, "Leaven of Love and Justice," America, 127:15 (November 11, 1972), p. 383.

⁸³Dorothy Day, "Why Do the Members of Christ Tear One Another? Why Do We Rise Up Against Our Own Body in Such Madness? Have We Forgotten That We Are All Members One of Another?" CW, 9:4 (February, 1942), p. 1, 4.

⁸⁴Dorothy Day, "If Conscription Comes for Women," CW, 10:2 (January, 1943), p. 1.

⁸⁵"Catholics Can Be Conscientious Objectors," CW, 10:6 (May, 1943), p. 1.

⁸⁶Dorothy Day, "The Only Sin Is Not To Love," CW, 8:9 (July-August, 1943), p. 2.

⁸⁷John J. Hugo, "Catholics Can Be Conscientious Objectors," CW, 8:9 (July-August, 1943), p. 7.

⁸⁸Day, Long Loneliness, p. 281.

⁸⁹Miller, p. 184.

⁹⁰John J. Hugo, The Gospel of Peace (New York: Catholic Worker, 1944), p. 39-40.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 83.

⁹²John J. Hugo, "The Immorality of Conscription," CW, 11:9 (November, 1944), p. 10.

⁹³Dorothy Day, "We Go On Record," CW, 12:7 (September, 1945), p. 1.

⁹⁴Robert Ludlow, "Pax," CW, 13:12 (February, 1947), p. 3.

⁹⁵Robert Ludlow, "Pax," CW, 14:2 (April, 1947), p. 2.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Robert Ludlow, "A Question of Authority," CW, 16:8 (January, 1950), p. 3.

⁹⁸Robert Ludlow, "Pax," CW, 14:4 (June, 1947), p. 6.

⁹⁹Robert Ludlow, "Labor and the War," CW, 17:17 (January, 1951), p. 3.

¹⁰⁰Dorothy Day, "The Mystical Body of Christ," CW, 14:8 (November, 1947), p. 2.

¹⁰¹Dorothy Day, "Who Then Is Our Brother?," CW, 14:9 (December, 1947), p. 1.

¹⁰²Dorothy Day, Letter, Commonweal, 48:6 (May 21, 1948), p. 136-137.

¹⁰³Robert Ludlow, "We Mourn Death of Gandhi Non-violent Revolutionary," CW, 14:11 (February, 1948), p. 1.

¹⁰⁴Robert Ludlow, "We Are Un-American, We Are Catholics," CW, 14:13 (April, 1948), p. 2.

¹⁰⁵Day, Long Loneliness, p. 304.

¹⁰⁶Dorothy Day, "On Pilgrimage," CW, 15:3 (May, 1948), p. 3.

¹⁰⁷Robert Ludlow, "Reasons Why We Should Not Register," CW, 15:5 (July-August, 1948), p. 1.

¹⁰⁸The Peacemakers succeeded the Committee for a Non-Violent Revolution and involved many of the same people.

¹⁰⁹Robert Ludlow, "Catholic Worker Positions," CW, 16:1 (May, 1949), p. 3.

¹¹⁰Robert Ludlow, "Satyagraha (A Christian Way)," CW, 16:1 (May, 1949), p. 3.

¹¹¹Dorothy Day, "Peter Maurin," CW, 16:2 (June, 1949), p. 2.

¹¹²Dorothy Day, "Beyond Politics," CW, 16:6 (November, 1949), p. 2.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Robert Ludlow, "Letter to a Priest," CW, 16:6 (November, 1949), p. 5.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶Dorothy Day, "On Pilgrimage," CW, 17:2 (July-August, 1950), p. 1.

¹¹⁷Robert Ludlow, "Labor and the War," p. 1, 3.

¹¹⁸Dorothy Day, "The Incompatibility of Love and Violence," CW, 17:11 (May, 1951), p. 1, 2.

¹¹⁹Dorothy Day, "On Pilgrimage," CW, 17:11 (May, 1951), p. 6.

¹²⁰Dorothy Day, "Meditation on the Death of the Rosenbergs," CW, 20:1 (July-August, 1953), p. 6.

¹²¹Ammon Hennacy, The One-Man Revolution in America (Salt Lake City, Utah: Ammon Hennacy Publications, 1970), p. 142.

¹²²Two of Ammon's heroes, Alexander Berkman and Eugene Debs, were there around the same time.

¹²³Dorothy Day, "Theophane Venard and Ho Chi Minh," CW, 20:10 (May, 1954), p. 1.

¹²⁴In later editions the title was changed to The Book of Ammon.

¹²⁵Miller, p. 283.

¹²⁶Dorothy Day, "Where Are the Poor? They Are in Prisons, Too," CW, 22:1 (July-August, 1955), p. 1, 8.

¹²⁷Hennacy, The One Man Revolution, p. 293.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Day, Loaves and Fishes, p. 161.

¹³⁰Edmund Egan, "Pacifism and the Crisis of Revolution," CW, 23:5 (December, 1956), p. 1, 6.

¹³¹Dorothy Day, "On Pilgrimage," CW, 24:1 (July-August, 1957), p. 2.

¹³²Dorothy Day, "'Workers of the World Unite Under Christ, Light of the World,'" CW, 24:10 (May, 1958), p. 1.

¹³³Charles Butterworth, "Cw Staff Members Arrested," CW, 25:10 (June, 1959), p. 2.

¹³⁵Dorothy Day, On Pilgrimage (New York: Curtis Books, 1972), p. 77.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 100-101.

¹³⁷Dorothy Day, "On Pilgrimage," CW, 17:3 (September, 1950), p. 1.

¹³⁸Day, Long Loneliness, p. 304.

¹³⁹"Announcing the Formation of the American Pax Association," CW, 29:3 (October, 1962), p. 3.

¹⁴⁰Dorothy Day, "On Pilgrimage," CW, 30:8 (March, 1964), p. 6.

¹⁴¹I am grateful to Tom Cornell who originally organized the demonstration and recalled it in a letter to the author, 13 December, 1973.

¹⁴²Day, On Pilgrimage, p. 137.

¹⁴³"A Declaration of Conscience," CW, 31:7 (February, 1965), p. 2.

¹⁴⁴Daniel Berrigan, "In Peaceable Conflict," CW, 31:8 (March, 1965), p. 1.

¹⁴⁵"We Are All Under Judgment," CW, 31:12 (July-August, 1965), p. 8.

¹⁴⁶Day, On Pilgrimage, p. 236.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p. 237-238.

¹⁴⁸Staughton Lynd and Michale Ferber, The Resistance, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 23.

¹⁴⁹Quoted in Tom Cornell, "Life and Death on the Streets of New York," CW, 32:3 (November, 1965), p. 8.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

¹⁵¹Ibid.

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³Dorothy Day, "Suicide or Sacrifice," CW, 32:3 (November, 1965), p. 7.

¹⁵⁴Dorothy Day, "On Pilgrimage," CW, 32:9 (May, 1966), p. 6.

¹⁵⁵Lynd and Ferber, p. 49-50.

¹⁵⁶He was already on probation for the draft card burning of November 6, 1965.

¹⁵⁷"James E. Wilson's Statement," CW, 33:4 (January, 1967), p. 8.

¹⁵⁸Day, On Pilgrimage, p. 288-290.

¹⁵⁹Quoted from the leaflet the three distributed, headed "Fast and Pray."

¹⁶⁰Jack Cook, "The Fast and the Waters," CW, 33:6 (March-April, 1966), p. 1.

¹⁶¹The statement was later mimeographed and distributed by a college peace group in Winona, Minnesota.

¹⁶²James Finn ed., Protest: Pacifism and Politics (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), p. 382.

¹⁶³Some date it from the action of Barry Bondhus, a somewhat eccentric young Minnesotan, who dumped two buckets of human excrement into the files of his local draft board.

164 Day, On Pilgrimage, p. 359-360.

165 Ibid., p. 383.

166 John Cogley, "A Harsh and Dreadful Love," America,
127:15 (November 11, 1972), p. 395.

167 Miller, p. 183.

168 Ibid., p. 291.

169 The corporal works of mercy are: 1) to feed the hungry, 2) to give drink to the thirsty, 3) to shelter the homeless, 4) to clothe the naked, 5) to nurse the sick, 6) to ransom the captive, 7) to bury the dead. The spiritual works of mercy are: 1) to counsel the doubtful, 2) to admonish the sinner, 3) to instruct the ignorant, 4) to bear wrongs patiently, 5) to forgive offenses, 6) to comfort the afflicted, 7) to pray for the living and the dead.

170 Sheehan, p. 135.

171 Day, Long Loneliness, p. 31.

172 O'Brien, p. 201.

173 Day, Loaves and Fishes, p. 168-169.

174 Day, On Pilgrimage, p. 270.

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Ordinarily, at this point, the researcher would cite formal interviews of Catholic Workers. I conducted no formal interviews, but I have been closely associated with the Catholic Worker movement since 1964, and much of this research has been illuminated by that experience and by countless informal conversations.

Alex Avitable S.J. has prepared quite a full bibliography of the Worker movement. It is currently available from Mr. Avitable in mimeograph form. He hopes eventually to have it published.

I do not cite separately all the relevant articles from the pages of The Catholic Worker. Many are cited in the footnotes and many more are referred to in the text. The CW is all of a piece and one cannot see any part of it clearly without attempting to see the whole. There is no

list of articles that will adequately explain the pacifism of the movement. One must read, as much as possible, in the back issues.

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