DISSERTATION

THE ORIGINAL GREEN REVOLUTION: THE CATHOLIC WORKER FARMS AND ENVIRONMENTAL MORALITY

Submitted by
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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY PAUL V. STOCK ENTITLED THE ORIGINAL GREEN REVOLUTION: THE CATHOLIC WORKER FARMS AND ENVIRONMENTAL MORALITY BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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The following dissertation examines the history of the Catholic Worker farms. The Catholic Worker have printed a newspaper, run houses of hospitality and farms in the hope of treating people with dignity and working toward a common good. Founders Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin encouraged a Green Revolution predicated upon education, care for those in need and an agrarian tradition. Drawing on Jacques Ellul's work on the effects of a technological society, I offer the Catholic Worker farms as one way to mitigate those same effects. The Catholic Worker farms provide one illustration of an environmental morality that is counter to the ethics and theoretical morality common to the discourse of environmentalism.

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DEDICATION

For Norma Jean.

AMDG

PREFACE

"If only the farms increased as the Houses of Hospitality are doing, there would be the beginnings of that social order which is the foundation of peace at home."

- Dorothy Day, *The Catholic Worker*, November 1940

When I describe this project, people often ask, "How did you get interested in this?" My answer, after much practice, comes down to this. I came to the Catholic Worker through the back door. While concentrating on organic farmers for my MA thesis I came across vague references to the Catholic Workers and farms. Without any knowledge of Dorothy Day, I came to the Catholic Worker via their least known aspect. That being said, while I adopt not only a way of seeing from Jacques Ellul, I also adopt a disclaimer of his: "I have no competence to write this book." I am not a Catholic Worker and have spent very little time with them. I am not an historian. But I am an interested observer (to put a twist on a common methodological adjective).

In his unpublished manuscript, Stanley Vishnewski (1984), the longtime Catholic Worker wrote, "I think that it can truthfully be said that the true story of the Movement will never be written. It is a story that is wrapt up in the lives of every person who in any

manner, shape or form, for good or for evil, contributed to the life of the Movement" (p. 229). And William Miller, in the first history of the Worker wrote,

> Each of these Worker houses deserves its own history, not because of any notable successes in social reclamation or even because of the sacrificial heroism of those who organized and staffed them, but because each story is the drama of a few people who were convinced that the doomfelt shaking of an increasingly eccentric universe could, through active love, be brought into harmony; that one could begin their reconstruction only in the 'little' way of St. Therese of Lisieux and with a few of the most woebegotten of men; and that, indeed, to 'succeed' would be to fail. (Miller 1973: 114-115)

Or as Dorothy put it in 1967 (*Catholic Worker*, Mar/April: 4, 8):

> There are not enough historians among us. If each one who ran a house or started a farm all over this vast country, in the name of the Catholic Worker, could write even a few pages for the record, what a book it would be! . . . But the records are written on the hearts of those who partook of the work.

The Catholic Worker farms deserve our attention. Not for any great things they have accomplished, but for the small things they keep trying. I hope that my contribution does a small amount of justice to the amazing work and perseverance of those that work toward a culture of peace in their little ways.

P.V.S
Fort Collins, CO
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Dorothy Day, Peter Maurin, Catholic Worker, environmental morality, peace and nonviolence, agriculture, commune/communitarian, cooperation, utopia, morality, social movement critique, agriculture

CHAPTER 1

THE CATHOLIC WORKER: AN OVERVIEW

The Catholic Worker began as a newspaper on May 1, 1933 in the midst of the Great Depression and round the time Adolph Hitler took power in Germany. Its longtime editor and spiritual leader from the beginning, Dorothy Day, died just after Ronald Reagan's election to the U.S. presidency in 1980. In between, a cultural phenomena was born, grew, dwindled and rose again based on the principles of personalism, distributism and an enactment of the Christian works of mercy. The interesting thing, among many, about the Catholic Worker (CW)[1] is their longevity, especially in the wake of the charismatic leader's death (McKanan 2008).

Unlike new religious movements, the Catholic Worker does not have and has not tried to create a new sect of Catholicism, but merely to awaken long held Catholic teachings fomented through the Second Vatican Council, liberation theology, the Sanctuary movement and anti-war stances (e.g., conscientious objector (CO) status, peace, anti-nuclear). The Catholic Worker, drawing on former labor union practices, has been at the forefront of most of the major ethical battles of the twentieth (and twenty-first century) including labor rights (emerging from Day's socialist background), advocation for Jewish asylum during the Nazi

regime, civil rights, expanding conscientious objection rights, pacifism, anti-Vietnam War protests, anti-nuclear protests, the Sanctuary movement and organic agriculture. While its cultural influence ranged in effectiveness, the litany of important thinkers associated with and taken by the Catholic Worker includes Jacques Maritain, the National Catholic Rural Life Conference (NCRLC), Michael Harrington (a fellow high school alum of mine), Lewis Mumford, E.F. Schumacher, Sir Albert Howard, Mike Gold, W.H. Auden, Jack and Joseph Kennedy, Mother Theresa, Allen Ginsberg, Henry Miller, Norman Mailer and Aldous Huxley to name a few.

Overall, the Catholic Worker's strength comes from its antithesis to those frameworks that would typically be applied to explain it: social movement theory, new religious movements theory, organizational sociology. The continued existence of the Catholic Worker as something recognizable and consistent is based on its ability to adapt and remain decentralized while drawing strength from its emphasis on the works of mercy at an individual level.

The remaining part of this project will explore the agricultural communes as envisioned by Peter Maurin based on personalism, distributism and the works of mercy and enacted for 75 years in various places and incarnations. Above all, the Catholic Worker farms embody an enactment of moral care by emphasizing the dignity of all people and a vision of a shared community that is decentralized and

self-sufficient. It is a message of hope and realistic change that is not beholden simply to Christian ethics, but an enactment of care for all people that is common to many religious teachings as well as the underlying humanism of the United Nations, liberal politics and the discourse of rights.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER

The Catholic Worker remains one of the longest standing social justice entities in the world as it celebrated its 75th anniversary May 1, 2008. Besides its orientations to social justice, the Catholic Worker remain entrenched in the teachings of the Catholic Church, thus providing a paradox for many outsiders and researchers. In the midst of the Great Depression and the New Deal, a young Catholic convert and a French émigré joined forces to create a long term social movement of sorts based on social justice, but clearly grounded in the Catholic faith. On May 1, 1933, Dorothy Day began distributing the *The Catholic Worker* newspaper to the poor, the hungry, the workers and the unemployed of New York City.

Day (1997) wrote in her autobiography, "The Catholic Worker, as the name implied, was directed to the worker, but we used the word in its broadest sense, meaning those who worked with hand or brain, those who did physical, mental or spiritual work. But we thought primarily of the poor, the dispossessed, the

exploited" (p. 204). The paper addressed labor strikes, poverty, breadlines and lack of appropriate state intervention reminiscent of the muckrakers. Additionally, the paper served as a forum for Maurin's Easy Essays, verses that demonstrated, in a straightforward style meant to be spoken, the necessity for social change rooted in papal encyclicals, the historical social teaching of the Church and European social thought. These Easy Essays, necessary for the "clarification of thought," promoted a three point plan termed the Green Revolution (as opposed to the red one of Communism) for broad social change and an opportunity to bring appropriate means to the fight for just ends or more simply, a clear bridge between thought and action (Stocking 2006).

The underlying justification of the Catholic Worker was rooted in personalism, distributism and Catholic social teaching. Personalism centered on privileging the dignity of persons while taking personal responsibility for one's self and those one is within immediate contact. Distributism extended personalism to formulate an economic system centered on that same dignity of the person with a larger focus on the common good. Catholic social teaching, most explicitly concerned with labor and workers provided justification for both personalism and distributism.

The publication of the *Catholic Worker* (which Maurin wanted to name the *Catholic Radical*) represented the first step in the plan (along with roundtable discussions). Hospices or houses of hospitality, similar to the idea of a shelter,

represented the second point. Lastly, Maurin proposed a return to communal agricultural living or agronomic universities presciently anticipating the "back-to-the-land" calls of the sixties. The Catholic Worker has often anticipated issues of the mainstream Left. Soon after the publication began, Maurin began inviting those he met on the street to the meager publication offices for food, drink and discussion. From those first encounters emerged a distinct entity of both social justice and demonstration of religious faith rarely equaled in any movement.

DOROTHY DAY

Dorothy Day grew up in a newspaper family that ranged from Brooklyn to San Francisco to Chicago. After briefly attending the University of Illinois on scholarship, Day left Illinois to live closer to her family on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. She remained, more or less permanently, until the end of her life. While her newspaper career put her in touch with radicals of all stripes and left her with an amazing compassion for the worker, the birth of her daughter pushed her over the spiritual cliff and into baptism as a Catholic in her late twenties. The conversion created a stir within her circle of friends and an irreparable rift with her anarchist, common-law husband Forster Batterham. Through the shared responsibility of parenthood, they never completely severed their relationship. Dorothy even cared for Forster and his new partner during illness. Struggling from

the loss of her former life and trying to find a new life that married her radical social outlook and her new Church proved a difficult road. Dorothy's passion still lay in reporting and writing. Following an introduction to Peter Maurin, a saintly, French immigrant, the *Catholic Worker* and the houses of hospitality of the same name were born.

The Catholic Worker tied Dorothy's social radicalism and her faith that gave birth to a new form of hospitality for the U.S. and a piece of the Catholic Church unfamiliar to most Americans. While there are similarities to Jane Addams' settlement houses, Dorothy's Catholic Worker relied on a Christian vision of a better world as opposed to reliance on existing institutions (Hamington 2007). Upon opening a soup line and bed space for those in need during the Depression, the Catholic Worker began to inspire similar efforts across the country that also used the moniker "Catholic Worker." Day and Maurin (and others) traveled extensively to speak with parish, campus and community groups about the importance of personalism, distributism and the social teachings of the Catholic Church to be enacted through "clarification of thought" (e.g., newspapers, newsletters, roundtable discussions, lectures and, now, websites), houses of hospitality and agronomic universities or agricultural communes that provide medieval-like stability and a sense of community despite the mechanistic noise of the modern world. Their message was well-received and more houses (and farms)

opened across the county.

Day remained at the center of this growth and helped forge a new type of American Catholicism that bonds social and religious radicalism together. Her extensive travel schedule and prolific writing portfolio forged Day as the charismatic leader of the Catholic Worker and the Catholic Left. Day continues to have a presence in the consciousness of the Catholic Worker despite her death in 1980. Unlike movements created out of the will of charismatic leaders, the Catholic Worker did not dissolve following her death; in fact, it might be stronger than ever (McKanan 2008).

PETER MAURIN

"Itinerant, French immigrant" are often the first three words used to describe Peter Maurin. More and more, though, "saintly" needs to be added to the mix. While never the visible leader of the Catholic Worker, Dorothy Day went to great lengths to attribute the primacy of Maurin's influence on her, the paper and the incarnations of the Catholic Worker around the country and the world. Part of the difficulty in assuring Maurin's legacy stems from the fact that Peter died in 1949, just after WWII and a "down" time in terms of Catholic Worker cultural significance. McKanan (2008) has recently argued that the Catholic Worker exhibit two distinct time periods of cultural influence, the first being from its inception to

the U.S. entry into World War II and, then, during the dynamic 1960s. Appropriately, McKanan (2008) ends his book arguing that perhaps the longest lasting cultural interest of the Catholic Worker will lie in the inherently environmentally friendly advocation of small-scale agriculture and community that Peter never fully saw realized and that has been virtually ignored academically.

Despite Peter's early death, the importance and centrality of the Catholic Worker's three point plan, repeated virtually every May in the Catholic Worker under the banner of "Aims and Means," stays at the heart of the Catholic Worker as a whole despite significant variation and even outright disagreement among Catholic Workers. It is just this variation that lies at the heart of Peter's continual insistence on decentralization (emergent from Kropotkin-influenced anarchism and distributism).

THE THREE POINT PLAN OF THE GREEN REVOLUTION

Roundtable Discussions

In order to affect social change, Day and Maurin published the *Catholic Worker*, spoke as often as possible when invited around the country and fostered discussion anytime and anywhere. Although the *Catholic Worker* remains in publication without disruption since 1933, the paper was intended as only the first step in Peter Maurin's campaign for "clarification of thought" (Day 1997; Piehl

1982). In order to bring home the message of radical, social change based on the Gospels, Day and Maurin printed the *Catholic Worker* full of current stories of injustice, intolerance and stratification while including Maurin's essays geared toward everyone—the intellectual and the laborer, the baker and the homemaker, the employed and the destitute. Utilizing the papal encyclicals, bishops' letters, the Bible and the inspirations of mystics and saints, in addition to critical philosophers, theologians, sociologists and writers, the Catholic Worker, in spirit and in deed, began formulating a social theory of sorts. Catholic Worker social theory has inspired more than one notable radical, including sociologists Paul Hanley Furfey (Catholic University of America) and Pitirim Sorokin (Harvard University), as well as socialist intellectual Michael Harrington (*The Other America*). We will discuss this social theory later in the section on the Aims and Means of the Catholic Worker.

The Catholic Worker started as a 2,500 copy newspaper and grew steadily until Dorothy Day's insistent pacifist position (developed during the Spanish Civil War) on the eve of World War II drew the ire of many in and out of the movement. By the end of 1933, the publication's rolls had risen to 75,000 per month (Cornell et al. 1995: xvi) and up to 150,000 by the end of 1936 (Day 1997). On the eve of the U.S. entrance to WWII, 185,000 copies of each issue were printed (Piehl 1982). The pacifist stance halted the the paper's circulation growth and the emergence of

new Catholic Worker houses. After dropping in circulation and the number of houses by more than half during the war, the sixties radicalism again saw the Catholic Worker a player in the Left and spurred subscription roll back up to a high of 94,000 in June 1977 (Roberts 1982; Segers 1978).

In addition to the longevity of the *Catholic Worker* produced by the Catholic Worker houses in New York City, additional pamphlets, newsletter, newspapers and websites are produced and maintained independently of the New York house by various houses of hospitality and Catholic Worker farms across the world. As of 2006, there were, according to the Catholic Worker website (a clearinghouse of information and general portal for all things Catholic Worker), 82 domestic publications ranging from newsletters to newspapers, nine international publications and a total of 42 websites including a new Dutch language version of the general site mentioned above. Due to the decentralized nature of the Catholic Worker, there is no way to know if all houses in existence are listed, but it does provide a useful resource for researchers, Workers and the curious.

Day always encouraged new houses of hospitality to produce these writings to help ground a new house's experiences in the local context in addition to putting a face to the abstract problems of poverty, hunger and inequity. The houses of hospitality not only serve food and provide housing, but they are intended to bring the worker and the scholar into communion and communication with one another.

A dialectical relationship between thought and action, aims and means, means and ends continually inform the non linear evolution of the Catholic Worker. To this day, the New York Catholic Worker and other houses and farms host roundtable discussions or Friday Night discussions on topics related to the Worker, social justice, war and peace, literature and theology.

Houses of Hospitality

Almost immediately after the initial publication of the *Catholic Worker*, Day and Maurin began hosting those who needed food and shelter, especially those who did not qualify for state aid or shelter. Although hesitant at first, given Day's pragmatic thinking and lack of funds, space and staff, the first house of hospitality soon required new space. Furthermore, after a few years of hosting idealistic college students during the summers, more houses of hospitality sprang up across the country (and the world), a trend that continues to this day although more typically by those who have spent time in other houses, not just college students. A year after the opening of St. Joseph's House in New York City, Boston and St. Louis Catholic Worker houses opened their doors. The next year, 1935, saw the total rise to six as houses opened in Chicago, Cleveland and Washington, DC (with Paul Hanley Furfey helping establish the DC House). By 1936, there were 18 Catholic Worker houses and in 1941 there were 32 houses in 27 cities plus about 12 Catholic Worker "cells" (Piehl 1982). Again, the pacifist stance of Dorothy Day

and, by extension, the Catholic Worker, prompted an ideological split. The divide led to a downturn in circulation as well as the closing of many houses or at least a split from the Catholic Worker moniker as was the case in Chicago before many of those involved in its running enlisted in the military.

As of 2009, there were approximately 200 total houses identifying themselves as Catholic Worker, with the vast majority located domestically and approximately 15 internationally representing 11 countries including Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany, Ireland, Mexico, Sweden and Holland. Each house, as an autonomous entity, interprets the "Aims and Means" of what it means to be a Catholic Worker differently, and this phenomenon has only increased since Dorothy Day's death in November 1980 (Boehrer 2001a; McKanan 2008).

Agronomic Universities or Rural Communes

The third component of the the Green Revolution, the agricultural schools, were/are the most difficult in word and deed. However, one of the strengths of the Catholic Worker, both to Workers themselves and observers, has been that same continuity of thought and action. Although by many standards, the Catholic Worker farms have been failures, the continuity of means and ends continues to inspire. In April 1936, following a financial gift from a reader of 28 acres in Easton, Pennsylvania, the Catholic Worker established its first Catholic Worker farm (about

70 miles from New York City). The Catholic Worker added 40 acres in 1937 as well as two more communes by 1938. By 1940, there were 12 farms; most connected with Catholic Worker houses of hospitality in nearby cities including Boston, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago and San Francisco (Piehl 1982). As of 2009, there are about 17 farms in operation ranging from Massachusetts, West Virginia, Iowa, California, London and New Zealand.

Although a difficult proposition, that of running a farm, the idea of the Catholic Worker Farm continues to resonate with many, especially as a counter to ever-increasing mechanization of society, culture and the life world. Further, the same strand of thought that inspired the idea of Catholic Worker communes resonated in the work of Lewis Mumford, Jacques Ellul, Wendell Berry and others throughout the twentieth century. Furthermore, there is a historical connection between the Catholic Worker and the initial distribution of organic agriculture ideas in the United States. Peter Maurin learned of Sir Albert Howard's landmark *Agricultural Testament* in the early 1940s around the same time as J. I. Rodale's initial publication of *Organic Gardening*.

"THE AIMS AND MEANS OF THE CATHOLIC WORKER"

Piehl (1982) argues that the Catholic Worker, in its dedication to journalistic excellence, intellectual curiosity and network of social contacts, developed a

Catholic Worker theory that was consistent and viable both within and external to the entity itself. Although informed by Church documents, the Catholic Worker was also informed by many European thinkers including those who discussed anarchism, distributism and personalism. Most consistently, the Catholic Worker explicated this theory by constantly publishing the Aims and Means of the Catholic Worker in the *Catholic Worker*. The most recent publication of the Aims and Means of the Catholic Worker describes what the Catholic Worker stands for and against, the basis for those stances and the means to achieve its intended outcomes (*Catholic Worker,* 2008, May).

Similar to a Marxian viewpoint, the Catholic Worker is anti-capitalist because the owners of capital constrain the worker. Furthermore, in such a capitalist system, meaningful work has disappeared and the Catholic Worker advocate a system of labor and an economy that allows people to feel a connection to their work (called over and over again a philosophy of labor). Again, this mimics the Marxian concept of alienation. The Catholic Worker find the bureaucratic institutions of the state unaccountable and effective political means for improvement nearly impossible. The Catholic Worker argue that such systems devalue the human person in all aspects and that the "arms race" is merely emblematic of that devaluation. All of these stances unite under "St. Thomas Aquinas' doctrine of the Common Good, a vision of society where the good of

each member is bound to the good of the whole in the service to God" (*CW,* 2005, May: 3).

Now, a note on the common good is required. Although it sounds similar to secular humanism, the major difference for the Catholic Worker and the Catholic faith, for that matter, is that the value of human life comes from its relationship to a creator God, not a philosophical good. Catholicism sees human life as metaphysical which is the major difference between the Catholic Worker as a movement and other social movements. Yet it is difficult to classify the Catholic Worker as a new religious movement. It is this distinction, above all others, that make the Catholic Worker difficult to classify. We will explore this relationship between the doctrine of the common good and humanism later.

Given what the Catholic Worker stand for, they advocate personalism, a decentralized society and a "green revolution."[2] So that I do not misinterpret the specifics of such philosophical underpinnings I will quote at length what the Catholic Worker mean by these three pillars. The Catholic Worker advocate:

> Personalism, a philosophy which regards the freedom and dignity of each person as the basis, focus and goal of all metaphysics and morals. In following such wisdom, we move away from a self-centered individualism toward the good of the other. This is to be done by taking personal responsibility for changing conditions, rather than looking to the state or other institutions to provide impersonal 'charity.' . . .
>
> A decentralized society [read "Anarchistic"], in contrast to the present bigness of government, industry, education, health care and agriculture. We encourage efforts such as family farms, rural and urban land trusts, worker ownership and management of small factories, homesteading projects, food

> housing and other cooperatives—any effort in which money can once more become merely a medium of exchange, and human beings are no longer commodities.
>
> A 'green revolution, so that it is possible to rediscover the proper meaning of our labor and our true bonds with the land; a distributist communitarianism, self-sufficient through farming, crafting and appropriate technology; a radically new society, where people will rely on the fruits of their own toil and labor; associations of mutuality, and a sense of fairness to resolve conflicts. (Catholic Worker, 2005: 3, emphasis in original)

To these ends the Catholic Worker employs means of nonviolence, the works of mercy,[3] manual labor and voluntary poverty. Although many Catholic Worker houses, farms and publications have "failed," the continuity in thought and action remains a core strength to the longevity and influence of the Catholic Worker and prevents them from transforming into merely a secularist movement seeking social justice despite protest within the movement that that is exactly what is happening (O'Connor and King 2001). It is the commitment to these ends that enables and encourages the civil disobedience and resistance of the Catholic Worker. Notable examples include striking with unions, protesting the civil defense drills during the Cold War, burning of draft cards during Vietnam protests, marching in support of civil rights, the protesting of nuclear proliferation (part of which broke off and became the Ploughshares movement) and protesting the School of the Americas. Although the Catholic Worker remain pacifistic, that pacifism does not preclude such demonstrations of political failure. In fact, the Catholic Worker theory calls on individuals to fight against such a system while refraining from violence or

physical harm of other people.

One final note is necessary. The Catholic Worker draw tremendous inspiration and philosophical foundation from Catholic theology and many Catholic Workers have proclaimed and continue to proclaim a specific Catholic faith thereby claiming Jesus Christ as the Son of God and God Himself and it is this faith that motivates many under the title of "Catholic Worker." This is a given. However, this project is not about the faith orientation of the Catholic Worker or even the goal of a "heaven on Earth" inspired by that same faith. While this faith is of utmost importance, the focus for this project is the Catholic Worker's promotion of a vision of society with the common good and the centrality of personhood as the focus. These are ideals that can and do transcend specific faith orientations and theology. While many professed believers will decry my limiting the discussion to the natural (as opposed to the supernatural), my intention is not to delve into a theological discussion on the matter of faith in relationship to actions. We would all be mightily disappointed if I tried. I only contend that the Catholic Worker's conception of agricultural communes presciently anticipated many of today's ecological and political concerns related to the environment and devised a system (primarily in theory) that possibly proposes some remedies.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Based strongly on pacifistic anarchism or personalism (many see them as interchangeable) and their opposition to the economic system of capitalism, the aims of the Catholic Worker translate into specific material structures as an organization. According to Mary Segers (1978), the Catholic Worker:

> is decentralized and anti-organizational; every house is autonomous and the Catholic Worker does not attempt to perpetuate itself as an institution or organization. Through the years members have come and gone, and writers and readers and workers are held together by common agreement on the importance and relevance of the Christian gospels to contemporary social issues. Beyond that, they are free to differ and disagree and to apply the Gospels as each person sees fit. (P. 226)

The Catholic Worker has no party lines or agendas to keep (Coles 1973; Coy 2001). Dorothy Day (1983) once described the 'organization' of the Catholic Worker: "We don't have any in the usual sense of the word. Certainly we are not a cooperative, not a settlement house, not a mission. . . . it is a 'revolutionary headquarters'" (p. xiv).

A personalist philosophy emphasizes personal responsibility in order to respond to the local needs of a given context or geographic area. This applies to individuals and to the houses. When a house wrote to Day for guidance she responded, "we can't give you any advice—you will have to work it out yourself" (Betten 1971: 250). The Catholic Worker operates "casually, informally and noncommercially" (Coles 1973: 37). Although decentralized organizationally, the underlying personalism unifies the Catholic Worker enough that it has retained the

"movement" label for 75 years (as of 2009). Segers (1978) emphasizes that:

> consistently throughout its . . . history, the Catholic Worker has stressed a personalist approach to politics and society which has led to its pacifism, its emphasis on freedom, voluntary poverty, community, decentralization, individual responsibility for political action, its approach to nature, its philosophy of work. (P. 197)

Despite this unification in thought (and some action), the Catholic Worker remains diverse and varied in its execution of the mission of personalism (Betten 1970; McKanan 2008; Thorn, Runkel and Mountin 2001). According to historian Mel Piehl (1982), "The Catholic Worker was[/is] a decentralized anarchist movement . . . . Although the movement has maintained its basic identity and ideological viewpoint with remarkable consistency through the years, there was also . . . considerable internal diversity and conflict" (pp. x-xi). For example, many of the houses in California focus on issues facing migrant workers, while the house in Raleigh, North Carolina focuses primarily on housing friends and family of death row inmates. The Temenos Catholic Worker in San Francisco works with the sex workers and drug addicts by providing clean needles and condoms. Other houses focus more on the nonviolent resistance component of the Catholic Worker tradition (see especially the Dublin, Ireland Catholic Worker who are also aligned with the Ploughshares Movement) (Coy 2001).

Along with the differentiation between houses, there is differentiation in the houses' alignment with the Church, other movements, other religions, etc. (Thorn et al. 2001). Unity Kitchen in New York once tried to write the equivalent of by-

laws or a mission statement and any house that did not adhere would be excluded and have to sacrifice the title "Catholic Worker." However,

> it runs directly afoul of the genius of the radically decentralized Catholic Worker movement: the fact that nobody ever had to get permission from anybody else to open up a Catholic Worker houses. By the same token, no one has the authority to close down someone else's house or to deny him or her the use of the Catholic Worker name. There simply is no structural basis for decision making of this sort, to say nothing of actual enforcement of mechanisms. (Coy 2001: 81)

There are no sanctions as evidenced by a conflict between the NYCW and the Milwaukee Catholic Worker in 1988 (see Coy 2001: 92 fn 7). In 1988, the New York house took exception to the Milwaukee Catholic Worker's theological viewpoint of allowing women to say Mass and sought to sanction the home. At first, the New York house wrote to the Milwaukee house stating their objections. Upon receiving no response, the New York Catholic Worker sent "ambassadors" to try and resolve the issues. However, with no official sanctions, the ambassadors' hands were tied. One of the ambassadors ended up exposing the Milwaukee house in a Catholic periodical. Although not an official recourse the NYCW attempted to reprimand the Milwaukee Catholic Worker publicly by arguing that Dorothy Day would not have condoned their actions. Despite the public "outing," the Milwaukee Catholic Worker remain firm in their practices and continue to call themselves Catholic Worker demonstrating the autonomous structure of the movement (Boehrer 2001a; Coy 2001). Dorothy Day encouraged autonomy in

order to ensure that the Catholic Worker did not fall victim to the bureaucratization she and Peter so adamantly opposed.

The Catholic Worker tries to avoid a central bureaucracy that defines exactly what it means to be "Catholic Worker" in order to better address the social problems of the day. Although called a "movement," I hesitate, as others have, to use such a title given their lack of traditional attributes of movements: there is no official leadership, they do not "mobilize" resources and they do not recruit (Day 1972; Dierks and Ladley 1988). As Boehrer (2001a) contends, "With its combination of personal responsibility, decentralism, voluntary poverty and Catholic identity, the [Catholic Worker] movement has achieved 'a singular status in world anarchism.' [Anarchist author David] DeLeon writes, 'If it did not exist I would have thought it impossible'" (p. 65 from DeLeon 1978: 151).

OF ANARCHISM AND PERSONALISM

Anarchism, at root, concerns itself with providing people the freedom and autonomy to choose a life that suits them and work that illustrates their individual gifts. To this end, anarchism is "a political and social radicalism that opposes capitalism with a libertarian communism" that focuses on non-authoritarian or decentralized structures, a rejection of traditionally-liberal, political parties and a commitment to direct action while also adhering to a strict sense that the means

should resemble the ends (Sheehan 2003: 11; Stock 2007b; Woodcock 1967).

Additionally, anarchism can range from that focused solely on the individual to that of fully concerned with reorienting the social and cultural spheres. It is the anarchism of the latter inspired by Tolstoy, Proudhon and Kropotkin that Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin employed in their vision of the Catholic Worker (Boehrer 2001a, 2001b, 2003; Segers 1978). It is in this expression of communitarian anarchism with resistance to the state and the value of human freedom at the center that propelled Day and Maurin toward the anarchic, decentralized structure that has endured since 1933. It is through a purposeful expression of Christian anarchism that the Catholic Worker offer alternatives to a broken society while maintaining a true expression of means towards a similar end. Although anarchism in most forms resists authority, the Catholic Worker's adherence to the Catholic Church represents represents the major reason most anarchist histories often ignore the Catholic Worker (Woodcock 1967). The important overlap between the Catholic Church and anarchism include views on work, the dignity of the human person and the primacy of conscience that overrode any conflicts that may have arisen.

The strain of Christian Anarchy mentioned above can best be summed up by sometime Catholic Worker Ammon Hennacy:

> A Christian-anarchist is . . . one who turns the other cheek, overturns the tables of the moneylenders, and who does not need a cop to tell him how to behave. A Christian-anarchist does not depend on bullets or ballots to achieve his ideal; he achieves that ideal daily by the One Man Revolution

> with which he faces a decadent, confused and dying world. (Marshall 1993: 83)

For Jacques Ellul (1988), all true anarchism is nonviolent, thus lending itself easily to Christianity. Although an anarchic society may be difficult to impossible to achieve given the limits of militarism and imperialism, that does not preclude the possibility of creating new social models, such as proposed by the Catholic Worker.

PERSONALISM

In addition to his reading of anarchism, Maurin was influenced by the economic distributist theorists including Hilaire Belloc and G.K. Chesterton. The distributists "favored a decentralized economy of property-owning artisans, farmers and shopkeepers" (Piehl 1982: 71). The place of property became a focus for the Catholic Worker, especially in connection to personal responsibility. Although an acceptance of private property may seem contradictory to a life of hospitality and communalism, Catholic Workers recognized (in allegiance with the Catholic hierarchy) the sense of pride and responsibility owning property could provide while at the same time they decried the state's "unofficial" protection of the property rights of only the rich which "priced" out many of the less fortunate like farmers during the Depression as demonstrated by Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* (or the current economic crisis prominently featuring bailouts of banking and automobile corporations).

Influenced heavily by the work of French social theorists Jacques Maritain, Martin Buber, Emmanuel Mournier, Jacques Ellul, Marcel Merleau-Ponty and Paul Ricoeur, personalism is a belief "in taking upon ourselves responsibility for changing conditions to the extent that we are able. By establishing houses of hospitality we take care of as many of those in need as we can by ourselves rather than turning them over to the impersonal charity of the state" (Cleaver et al. 1993: 6; Murray 1990). Furthermore, personalism advocates that

> each person must become concretely involved and take personal responsibility to do three things: (1) to come to the direct aid and service of those in need; (2) to work to change the social and political conditions that are creating the problems in the first place; and (3) to resist openly and confront current conditions by fashioning viable alternatives. This is the heart of the Catholic Worker movement's version of personalist philosophy. (Coy 2001: 83)

The belief in the "inestimable value of the individual person" put the Catholic Worker directly in opposition to the sacrificing state (Murray 1990: 69). Through conscription, taxation and a bureaucratic legal code fueled by rationalization, the State deems individuals valueless and expendable. The pacifist stance towards war, a position of support toward conscientious objectors and resistance to paying taxes all emerge from the Catholic Worker's anarchist and personalist foundations.

Maurin describes the aims of the Catholic Worker in one of his Easy Essays (1984) called "In the Light of History":

> The aim of the Catholic Worker
> is to create order
> out of chaos.
> The aim of the Catholic Worker

is to help the unemployed
to employ themselves.
The aim of the Catholic Worker
is to make an impression
on the Depression
through expression.
The aim of the Catholic Worker
is to create a new society
within the shell of the old
with the philosophy of the new,
which is not a new philosophy,
but a very old philosophy,
a philosophy so old
that it looks like new. (P. 83)

ON NONVIOLENCE AND PACIFISM

Much of what is written about the Catholic Worker and specifically Dorothy Day surrounds their radical pacifism that began to take shape with a neutral stance during the Spanish Civil War and reached fulfillment following the U.S. involvement in World War II. While the pacifism of the Catholic Worker remains a hot topic, especially in the context of the Catholic Church's "Just War" theory formulated by St. Augustine, the Catholic Worker encourage nonviolence in a Gandhian manner in almost all cases. This has been demonstrated in anti-war, anti-militarism and anti-nuclear protest. Despite the "Anti-" moniker the Catholic Worker more forthrightly stand for peace and a peaceful society. They are more pro-peace than "anti-" anything. The Catholic Worker and Dorothy Day particularly resonate for many because they have been the most visible Catholic

pacifists ever. The Catholic Worker fought to allow Catholics to be able to register as conscientious objectors—an honor typically reserved for members of the historic peace churches such as Quakers, Mennonites, Amish, Hutterites.

Patricia McNeal (1973) includes the Catholic Worker as one of three major forces in Catholicism advocating for peace in the first half of the twentieth century along with Catholic Association for International Peace (CAIP) and the über-nationalist Fr. Charles Coughlin. McNeal (1992) extends her discussion of Catholic pacifism in a later book painting a larger picture of Catholics in American pacifism, including the Catholic Worker, in connection with Thomas Merton and the Berrigan brothers predominantly during the Vietnam War era. McNeal is also featured in Anne Klejment and Nancy Roberts' (1996) edited volume concerning the Catholic Worker's role in the larger scene of American Catholic pacifism with the Catholic Worker and Dorothy Day held up as the guiding light. Furthermore, Charles Chatfield (1971), a noted historian of pacifism, cites the Catholic Worker as one of the major Catholic pacifist groups in his history of pacifism between the World Wars.

Ira Chernus (2004) argues, "It would be an exaggeration to say that Dorothy Day, all by herself, created the Roman Catholic nonviolence movement in the United States. But it would not be too much of an exaggeration" (p. 145). Chernus' history of American nonviolence also places the Catholic Worker and

Day in a larger context of nonviolence including many whom the Catholic Worker drew on and worked with including A.J. Muste, the Quaker tradition, Reinhold Niebuhr, anarchists and Thoreau.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER CANON

Marc Ellis (1978), former Catholic Worker and eminent religious scholar, argues that there are two types of writing about the Catholic Worker. The first is the academic and removed type embodied by the likes of Mel Piehl's history (and others since). The second is the more introspective, diary-inspired minutiae of the Catholic Worker best illustrated by Day herself. We may be able to add two more types to Ellis' original list. The third is that of the Catholic Worker discussed in the context of other ideas (e.g., nonviolence, religious movements). And, a fourth, where Catholic Workers, usually inspired by their time in the Catholic Worker write about other things (e.g., Michael Harrington's (1962) *The Other America* and Eileen Egan's (1999) *Peace Be With You: Justified Warfare or the Way of Nonviolence*).

Ellis' category of the distant-observer includes some classics in the growing Catholic Worker literature. William Miller's (1973) *A Harsh and Dreadful Love* provided the first historical overview of the NYCW and the movement. Mel Piehl's (1982) *Breaking Bread* provided one of the best researched histories to date at the

time and has become a classic. Michelle Aronica (1987) provides a look at the Catholic Worker with Dorothy Day as the charismatic leader through a Weberian, sociological analysis (although her analysis has been questioned). Harry Murray (1990) followed Aronica's analysis with a sociological take on the hospitality aspect of the Worker. Robert Coles (1973, 1987) has written of the Worker and Day from numerous angles drawing especially on the psychological. Nancy Roberts (1982) provides an analysis of the Catholic Worker from the standpoint of Dorothy as a journalist and the editorial consistency of *The Catholic Worker*. Most recently, Dan McKanan (2008), now at Harvard, documents the evolution of the Worker following Dorothy's death in 1980 and the tremendous growth the Worker have enjoyed based primarily on the networks of Catholic Workers around the country and the world. Two separate volumes of collected articles from Workers and non-Workers have also been published (Coy 1988; Thorn et al. 2001). Patrick Coy (2001) has also written of the enduring importance of the works of mercy to the Catholic Worker.

Much of the work concerning the Catholic Worker focuses primarily on Dorothy Day including her own prolific writing career. Day, who grew up in a journalistic family, wrote constantly for the newspaper and her own benefit, a fact featured prominently in a new publication of her diaries (Ellsberg 2008). Multiple stories about the Worker and her own life have appeared time and again in print

(Allitt 1997; Anderson 1996; Bokenkotter 1998; Day 1972; Day and Ellsberg 2005; Day 1997; Forest 1994; McCarthy 2008; Merriman 1994; Miller 1982; O'Connor 1991; Riegle 2003). William Miller (1973, 1982) has provided one of the most insightful and compelling composites of Dorothy as the force of the Catholic Worker in his two major works. Other work about Dorothy include another biography (Forest 1994), a reflection and analysis of her spirituality (Merriman 1994) as well as references in other smaller pieces. Dorothy has also recently become the subject of two one-woman plays portraying Dorothy's life as well as a documentary and a feature film starring Martin Sheen (Larson 2007; Rhodes 1996).

Peter Maurin's life and work continue to inspire new investigations including a recently completed thesis (Stocking 2006). Dorothy Day thought Miller's (1973) book concerning the Catholic Worker should focus primarily on Peter and told him so. Despite her protests Miller did not, but Dorothy provided one of the first biographies that we have (Day and Sicius 2004) following Arthur Sheehan's (1959) unfortunately titled (*Peter Maurin: Gay Believer*), hagiographic treatment of Peter. Marc Ellis (1980) and Geoffery Gneuhs (1978) (both Catholic Workers for a time) have also written on Peter. Like Stocking (2006), Novitsky (1975, 1976) tackled Peter's idea of the Green Revolution as a dissertation as well as an article.

Ellis' second category of writing on the Catholic Worker include much of Dorothy's own work previously mentioned as well as Ellis' (1978) own

contribution. The confessional, autobiographical style of writing that Dorothy made transparently available to readers of *The Catholic Worker* continues to inspire. Ammon Hennacy's (1954) self-published autobiography entitled the *Autobiography of a Catholic Anarchist* offers a great example. Ellis (1978) wrote of his time in the Catholic Worker as have many others including longtime Catholic Worker Stanley Vishnewski (1984), John Cort (1952, 1980) and Toni Flynn (1989) of the Los Angeles Catholic Worker (LACW). One of the longest tenured LACWs, Jeff Dietrich (1983) published the letters to his wife during his two-month sentence under the title of *Reluctant Resister* which also contains Larry Holben's moving introduction. Holben (1997) provides one of the few explicitly theological books on the Worker which brings me to a third category of Catholic Worker writing—Catholic Workers writing critically about the Catholic Worker.

The most recent example of this might be Mark and Louise Zwick's (2005) take on the founding influences of the Catholic Worker. As founders of the Houston Catholic Worker and publishers of one of the most widely circulated Catholic Worker newspapers, the Zwicks turned their series on the intellectual foundations of the Worker into a book. Though the book is not without its internal critics, it provides a review of some of the foundational theological and philosophical ideas of the Catholic Worker. A strange hybrid exists in Rosalie Riegle's work where she compiles oral histories of contemporary and past Catholic

Workers concerning their experiences in the Catholic Worker generally (Riegle 2003; Troester 1993). Her most recent work revolves around people's memories of Dorothy (2003).

The fourth kind of writing on the Catholic Worker includes pieces where the Catholic Worker do not serve as the focus, but a part of a larger argument, or that take a particular aspect of the Worker, such as nonviolence and pacifism, and weave the Worker into a broader analysis. Neil Betten (1970, 1971; 1990) focuses on the Catholic Worker in the context of the labor movement early in their history. Rebecca Allahyari (1996, 2000) compares the Catholic Worker with the Salvation Army in Sacramento, California with a focus on the moral community. A couple articles have focused on the Catholic Worker affinity for anarchism (Boehrer 2003; Segers 1978), while others focus on the communal or utopian aspect (Fisher 1989; Marlett 2002; Sniegocki 2005; Yount 2008; Sutton 2005).

The Catholic Worker and Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin inspire thoughts, ideas, concerns and questions surrounding faith and politics, their intersection and numerous other areas of intellectual curiosity. Despite all this coverage, we still lack a comprehensive (if one can assume that adjective for one's work) history or analysis of the agricultural embodiment of the ideas of personalism and distributism that Peter sough. I humbly submit my attempt to address this.

THE ROAD AHEAD

To that end, chapter two outlines an argument for an environmental morality drawing on Jacques Ellul's *technique* and Ken Wilkinson's community well-being. Ellul argues that we live in a technological society propelled by seeking efficiency that is mechanical and psychological at every turn. Our existence in a technological society is therefore constrained and our freedom as autonomous actors is hindered. As a result, the possibility of living morally is also constrained. These constraints on freedom and autonomy limit our ability to create free and stable communities such as that outlined by Wilkinson. Additionally, I draw comparisons to previous religious, utopian and communal efforts to achieve sustainable communities.

The idea of an environmental morality draws on the distinction between a theoretical morality that sounds good in theory and the lived morality that people actually do. Ethics remain at the level of abstraction and therefore become nearly impossible to live out. A sociology of morality looks at the lived morality of a society. In terms of the environment, environmental ethics that privilege non-humans remain abstract for human actors and therefore next to impossible to live out. By exploring the environmental care of the Catholic Worker farms I develop the idea of an environmental morality based on care for individual persons with the common good in mind. By acting morally toward people with concern for the environment and communities, the results are improved environments, stronger

communities and a more peaceful world.

Chapter three examines the archival methods and historical analysis used for the current project, as well as a riff on the process of archival research. Chapter four provides the intellectual foundations in European social theory and Catholic social teaching for Peter's vision of an agrarian-centered response to modernity. Chapters five and six provide a narrative of the Catholic Worker farms from 1933 to today. Beginning in the 1930s until today, various incarnations of the Catholic Worker agrarian vision have been attempted. These range from less than one acre plots to farms of hundreds of acres and everything in between. The New York Catholic Worker houses of hospitality have remained prime movers in the maintenance of farms, but do not necessarily represent the "best" examples. More recently, two farms in Iowa have emerged to try and follow the limited guidance of Peter Maurin in establishing agronomic universities.

Lastly, chapter seven concludes with an analysis of the Catholic Worker farms in light of a formulation of an environmental morality. An environmental morality eschews the theoretical nature of environmental ethics for the lived morality embodied by continuous attempts at Catholic Worker farms. The Catholic Worker farms provide one possible way to mitigate the totalitarian effects of technique as outlined by Jacques Ellul. Furthermore, the Catholic Worker farms illustrate community well-being as imagined by Ken Wilkinson especially in their concern for environmental sustainability. The combination provide a possible model for a

more peaceful society.

ENDNOTES

[1] When referring to the Catholic Worker, I will alternate between using Catholic Worker, CW or Worker. When referring to the paper, I will italicize *Catholic Worker*.

[2] Although the "green revolution" also refers to the concerted effort of the World Bank, other international governing bodies and international MNCs such as Monsanto, it will be clearly demonstrated that the Catholic Worker's "green revolution" is something different altogether. It should also be noted that the Catholic Worker utilized the phrase "green revolution" since the 1930s. More on this including Stocking (2008), that the term Green Revolution is not really land related, but refers to the importance of the Irish to Peter Maurin. It is also a direct opposite, if one glances at a color wheel as metaphor, to the red revolution of communism.

[3] The works of mercy are based on the Gospel of Matthew (25: 31-46) in which Jesus explains that to take care of "the least of our brothers and sister" by offering food, clothing and shelter to those in need as well as visiting those in prison serves not only the individual, but Christ.

CHAPTER 2

THE MAKINGS OF AN ENVIRONMENTAL MORALITY: THEORETICAL SCAFFOLDING

The Catholic Worker farms provide a new (but really old) way forward that combines a desire for a healthier environment and stronger communities without sacrificing the importance of individual needs and talents. As our awareness of ecological problems grows, the necessity of combining an ecological or environmental awareness with a vision of community well-being become imperative. An environmental morality is not just an ethic of "we should do this" that we shout to others, it is, in the tradition of personalism and non-violent anarchism, something we do. And not only that, it is something we do on behalf of some*one* else. The interwoven braid of the Catholic Workers clarification of thought, hospitality through the works of mercy and the continued resurgence of an ecological and agricultural recognition through farms provide a model for what a new community life could look like. It is a model of taking personal responsibility for ourselves, but also those with whom we are in contact. This includes our neighbors, our families, our co-workers and involvement in *local* politics, that our own lives provide witness for the necessity of care for the environment, but that it is

done out of care for other people. Morality can only be enacted through actions towards another person or group of people. Moral actions cannot be abstract or symbolic. Thus, a moral response to the environment can only happen through care for other people.

The Catholic Worker farms (communes, agronomic universities), while often deemed failures in ideology and practicality, offer a significant way forward in terms of environmental morality. Drawing on Jacques Ellul's technological society and technique as well as Dick Stivers' formulation of technological utopianism and technological morality, I demonstrate that the Catholic Worker farms offer a way to mitigate the effects of technique. Additionally, literature related to utopia, religion and community help frame the Catholic Worker farms model that is neither libertarian, nor communitarian by valuing the dialectical relationship between the person and the common good. In the end, the Catholic Worker farms offer a glimpse toward an environmental morality that may help preserve the earth and its inhabitants.

To that end, I frame my proposal of an environmental morality by first exploring the intersections of religion, environment and utopia. The focus on utopia points to the fact that many religious and humanistic inspired ideologies attempt to enact what they envision to be the good society or utopia. Intentional communities (or communes) are often founded upon religious or humanistic ideals centered on the autonomy of personhood and a specific vision of community well-

being. Furthermore, an renewed emphasis on "green" values or environmental concern and cooperation permeate many who seek utopia. Recently, connections between concern for the environment and a lasting peace have converged. The Catholic Worker farms are essentially attempts at environmental communes based on cooperation. This focus on cooperation and environmental concern help illustrate how vital an environmental morality can be. Lastly, I trace the connection of Ellul's technique, Stiver's explication of technological utopianism and technological morality and Wilkinson's conception of community well-being to demonstrate how an environmental morality can help mitigate technique and work towards community well-being. When combined, Ellul and Stivers provide background as to what is wrong, Wilkinson provides where we are trying to get to and my formulation of environmental morality provides a way forward. We will revisit this diverse literature in the concluding chapter to illustrate how the Catholic Worker embody an environmental morality as well as provide a way out of our technological malaise.

RELIGION, THE ENVIRONMENT, PEACE AND UTOPIA

If we are going to explore the moral necessity for environmental care as related to peace, it is important to situate the Catholic Worker in light of the environmental and peace movements. While the common assumption is that the environmental movement's roots lie only in the wake of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* and the first Earth Day culminating in the Clean Air and Water acts in the

U.S., environmental and industrial health movements and landscape planning predate it (Boime 2008; Rootes 2004; Brulle 2000; Carson 1962; Sale 1993). The Catholic Worker emphasis on agriculture, especially organic agriculture, also presciently anticipated today's local and alternative agriculture ideals. The Catholic Worker also engage in, and have been shaped by, the U.S. and international peace movement (Boulding 2000; Cortright 2008; McNeal 1992; Nagler 2001; Marullo and Meyer 2004). The growing literature concerning religion's involvement in the environment in addition to explicit connections of the health of the environment to peace, place the Catholic Worker at the center of a long-emerging relationship.

Of Religion and the Environment

The Catholic Worker represents one of the most dynamic examples of the intersection of the anti-war/peace, environmental and religious movements. Religious leaders advocating environmental concern is not really new. Many faiths spin creation stories and advocate a stewardship ethic (Gottlieb 2003, 2006). For our purposes, I will focus on the Judeo-Christian ideas that have cultural, not just religious, weight in America.

The book of Genesis essentially illustrates the creation of humans as God's stewards on Earth. In Genesis, God gives the created humans responsibility for the creation: "Then God said, 'Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of

the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth'" (*The Green Bible*, Gn 1:26). Further, "The Lord God took the man and put him in the garden of Eden to till it and keep it" (Gn 2:15). The theme of stewardship runs throughout the Christian Bible. Furthermore, Pope John Paul II (1996) argues that a moral care for the environment is directly tied to a lasting peace,

> [T]here is a growing awareness that world peace is threatened not only by the arms race, regional conflicts and continued injustices among peoples and nations, but also by a lack of due respect for nature, by the plundering of natural resources and by a progressive decline in the quality of life. The sense of precariousness and insecurity that such a situation engenders is a seedbed for collective selfishness, disregard for others and dishonesty. (P. 230)

The recent growth in environmental concern coming from religions, including actual religious (pastors, nuns, priests, etc.) is staggering including the recent publication of the *Green Bible* (2008). Recent explorations on the relationship abound (Brown 2005; Schut 2002; Taylor 2007). The National Religious Partnership for the Environment (www.nrpe.org) and the University of Chicago's Religion and Environment Initiative (www.rei.chicago.edu) illustrate diverse and important linkages between religion and the environment. From the recent joint statement from evangelical pastors on global climate change to the writings of Pope John Paul II, religion and the environment are intricately tied together. Gottlieb (2003) argues this is nothing new. Christianity in general is charged with a specific stewardship (Kearns 1996) and Catholics especially have picked up the burden (Neal 1990; John Paul II 1996; Taylor 2007).

A primary strain in the intersection of religion and the environment stems from Lynn White's (1967) article in *Science* called "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis." White argued that the environmental crisis was the direct result of the Judeo-Christian roots of society that split nature and humans into a duality that placed humans in a superior and dominant relationship. Stemming from the Genesis verse regarding "dominion," humans have treated the environment as a well of resources to be used solely for human need. White would have been better served if he would have couched the argument in terms of the Judeo-Christian roots of capitalism via Weber, for it is capitalism's (and now technology's) pursuit of profit and efficiency that led to many ecological problems.

Tests of White's "thesis" abound (Biel and Nilsson 2005; Eckberg and Blocker 1989; Hand and Van Liere 1984; Shaiko 1987; Wolkomir et al. 1997a, 1997b; Woodrum and Wolkomir 1997). Unfortunately, White's thesis is sociological and the tests are based on responses from individuals. This is a case of the sum is greater than the parts; you cannot test a sociological claim from psychological data. Simply being a Christian (or any other denomination) does not indicate whether one will act in a more "pro-environmental" way while there is also some evidence that any support for White's thesis may have been spurious because environmentalism, in general, has increased (Greeley 1993; Woodrum and Wolkomir 1997).

Furthermore, pro-environmental attitudes are often measured by a response to

whether one is willing to pay for more environmental programs (Greeley 1993). As reported by Woodrum and Wolkomir (1997), "environmental concern does not necessarily result in corresponding commitment to support environmental programs or engage in environmental behavior" (p. 231). This reasoning is flawed for two reasons. First, "environmental concern" is too abstract for people to act upon. Second, by measuring one's willingness to act positively towards the environment solely on a willingness to pay for abstract programs suffers the same technological utopianism discussed below. Technology (or the economy or science) will get us out of the mess.

Much of this discussion, though, has its roots in an understanding of the common good, community and the dignity of human beings, where an environmental concern is a moral, human-centered concern, in contradistinction to the a-humanistic concern of environmental ethics for their own sake. The literature of utopia helps give some guidance to how the Catholic Worker speak to an environmental morality. Utopia inherently searches for a better society, a better structure, something more cooperative and good. Utopia can be religious (seeking heaven on earth) or secular (e.g., a society of open sexuality that functions well like LeGuin's (2003) *Dispossessed*). The common ground of utopia as typically conceived argues that things could be better, primarily people/persons can be more free and the community can be better, can be good, can insure freedom. Mainly that individuals and the common good exist in a dialectically, balanced

relationship.

Utopia

Like 'anarchy,' utopia suffers from a tension between academic or literary understandings and simplistic colloquial connotations of impossibility and deviance (Stock 2007b). In reality, many social movements, especially the environmental and peace movements, seek a more perfect society that is cleaner (less pollution), greener, safer (healthier) and more peaceful. Religion typically seeks the same thing.

Within the Catholic faith there is a theological idea called the Mystical Body of Christ. It argues that the Church is made up of the faithful, not the bureaucracy, not the hierarchy, not the pope, not the priests. This is why Catholics can remain faith-filled in spite of the horrors of wide-spread child abuse, the denial of equal rights to women or gays and apparent political contradictions from popes and bishops. This also leads to the important idea of the primacy of conscience. The primacy of conscience doctrine contends that a person's conscience overwhelms all written doctrine, proclamations and stances. The Catholic Worker and Dorothy Day, though she was not a theologian, did well to start dialogue on these important caveats within the Church. My point is that religions or religious doctrine whether of Catholicism, Christianity as a whole which is centered on Jesus Christ, Islam, Judaism, and on and on cannot be lumped together with fundamentalist sects whose leaders and ideas often twist teachings and followers' loyalty to bend in counter di-

rections. Most religions seek a more peaceful, cooperative world (read utopian) between individuals and communities (typically states).

> Aristotle and Plato contemplated a perfect society.
> The idea of utopia implicit in most lay usage of the term is of a perfect society which is impossible and unattainable. It is either an idle dream, or, if attempts are made to create that society, a dangerous illusion. Thomas More's pun—*eutopos/outopos* combined as utopia, hence the good place which is no place—is transformed into the good place which can be no place, and which, in seeking a place, becomes its opposite, dystopia. (Levitas 2003a: 3)

Whether Thomas More's island paradise or Edward Bellamy's fascination with mechanization and perfection, utopias and dystopias alike present harsh critiques of the contemporary.

The idea of utopia transcends typical dichotomous delineation between Western and Eastern, religious and secular, past and present. Utopia serves as both a political and literary Rosetta Stone that Levitas (2003a, 2005) argues is used by sociology to gauge the moral well-being of a society. Levitas (2005) argues that utopia in sociology is a method that emphasizes a reconstituted and better society, while sociology relies on an imaginary (read utopian) reality to judge issues of inequality. Sociology takes as its starting point the humanistic assumption of rights and equality embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Now we have anarchism, sociology, personalism and Catholicism beginning to intersect where the dignity of human person becomes central.

Science fiction writers offer multiple examples of utopian futures including H.G. Wells' *Modern Utopia* and Ursula K. Le Guin's *The Dispossessed*. And while

important to distinguish between literary and literal attempts at utopia (Mumford 1962; Levitas 1990), the implicit critique of society—present and historical—nourishes hope. Hope diminishes in the face of what people have variously described as anomie, despair, cynicism, the technological society or a cage of bureaucracy (e.g., Durkheim, Stivers, Ellul, Weber). It is not coincidence that major utopian ideas arrive concomitantly with the industrialization and mechanization critiqued so blithely and eloquently by everyone from Marx (capital), Weber (bureaucracy), Durkheim (anomie), Ellul (technique) to Charles Dickens oeuvre and Charlie Chaplin's work like (*Modern Times* 1936). Levitas (2003a) argues that, "Utopias, then, are blueprints of the good (or even perfect) society, imagined elsewhere and intended as prescriptions for the near future" (p. 3).

Utopias seek a space to work on, not to implement specified plans. Utopian experiments emphasize how they imagine getting to utopia rather than just getting there. In other words, utopias typically emphasize means and ends as commensurate. Communitarianism represents on attempt at such a comprehensive goal (Bishop 1950), but relies too much on what is best for the community and discounts the importance of persons. Personalism and anarchism offer different, yet similar, paths towards human freedom. The dialectical middle ground created by the interrelation of persons and the common good moves towards a real utopian goal.

Furthermore, Honeywell (2007), drawing on the central figures of utopian thought and anarchism, offers, "In the words of Buber, means must be 'commensurate' with ends in so far as we must not 'do now the direct opposite of what we are striving for.' Further, we 'must create here and now the space *now* possible for the thing for which we are striving, so that it may come to fulfillment *then*'" (p. 242, emphasis in original). Like the personalists, the means and ends must remain consistent, but we must also resist those forces so that possibility and hope are not extinguished. As Ellul (1989), discussing non-violent anarchists, argues,

> Anarchists live in an illusion, believing that it is possible actually to abolish power and all its sources. . . . [However] when we shake the edifice, we produce a crack, a gap in the structure, in which a human being can briefly find his freedom, which is always threatened. . . . I can hear the disillusioned anarchist: Is that all we are doing?" Yes: all that; through our refusal, we keep the trap from closing all the way, for today. We can still breathe out in the open. The Christian must enable the anarchist to make the transition from a contemptuous "Is that all" to an "All that," filled with hope. (P. 5)

It is here that the Catholic Worker provide the most inspiration. Catholic Workers and the Green Revolution provide a continual message of hope and reemergence through nonviolence and resistance sometimes called anarchism, other times called personalism. The Catholic Worker is built upon the foundation of a belief in the dignity of the person and the eternal search and insurance of freedom in the face of those forces of capitalism and technique. "Dialectical utopianism must be rooted in real possibilities for change, while pointing towards alternative human futures," argues Levitas (2003b: 141), which makes presenting the stories of attempts all the more valuable.

Communes in America

While utopia remains both an academic and literary pursuit, communes (often seeking utopia themselves) continue to capture the imagination of sociologists. Levitas' (2005) assertion of utopia as method then turns into both method and subject. As the incarnation of utopian visions, communes/intentional communities reveal the inherent joys and struggles of those same visions. The Catholic Worker farms essentially resemble a communal experiment with historical and contemporary parallels. Various profiles and histories including analyses of the American commune exist (Barkun 1984; Friesen and Friesen 2004; Kanter 1973; Lehman 2000; Miller 1998; Nordhoff 1965; Noyes 1961; Schehr 1997; Sutton 2004, 2005; Veysey 1978; Zablocki 1980).

On the whole, sociologists avoid the "why" of communes, those utopian justifications for what is typically viewed as deviant and focus on the "what?" and the "how?" of communes. What do they look like? How are they structured? Based on their observations, sociologists typically arrange communes by a number of categorizations including chronologically, religious/secular (the why?), type of leadership/decision-making and lifestyle choice.

The history of communes typically organizes their narratives chronologically beginning in the eighteenth century. Initial utopian experiments in the U.S. focused on particular ideals such as the Owenites, Fourierists, the Shakers, the Harmony Society and the Perfectionists. Some of these consisted of displaced and per-

secuted religious groups descendant from Reformation sects such as the Bruderhof, Hutterites, Amish and Mennonites. Numerous discussions of early communal experiences in America dissect their reasons for success or failure (Nordhoff 1965; Sutton 2003, 2004, 2005; Mumford 1962; Noyes 1961). Cyclical models also help illustrate a variety of phenomena including communes and utopias (Religion: Barkun 1985; Social Movements: Brown 1992; Kriesi et al. 1995; Tarrow 1998; Economic Structures: Berry 1991; Mager 1987; Tylecote 1993; Democracy: Markoff 1996; Utopias: Berry 1992).

Barkun (1985: 36) distinguishes four specific periods of significant communal activity: 1842-1848 including 55 communes defined by Fourierist, Owenite, Perfectionist communes; 1894-1900 including about 36 communes with a more diverse range of religious and secular; the 1930s Great Depression efforts and the 1960s. These various models bring about issues of persistence addressed somewhat in the social movement literature (see above). It is not necessary to discuss the history of American communal experiments except that there is a long history of envisioning a more perfect society that holds a more cooperative view of human nature.

Many scholars categorize communes dichotomously between religious and secular (Friesen and Friesen 2004; Zablocki 1980). Here we confront the "why?" questions of so much import. Why do people voluntarily join with a group of people typically viewed as outside what is considered acceptable behavior? What is

the rationale? To divide communes between religiously inspired and otherwise inspired, while simplistic, also provides a starting point. Those that are religiously inspired draw strength from something otherworldly, either divine or spiritual. In the case of the Catholic Worker, the motivations predominantly stem from the Christian tradition of witness. Those with secular pursuits, though, often mimic similar humanist goals. Both seeks a more sustainable society capable of insuring human freedom or utopia.

Zablocki (1980: 205) distinguishes beyond simply religious and secular. The religious categorization is broken down between Eastern and Christian while secular communes divide along lines of how the individual self is approached (psychologically versus rehabilitatively), what the primary group dynamic is meant to be (cooperative versus an alternative family) and the relationship to the secular society (countercultural versus political).

Beyond religious and secular distinctions, sociological work on communes tend to concern themselves predominantly with decision-making and types of lifestyles (Berger 1979, 1981; Berger and Hackett 1974; Kanter 1973; Zablocki 1973, 1980; Zablocki and Kanter 1976). Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1973) describes communes primarily based on their leadership structure. The four styles of leadership or decision-making are anarchism, organized democracy, charisma and traditional systems. In the same volume, Zablocki (1973) argues that the anarchism of the hippie communes is actually a naive anarchism based too much in the no-one-

can-tell-me-what-to-do anarchism of wayward youth rather than the measured and reasoned anarchism of Proudhon, Kropotkin, Chomsky and others. This naive interpretation results from an inability to distinguish between authoritarianism and authoritativeness (p. 168).

As demonstrated by Buber (1958), anarchism, correctly formulated, continues to inspire alternative conceptions of society. Veysey (1978) documents twentieth century anarchist communities, some of which inspired and influenced the Catholic Worker. Other models of communes include those focused on more moral and aesthetic changes in society, millennial anticipations and those seeking complete moral reform (Friesen 2004). Zablocki and Kanter (1976) extend their analysis by discerning individual life-style choices that lead to communal living. Intentional communities represent a unique interpretation of utopian thought in that they are "differentiated from organizations, sects or social movements by the fact that they are usually comprised of a relatively small group of individuals who have created a unique way of life for the attainment of an articulated set of goals... [they] are initiated through deliberate effort in order to realize a set of specific goals" (Friesen and Friesen 2004: 15). Berger's work illustrates the negotiated meanings of rural or pastoral life versus the urban emphasis in modern societies and the work involved (Berger 1979, 1981; Berger and Hackett 1974).

While many communal experiments that had begun prior to World War I and the 1920s persisted, the 1920s saw very few new communes emerge (Miller 1998).

The rising economic crisis culminating in the stock market crash in October 1929 changed the political landscape. During the Great Depression, utopian communities and communal living experiments exploded as a way to counter the economic reality. Sutton (2004) argues that there were three kinds of secular communes during the Depression that include the individually financed (e.g., Ralph Borsodi's School of the Living, those of the federal government's New Deal subsistence housing projects including greenbelt cities and resettlement projects and, finally, anarchist attempts like the Sunrise Cooperative Farm in Alicia, MI (Sutton 2004: 122-127; Lemieux 1990). Sutton (2003) also documents religious communities.

Communes and utopian thinking that often spawn such social organization have captivated many an intellectual and those suffering economic hardship alike. Karl Mannheim argued, "With the relinquishment of utopias, man would lose his will to shape history, and therewith his ability to change it" (Friesen and Friesen 2004: 252, quoted from Rothstein 2003:14).

Graber and Barrow (2003) argue that there exist two problems with communes: "The first problem is that communes, not *being* states, inevitably find themselves *subject* to the states in which they exist. Relations with the state are made more problematic, of course, when a commune's subculture includes illegal activities of one sort or another," illustrated by the Waco disaster in 1993 (p. 10, emphasis in original). Secondly, without genealogical connections, there is no guarantee of a "next generation" of communards, tying into social movement concerns over

recruitment (Graber and Barrow 2003: 10; Windsong 2006). The Friesens (2004), drawing on Terjesen (1979), present factors for communal success equated with longevity: 1) leadership; 2) boundary and maintenance mechanisms; 3) Credal loyalty: religious bent or consistent philosophy; and 4) a firm commitment apparatus (see Kanter 1972 on commitment mechanisms). They argue that most "successful," (e.g., have lasted a while) have a dynamic and charismatic leader. They must also maintain distance—philosophical or real—between the rest of the world and the community based on a creed either religious or a set of principles to be adhered to. One common thread particular to utopian or intentional communities is that religion helps the maintenance of a utopian endeavor (Stephan and Stephan 1973). Others, though, contend that religion is less important when compared to population size, ownership status and length of existence weighed more heavily as factors leading towards further existence (Bader et al. 2006). Bader et al. (2006) undermine their own conclusions that religion has little effect on longevity when they state that "the religious communes happened to have been formed significantly earlier" (p. 82). The unanswered question remains if longevity is a factor in longevity what helps a commune persist in the first place. Religion is often the explanatory factor. The contradiction does illustrate the problem of the simplistic categorization of communes as either religious or secular.

Like the Goodmans' (Goodman and Goodman 1960; Riesman 1947) claim that "A workable utopia for the twenty-first century must reassess the obsessions of

the last century for continued growth, increased use of resources, and the relentless commitment to building a proverbially better mousetrap," (Friesen and Friesen 2004: 244), the Catholic Worker provide a counter to the mainstream idea concerning social organization. Furthermore, the short-lived sociology of cooperation illustrates the peaks and valleys of utopian-seeking groups primarily based in rural and agricultural settings.

Sociology of Cooperation

While many have explored the sociological roots of communes, it is often in opposition to the mainstream society. Communes are examined as unique and deviant rather than explored as the utopian and critical examples they are. Thus, we must bemoan the loss of the explicit sociology of cooperation crafted by Henrik Infield from 1941 through the late 1950s. The Group Farming Research Institute (GFRI) initially undertook the study of the 20 or so extant cooperative farms formed by the Farm Security Administration between 1937 and 1943 near the end of the New Deal. After the dissolution of the farms, the GFRI undertook a broader project of studying the sociology of cooperation most specifically focused on cooperative farm projects, but more broadly drawing on the International Cooperative Alliance and the Fellowship of Intentional Communities both founded on the Rochdale Principles that celebrate open membership, democratic control, member economic participation, autonomy and independence, education, inter-cooperation and concern for community (ica.coop Accessed 10/23/2008). The rural emphasis of co-

operation anticipates the economics of Schumacher and coincides with the spread or organic agriculture smack in the middle of the second world war.

While the U.S. economy gives examples of worker ownership and agricultural commodity coops (Mooney 2004) as well as local food coops, credit unions and small-scale independently run wholesalers, much of the U.S. economy adopts pure free market principles of operation. R.E.I. illustrates one example of a growing co-operative enterprise. The Seattle-based, outdoor-lifestyle company provides membership-tied dividends at the end of each calendar year.

The sociology of cooperation joined with similar research institutes in France, Germany and Italy to document multiple examples of cooperative farming projects ranging from the kibbutzim of Israel, to the ejidos of Mexico and other cooperative projects including the Catholic Worker farms (Gladstone 1959). As Levitas (2005) argues for utopia as method, if sociologists are concerned not only with how things are, but how they could be, then a sociology of cooperation becomes imperative (Infield 1971). Primarily, given rising populations, the production of food post-World War II became imperative. However, instead of mining the work of the developing sociology of cooperation and organic farming research, the post-war consensus argued for technological visions of utopia rather than those grounded in co-operation and tradition (Kimbrell 2002).

This need not resemble a Luddite view towards technology. As Jacques Ellul (1964, 1988) so eloquently describes , technique become the all-encompassing mi-

lieu that renders tradition irrelevant—all things become reduced to efficiency. The sociologists of cooperation including Infield, Arthur Gladstone and others published most prominently in *Cooperative Living* from 1949-1956. The GFRI tried to regroup as the Research Center for Community and Cooperation in conjunction with the Glen Gardner Cooperative Community (Infield 1956). Despite inroads of developing formal coursework in the sociology of cooperation and a number of texts documenting cooperative farm projects around the world (Infield 1945, 1950, 1955, 1971) the sociology of cooperation in the U.S. dissolved just around the time of an unprecedented explosion in communal living (Kanter 1972, 1973; Miller 1991, 1999; Veysey 1978; Zablocki 1980).

In language eerily reminiscent of recent lamentations about the dissolution of community ranging from *Bowling Alone* (Putnam 2001) to New Communitarianism, Infield (1955) remarks,

> However anxious we may be about our lost sense of community, we seem to be little inclined to appreciate the efforts of those who stake their lives on recapturing it. Communitarian experiments in this country remain confined to a handful of incorrigible idealists, addicts of community sustained by their beliefs that their 'luxury' of today, as it has been said, shall become the necessity of tomorrow. Until such time, considered soberly, the outlook for intentional communities does not seem to be very bright. Their fate, at least in the immediate future, remains quite uncertain." (P. 112)[1]

The sociologists of cooperation, like Riesman, diagnose a cult of individuality on the rise in the post-World War II America (Infield 1955; Riesman et al. 2001[1961]). Most completely though, Jacques Ellul describes the rise of the individual and the collapse of society under the weight of technique. Despite the loss

of an explicit field of the sociology of cooperation, a resurgence and emergence of fields like environmental sociology and green-everything involves discussions reminiscent of the sociologists of cooperation. The Catholic Worker provide one area where cooperation and environmental concern overlap. Before examining the totalitarian effects of technique, let me briefly connect the importance of utopia as critique and a hopeful way forward with environmental concern in the brief literature of green utopia. The resurgent approach of green utopias essentially follows in the tradition of the sociology of cooperation as well as providing theoretical context for the Catholic Worker farms.

GREEN UTOPIA

Pepper (1991, 2005) argues that communes inherently exude "green" principles by drawing on ideas of decentralization, more human-scaled institutions and buildings and an emphasis on community and process (e.g., consensus). These are similar to ideals put forward by Schumacher's (1973, 1977, 1979) *Small is Beautiful* and *Good Work*, Timothy O'Riordan's (1981) *Environmentalism*, Fritjof Capra's (1984) *The Turning Point*, Carolyn Merchant's (1990) *Death of Nature*, Stephen Cotsgrove's (1982) *Catastrophe or Cornucopia* and Jonathan Porritt's (1985) *Seeing Green: The Politics of Ecology Explained*. To this list I would add Wendell Berry, Gene Logsden, Wes Jackson and Vandana Shiva. Utopian experiments in the form

of communes and intentional communities help push forward a workable form of environmental morality by re-envisioning what is possible.

Pepper (2005) puts forth that, "utopianism occurs as radical green lifestyle experiments that often follow the communitarian tradition" (p. 5). While Pepper (1991) avoids religious communal experiences based on his interest "in the notion of communes as a possible way forward for the majority of ordinary people in the radical green movement, and I do not think that a life of total devotion and commitment to a religious cause is a remotely realistic option for most of us, green as it might incidentally be" (p. 2). However, explicitly religious examples continue to emerge (Taylor 2007). It should be remembered that religious communities have often been at the forefront of important shifts of public consciousness, the least of which are racial integration in the United States and protests of the Vietnam War.

Pepper seems to avoid the religious because it forces one to consider the similarities in religious and humanistic interpretations of the world as well as ignorance of lay religious movements in a long term historical sense such as the Irish and Franciscans as possible appropriate green communities. It is here that the Catholic Worker provides an interesting theoretical, historical and critical understanding of the human-environment relationship. Pepper does re-center us by arguing,

> Utopianism is important within these movements to inspire hope and provide 'transgressive' spaces, conceptual and real, in which to experiment within alternative paradigms. To be truly transgressive, rather than lapsing into reactionary fantasy, ecotopias need to emphasize heuristic spaces and processes rather than laying down blueprints, and must be rooted in existing social and

> economic relations rather than being merely a form of abstraction unrelated to the processes and situations operating in today's 'real' world. (P. 18)

By drawing on the moral necessity of a green orientation towards community, we can truly understand the revolutionary stance and prescience of the Catholic Worker farms.

Furthermore, despite Peppers' hesitation, both religious orientations, especially Catholicism, and humanistic approaches to community well-being and human freedom focus on preserving the integrity and dignity of every human person. Outside of the supernatural motivations (which is not a small thing, I admit), the goals of Christians and most humanists (including those from other religious backgrounds) promote human freedom (the dignity and rights of persons) and the common good (or community well-being). Care for others and the environment become more intricately linked as environmental issues such as food production, water accessibility, healthy soil and arable land among others become central for community well-being and human freedom. Thus, the link between a healthy environment and peaceful societies becomes more explicit.

THE ENVIRONMENT AND PEACE

The environmental and peace movements share similar concerns. Environmentalists see environmental stability as a moral good for it leads to health, sustainability, renewable resources and encompasses a wide-range of activists including, but not limited to deep ecologists, environmental ethicists and fundamentalist

preachers. Peace activists, especially security scholars, see environmental stability as leading to international stability (Brenes and Winter 2001; Matthew and Gaulin 2002), though this a contested idea (Hagmann 2005). A significant literature on the environmental impacts of warfare also exists (Austin 2000; Bertell 2000; Lanier-Graham 1993; Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 1980; Suliman 1999; Westing 1985).

War contributes to ecological destruction through compacted soil, degraded forests, despoliation, water contamination, direct killing of plants and animals among others (Woods 2007). However, if warfare directly contributes to ecological destruction, save a few examples, then the converse should also be true: peace leads to ecological preservation and flourish (Weisman 2007). We also know that the relationship between ecological well-being and human communities (mind you they are not separate) is a dialectical relationship so we can extrapolate that the active maintenance of ecological well-being could contribute to a lasting peace.

While ecological security and environmental-conflict remain contested frameworks for understanding the connection between a healthy planet and a peaceful planet, a focus on cooperation and mutual concern is developing (Renner and Chafe 2007; Conca and Dabelco 2002). Explicitly, Conca and Dabelco (2002) develop the concept of environmental peacekeeping that focuses less on preserving and restoring environmental health to avoid conflict, but fostering active peace solutions that integrate environmental strategies. We see a moving away from the

negative, anti-violence approach of security studies focused on states, to a promotion of peaceful solutions centered on "shared collective idenity" and visions of a peace culture (Conca and Dabelco 2002: 10).

While the UN has drawn connections between environmental well-being and peace since the early 1970s, their approaches fail due to dependence upon industry-influenced nation-states to act. The disillusionment with UN proclamations and documents led to the creation of the Earth Charter geared more towards NGOs (earthcharter.org/ Accessed 11 February 2009). The Earth Charter, written in the wake of the 1987 Brundtland Report and modeled after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, draws explicit connection to the moral responsibility of environmental well-being and peace (Brenes and Winter 2001).

The environmental and peace movements share utopian hopes for a better world along the lines of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Earth Charter. They also share the hopes of political solutions. While Green political parties—with emphases on the environment and peace—are often held up as ways forward, real solutions can only come from local involvement (Gilk 2008; Hutton and Connors 2004; Stivers 2008). Paul Hawken's (2007) *Blessed Unrest* documents the diversity and plurality of NGOs concerning themselves with peace, economic justice, the environment and human well-being. Nobel Peace Prizes have also been awarded to Wangari Maathai and Al Gore for their work on environmental issues. Furthermore, psychological research has demonstrated that people are

more likely to behave in moral ways toward the environment *if specific people are involved* as opposed to solely based on ecological beliefs (Brenes and Winter 2001; Schultz and Zelezny 1998; Schwartz 1992). Elise Boulding (2000, 2005) envisions a culture of peace as a peaceable garden in which we are all gardeners tending to our small plots. It is a strong metaphor and places the importance of an healthy environment central to the aims of peace.

These explicit connections, models and ideas demonstrate how to maintain or restore ecological well-being and promote peace. The Catholic Worker farms provide one, albeit, small and sustained effort to promote environmental, personal and community well-being that is tied dialectically to one another. Stable communities are predicated on the freedom of persons and healthy environments (land, water). Thus, to care for one's neighbors and community it is vital to care for and promote a healthy environment (Stock 2007a). Before we explain how the Catholic Worker help promote environmental stability and peace, it is important to explore what the real problem is and for what the farms can be a solution.

TECHNIQUE AND TECHNOLOGICAL MORALITY

Drawing on Weber's Bureaucracy and Marx's Capital, Jacques Ellul concludes that neither fully embrace the overwhelming reality of modernity. Ellul contends that technology and the related psychological manipulation restrain our freedom.

Jacques Ellul's Technological Society

Through an ambitious descriptive theory of history, Ellul (1964) traces the emergence of modern society through three milieus of nature, society and technology. Within a given milieu, the organizing force is what is sacred. Stivers (1994) explains milieu,

> A milieu is an environment, at once both material and symbolic, in relation to which humans face their most formidable problems and from which they derive the means of survival and some hope for the future. A milieu has three basic characteristics: immediacy, sustenance and peril, and mediation. We are in immediate and direct relationship with our milieu; it forces us to adapt, to conform, just as surely as we manipulate it. From the milieu we derive all that we need to live—sustenance for the body and the spirit: food, clothing, shelter, order, and meaning. Concurrently, however, the milieu is the greatest threat to human existence as in pestilence, famine, poisons, wild animals, political strife, war, and pollution. The milieu, then is ambiguous in value and produces an ambivalent reaction on our part—attraction and revulsion, desire and fear. (p. 160)

During the Nature milieu, nature and natural forces act as the dominating organizing principle. In hunter-gatherer societies, nature is sacred, it is what is worshipped and that which gives life. In a slow transition, humans established agriculture, laws and institutions as well as the creation of myths and human-like gods. Society and human ingenuity become sacred. And with the industrial revolution, technology in the form of machinery and psychological techniques becomes central for society. Technology is sacred. Though somewhat evolutionary, each society does not progress through the three milieus linearly or at the same rate as argued by modernization theorists. Nor is technique deterministic with an "end of history" proclamation like Marxism.

Ellul's explanation of the technological system hinges upon an understanding of *technique*.

> The term *technique*, as I use it, does not mean machines, technology, or this or that procedure for attaining an end. In our technological society, *technique* is *the totality of methods rationally arrived at and having absolute efficiency* (for a given stage of development) in *every* field of human activity. Its characteristics are new; the technique of the present has no common measure with that of the past. (Ellul 1964: xxv, emphasis in the original)

Furthermore, just as nature and society were sacred in previous milieus, technique is now sacred. Stivers (2008) explains,

> This desire to push technology as fast and as far as it will go demonstrates that technology while a rational construction, is ultimately driven by the irrational will to power, the will to control, dominate, and exploit. Its material development was accompanied by its spiritualization. Technology was made sacred, that which is tacitly perceived to be of absolute power and absolute value. The domination was now complete: technology was an uncontested material and spiritual power. (pp. 30-31)

Technique is the dominant organizing force. It includes not only our dependence upon computers, but the loss of knowledge of how to grow food; not only the loss of jobs to robots in the manufacturing section, but the loss of shop, crafts and art classes in schools; not only the creation of bigger and stronger weapons, but declining test scores and the inability to use a dictionary. Technique, more that alienation from one's work, or systematic bureaucracy, creates a totalitarian system in which efficiency in all things is the prime directive. Efficiency, therefore, sacrifices creativity, uniqueness and ingenuity.

This sacredness of technology, the will to power of technology creates a society in which that which is possible becomes necessary. Technology will save us;

because we can, we must. There is a great scene in the film *Jurassic Park*, Michael Chricton's great fairy tale warning of genetic manipulation. The featured chaotician, Dr. Ian Malcolm at one point warns, "[Y]our scientists were so preoccupied with whether or not they *could*, they didn't stop to think if they *should*." This pursuance of all that is possible indicates a certain technological utopianism. Not only does technological exploration becomes necessary, but humans are pushed to the limits to pursue all that is possible, thus damaging our ability to carefully consider what should happen. As Stivers (1994) describes, "When possibility becomes necessity, freedom disappears" (176).

Technological Utopianism and Technological Morality

As technique becomes all encompassing and necessary, we only seek solutions through technology to the detriment of tradition, bodily limitations and morality. Stivers (1994) outlines then the utopian narrative of technique,

> This utopian narrative is straightforward. Science and especially technology are leading us to a utopia of maximum production and consumption. Technology insures our collective survival and success in allowing us more efficient control of life and providing solutions to our problems. This promised land is likewise a world of total consumption. In it people have perfect health, are beautiful, eternally youthful, free to do whatever is pleasurable, and thus completely happy. The myth of technological utopianism is promulgated through the liturgy of advertising. This myth (in the strong sense of the term) is as much a myth as that of any archaic people. (Pp. 60-61)

Thus, as technique and the search for absolute efficiency increase, morality suffers.

Ellul (1969) describes three kinds of morality: theoretical morality, moral custom and lived morality. Theoretical morality, like Confucianism, revolves around

intellectual and context-oriented statutes and guidelines. While full of wonderful precepts for how to treat others, to systematically carry out such a morality is impossible. It is similar to ethical guidelines today. Maria Ossowska argues that, "Ethics [or theoretical morality] is supposed to be found in a book, while morality is to be found in life" (p. 4). Moral custom is the lived morality of the past that lives on through tradition. Lived morality, therefore, is the morality people actually carry out. Morality and the technological system clash in their expectations of actors within the systems. Stivers (1994) describes this clash,

> Both technical rules and state-transition rules can be contrasted with traditional moral norms. The former are general and thus abstract. They constitute a logic; a set of technical rules is a closed logical system, a set of state-transition rules, an open system. Moreover, their meaning is direct and fully rational. By contrast, moral norms are symbolic in terms of meaning and dialectical in terms of form. That is, traditional moral norms have an indirect meaning that links them to other moral norms as part of a larger cultural narrative such as a myth. Moreover, moral norms are expressed as dialectical concpets because their meaning arises in part from the context to which they are applied. Hence they are less general and abstract than logical rules that have a fixed meaning no matter what the context. (P. 74)

Morality has become more behavioral than attitudinal according to Stivers (1994).

> Modern American morality in its totality (content and form) is an expression of the marriage between technological utopianism (mental structure) and technological power (material structure). The moral forms (technique, public opinion, peer group norms, and visual images) give expression in various ways to the symbolic values of technological utopianism. At this level technology has the ability to provide maximum success and happiness with no side effects. (Stivers 1994: 166)

Examples of technological morality include the life of the suburb (Baumgartner 1988), the life of the office (Jackall 1988), the relativism of postmodernism (Abend; Bauman 1993) and the Holocaust (Todorov 1996).

Work, as an end in itself, becomes a hallmark of this modern technological morality. Contrasted with the Catholic Worker's philosophy of labor or even Marx's formulation of alienation where people are disconnected from any value in the work that they do, we can see the contradictions between freedom and techique.

TOWARDS A WAY OUT

The totality of *technique* often creates a myopia towards any hopeful resolution to the predicament of complete efficiency. However, the recognition of that totality offers the first step towards our ability to reestablish human scaled possibility. Here, reestablishing morality becomes a necessity. As Ellul (1969) contends, "Morality is always an ethic in a situation of necessity. . . . Like technology and politics . . . morality is an art of the possible. That is what it expresses when it is not a theoretical construct. The necessary becomes the good" (p. 66). Stivers (2008) argues that only a nonviolent anarchism that is situational, not ideological, and a cultural conservatism with an emphasis on the community can help stave off the totalizing effects of technique. The crux, though, of reestablishing morality and nonviolent anarchism hinges upon recognizing the dignity of human persons as well as an overarching common good. Communitarianism puts too much emphasis on the community, thus resembling fascism. Libertarianism, for Stivers (2008) is

"merely another name for selfishness" (p. 100). Stivers (1994) strong commentary on what is necessary reads,

> A genuine revolution against a technological civilization must be first a cultural one and it must start with the individual. Despite the facade of individualism, a technological civilization is at base thoroughly collectivistic. Politics is so heavily laden with technique that it cannot possibly be the place to start. The rediscovery of meaning will not come by resurrecting traditional values. It will come from the attempt to live out as nearly as possible an ethic of non-power. A sense of history is indispensable and in this context, so is a knowledge of traditional values. Because the meaning of all values comes form the context of their application, the knowledge of past values can only be a rough guide to the future. (P. 181).

Only by recognizing the dialectical relationship or co-constitutionality between the person and the community (or common good) can we find true models for escaping or mitigating technique and reestablishing human freedom. Maritain (1935), recognizing the same difficulty Ellul and Stivers have of overcoming the technological system, contends, "The mere possibility of success makes it reasonable for men of action to take such a reform as their goal in the temporal order. And even if their effort fails, it will not wholly fail; for their witness at least will live" (p. 141). The full argument is that the Catholic Worker and more specifically, the Catholic Worker agricultural communes provide a way forward.

Although consistently referred to as failures, the continual effort for 70 plus years speaks to possibility and perseverance. As we have seen with communal experiments and the ideal of a green utopia, a dialectical emphasis on the dignity of persons (freedom) and community well-being (the common good) allows us to draw from religious or humanistic models for a way forward. The Catholic Worker

farms within the idea of the Green Revolution that combines education, hospitality and farms, provide an interconnected vision of a way forward.

The Person

As Selznick (1992) argues, "For anarchists and conservatives alike, the individual person is the touchstone of worth; yet each rejects the idea that people can flourish by acting as separate individuals for wholly self-chosen ends" (p. 372). Inadvertently, Selznick points the way forward, away from the communitarianism he values. The dignity of the human person remains at the center of Catholic Social doctrine, rights-based claims of humanism as well as the work of Aquinas, Rousseau, Maritain, MacIntyre, Kierkegaard and personalism.

Embedded within the idea or personhood and our recognition of the dignity of that personhood is morality. Charles Taylor (1993), absent a larger explanatory framework that Ellul provides, argues,

> To be a person . . . is more than doing certain things; it is more than mere agency, in the sense of having purposes, desires aversions, and so forth. 'To be a person in the full sense you have to be an agent with a sense of yourself as agent,' capable of making plans, holding values, and exercising choice. (P. 257)

The self or identity can only be created through the enaction of moral stances. Thus personhood and morality are inextricably linked.

From that morality stems the action necessary for morality towards other people, often termed personalism, discussed throughout this dissertation. For Allahyari (2000), the creation of a moral self or moral selving involves gratitude, commitment and witnessing. Witnessing involves a demonstration of one's commitments and

gratitude through action similar to what Aquinas and those in his footsteps have argued is absolutely necessary for morality to continue. Todorov (1996) and Tronto (1993) separate discussions of care illustrate the centrality of enacting morality for it to be real and not theoretical. Psychology backs up the claim that people behave morally "toward the environment" because of actual people involved as opposed to abstract ideas of ecology or the environment (Schwartz 1992; Schultz and Zelezny 1998; Brenes and Winter 2001). Morality, thus, is not an isolated action of an individual, it is a social act and relational (MacIntyre 2007; DeCrane 2004; Calhoun 1993; Taylor 1985). Contra these ideas, Bauman (1993) argues, "In the universe of technology, the moral self with its negligence of rational calculation, disdain of practical uses and indifference to pleasure feels and is an unwelcome alien" (p. 198). Morality is *alien* to the technological society.

Our notions of morality stem from our notions of community (that includes ideas of the good life, utopia, the common good, etc.), but the basis of community comes from a recognition of the dignity of people and responsibility towards them (i.e., personalism). But we have to act out that dignity, make a showing if you will; this is the key for care which lies at the heart of morality. Thus, we have an intricately dialectical relationship between persons, actions and community that can only be enacted person to person with the common good in mind. As DeCrane (2004) argues, "A person does not grow in goodness passively, but in a significant way through the use of her capacity to choose and to act on that choice" (p. 52).

Taylor's (1993) moral self organizes itself along the lines of respect for others, an understanding of the full life and notions of dignity. These three components make up a nascent understanding of the common good. Further, Maritain's (1966) contention that the person and the common good are not opposites is a useful reminder often forgotten by communitarians and libertarians alike.

The Common Good

The concept of the common good takes initial shape in the work of Thomas Aquinas. Via DeCrane (2004), "The common good is a paradigm of the ideal of the dynamic relationship between the individual and the society, as individual and social choices are made within time and history, in specific contexts" (p. 58). Maritain (1966) argues that, "the common good is the *human* common good" (p. 29). Thus, the common good lacks a concrete definition, but holds to an amorphous and dynamic understanding of a society that ensures human freedom for persons and, yet, enables a society to work towards a utopia or perfection. In a Christian sense, this is the idea of heaven on earth while humanists view this as human progress.

For MacIntyre (2007), part of the good life is searching for the good life, a tautology that can only be explained by utilizing utopia as a method. Further, "It is only when man is thought of as an individual prior to and apart from all roles that 'man' ceases to be a functional concept" (MacIntyre 2007: 58-59). It is the same thing in language. Functional concepts—concepts cannot be defined without the

existence of that concept that works well, a good watch—all watches are defined in relation to an ideal or good watch. Drawing on Platonic forms, we usually define something by nature of its perfection, thus the definition of an orange stems from an ideal orange in color, shape and taste. The same idea can be applied to persons and society. Thus, to be good is a part of what it means to be a person and utopia is inherently tied to what we mean by society. Therefore, it is possible to achieve an "ought" from an "is." Thus, personhood is related to persons living well (e.g., well being of person and the community they are embedded within). Persons are embedded in their communities and their roles; current technological societies divides persons from those embedded situations which leads to relativism, emotivism and fractured selves with incongruous beliefs. The unity of self leads to a unity of community for they are dialectical. Thus, the common good remains defined and yet undefined. However, for our purposes we can substitute utopia as the ideal common good.

The Common Good and Community Well-Being

Eminent rural sociologist Kenneth Wilkinson (1999) offers a view of community focused on interaction and well-being. He presents five factors that indicate community well-being: distributive justice, open communication, tolerance, collective action and communion. Distributive justice is predicated on "the ultimate *fact* of human equality" (Wilkinson 1999) or what we have termed the dignity of the human person. Wilkinson's concept of distributive justice is also

where Stivers, Ellul and Aquinas become all important—it is the crux of the similarity of religion, especially in its monotheistic form (the dominant form) and humanism where Aquinas is the rub. Open communication hearkens to Habermas and the concept of democracy while tolerance takes on multiple meanings one of which cannot be indifference, or by another name, moral relativism (cf. Seligman 2004). Collective action argues that a community must act together, not as an oligarchic institution or anything else. Wilkinson (1999) concludes his discussion of community well-being with communion as the fifth dimension of well-being,

> Communion in the true sense represents an opening of consciousness and of the emotional life of a people to the relationships that already exist among them. With communion, self arises and common, shared purpose becomes a factor in subsequent social interaction. Purposive involvement means escape from bondage and avoidance of alienation through wilful selection and creation of community. (P.68)

He also includes ecological well-being as a prerequisite for a community to enjoy well-being. He argues, "It is not accurate or appropriate to treat the environment as though it were somehow separate from the social life it supports" (Wilkinson 1999: 68). This indicates that a moral concern for the environment undergirds a moral concern for individuals and community (Stock 2007a). Here is where the moral community comes in—moral similarity and stability (e.g., an understanding of the humanness/personhood of everyone, which is not possible when tolerance is really indifference—helps solve anomie). This emerges from and creates a sense of distributive justice in a dialectical relationship.

ENVIRONMENTAL MORALITY AND THE COMMUNITY

What is under theorized in Wilkinson's conception of community is a moral care for land and the environment. By extending the argument put forth in Stock (2007a), we can see how a moral care for the land and the environment translates into enacted morality towards persons in search of the common good. Thus, a moral concern for people can be enacted through care of the land. The environment becomes a bedrock for a lasting peace both religiously and humanistically by recognizing the value of the dignity of human persons and the common good as intertwined. *Environmental morality, therefore, consists of actions related to the environment taken on behalf of specific people that leads in the direction of promoting environmental stability (sustainability, well-being). Environmentally moral behavior works to respect the dignity of other people one is contact with while keeping the common good or community well-being in mind, as well.* Thus, a delicate and dialectical relationship between the environment, the person and the common good exists. This is not to argue for an anthropocentric view in the nature versus people debate. The point is that that debate is unnecessary. Following Todorov, Ellul and Stivers, morality is enacted by actions towards other people. Our care for the environment will only unfold by caring for other people.

Different formulations of a moral relationship or understanding between nature and morality exist. Leopold's land ethic provides an ethos whereby we can and should extend our moral consideration beyond people to the environment

(Leopold 1989; Heyd 2003). The field of environmental ethics has grown ever since, but the field has concerned itself too often with systems of ethics (theoretical morality) to address real problems of environmental degradation (Heyd 2003). While an environmental virtue ethics begins to get at the actions of individuals, there remains too much emphasis on the moral consideration of non-humans, thus remaining at the level of an abstract or theoretical morality (Cafaro 2001; Sandler 2005). Michael M. Bell's (1994) "natural conscience" provides people with a sense of moral certitude in the on-going fight for supremacy between the machine-like city and the pastoral country, where natural surrounding imbue one with a certain oneness with the world.

Murray Bookchin's (2007) "communalism" advocates for smaller-scale systems of societal organization with an ecological bent, but suffers from Marxian determinism as well as the same theoretical morality impossibility as environmental ethics. Cohen's (2008) emphasis on the georgic ethic and practice gets more to the heart of treating the environment morally, but puts the onus on the relationship between the person and the soil (land, animal). It still fails to grasp that moral relationships can only take place between people (Stivers 1994, 2008; Todorov 1996; Tronto 1993).

While Heyd distinguishes between ethics and morality similar to Ossowska (1970), he fails to put his idea of an environmental morality within the larger context of the devastating effect of technique and maintains the typical environmental

ethics standpoint of distinguishing between nature and humans by arguing for nature as autonomous and those things in it as possessing autonomy. By neglecting the dialectical relationship between people, the common good and the natural environment, environmental ethicists remain mired in systems of well-being rather than putting forth a way forward. A more explicit comparison is necessary between environmental ethics and the environmental morality proposed here, but there is neither time nor space to delve into such a nuanced debate here.

While MacIntyre (2007) waits for another St. Benedict to propose viable ways forward to ensure protection of the environment and a way out of the totalitariainsim of technique, I put forth that Peter Maurin and the Catholic Worker have already provided us with one path forward. Ellul (1964) feared that,

> [Technique] destroys, eliminates, or subordinates the natural world, and does not allow this world to restore itself or even to enter into a symbiotic relation with it. The two worlds obey different imperatives, different directives, and different laws which have nothing in common. Just as hydroelectric installations take waterfalls and lead them into conduits, so the technical milieu absorbs the natural. We are rapidly approaching the time when there will be no longer any natural environment at all. When we succeed in producing artificial *aurorae boreales*, night will disappear and perpetual day will raign over the plant. (P. 79)

The importance of a moral response to technique, especially for the environment, in connection to personhood and the common good becomes imperative. The necessity for hope in combing the ideas of community, morality, utopia and anarchism also helps keep our vision on possibility and away from the determinism and fatalism inherent in progressive and Marxist notions of a future (Levitas 1990; Lueck

2007). Environmental care is key for the enactment of morality in a technological system. Stivers (2008), drawing on Ellul, explains the necessary components of a moral community. If we extend the argument of the good farmer and bring Wilkenson's concept of community well-being, plus utopia (contra technological utopianism) we come to the conclusion that emphasizes the importance environmental morality.

Peace can come from an enactment of belief in the dignity of the human person (whether through humanism/human rights, personalism, distributism); that same peace can be enacted through a ***care*** for the land as an (in)direct type of care for the person (cf. Stock 2007a). As John Paul II contends, peace is linked to a care for the environment. Wars are typically fought over resources—land, water, oil—thus a fair redistribution, as advocated in distributism, that is not socialism or fascism, maintains a resource balance than can lead to peace. Jonathan Schell (2003) argues,

> Peace, social justice, and defense of the environment are a cooperative triad to pit against the coercive, imperial triad of war, economic exploitation, and environmental degradation. Lovers of freedom, lovers of social justice, disarmers, peacekeepers, civil disobeyers, democrats, civil rights activists, and defenders of the environment are legions in a single multiform cause, and they will gain strength by knowing it, taking encouragement from it, and, when appropriate and opportune, pooling their efforts. (P. 354)

Of course this is utopian. But without utopia, we are left with a repeating cycle of contentiousness based on the assumption that this is all there is. Stivers (2008) wonders whether answers will come from religion or humanism. The

answer may be both with respect to the dialectic between the person and the common good. The following chapters describe how Catholic Workers have attempted to enact a vision of a green revolution not simply focused on green as environmental, but green as opposed to red and green as in the Irish. This Green Revolution of the Catholic Worker privileges the dialectic between the person and the common good with a vision towards a society in which it is easier for a person to be good.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

(OR HOW I LEARNED TO STOP WORRYING AND JUST DO THE PROJECT)

"As soon as history takes on the character of a comparative discipline, it becomes indistinguishable from sociology. Sociology, in turn, not only cannot do without history but it needs historians who are, at the same time, sociologists. As long as sociology has to sneak like an alien into the historical domain in order to steal from it, in some fashion or other, the facts in which it is interested, it cannot get much out of it. Finding itself in a milieu in which it has no roots and to which it is not accustomed, it is almost inevitable that sociology not notice, or notice only vaguely, that which in reality it has the greatest stake in observing with the utmost clarity. The historian however, is sufficiently familiar with history to use it with the greatest of ease. Thus, however, antagonistic they may be, these two disciplines naturally tend to veer toward one another, and everything suggests that they will be called upon to fuse into one common study, which combines and unifies elements of both. For it appears equally impossible either that the historian—the student whose role it is to discover facts—ignore the comparisons into which the facts must enter, or that the sociologist, who compares them, ignore how they have been discovered. To produce historians who know how to see historical facts as sociologists do, or—and this amounts to the same thing—to produce sociologists who master all of the techniques of history, is the goal which must be striven for from both ends. In this manner, the explanatory formulas of sociology will progressively extend to the whole complexity of social facts, instead of reproducing only their most general outlines; and, at the same time, historical erudition will become meaningful because it will be employed to resolve the gravest problems with which mankind is faced. Fustel de Coulanges was fond of repeating that true sociology is history: nothing is more incontestable provided that history is carried on sociologically."

-Emile Durkheim, in his preface to the first volume of *L'Année Sociologique*, 1896-1897

SOCIOLOGY AND HISTORY

Any examination of the Catholic Worker necessitates an historical lens. Not only have the Catholic Worker changed with the historical, political and cultural eras, the Catholic Worker has also endured without much dramatic shift in form, organization, purpose or potential. It is this unique tension between change and stasis, volatility in who important actors and the unimportance of actors related to the Catholic Worker that make such persistence immensely intriguing. To study a movement over time presents some difficult issues related to methods, but those difficulties are anything but new. As the epigraph of this chapter illustrates, Durkheim argues that sociology and history are inextricably linked. While support from Bourdieu and Braudel might make this a French thing, the arguments continue to ring true. In fact, there is a growing chorus debunking the ontological myth of a separation between the two (Adams, Clemens and Orloff 2005; Braudel 1980; Calhoun 1996; Gerth and Landau 1959; Hall 2007; Steinmetz 2007a, 2007b; Tilly 1981; Turner 2003). Steinmetz (2007b) takes it so far as to promote transdisciplinarity or the dissolution of strict boundaries between disciplines, since there is no epistemological basis for their separation. Yet others strive to maintain those same boundaries (Dill and Aminzade 2007).

Furthermore, there are calls to increasingly include history within the sociological project (to overstate the similarity of what we pursue). Tilly (1981) continues the case for including history within the sociological project as an

important tool in addressing the need for context and an understanding of change over time. An on-going debate between the viability and separation between history and sociology continues (see Clemens and Hughes 2002; Dill and Aminzade 2007 in regard to social movements). Primary among the similarities is a focus on patterns. As McNeil (1986) argues, "Pattern recognition is what natural scientists are up to; it is what historians have always done, whether they knew it or not" (p. 2). These patterns combined with theoretical assumptions form a scaffolding of sorts to construct our narratives upon—whether informed statistically, observationally or interpretively.[4]

Historical Sociology

Historians Marc Bloch (1959) and John Lewis Gaddis (2002) offer reflections on *doing* history that historical sociologists seem to dwell upon. Skocpol's (1979) *States and Social Revolutions*, drawing heavily on Moore (1966), makes the case for historical sociology based on methods, but as a consequence distances historical sociology from the mainstream sociologists clamoring for recognition from Science. Skcopol's (1979) comparison of events leading to different revolutions put comparative methods front and center in historical sociology. History's penchant for describing and explaining a single event, or person, or group without large scale comparison is not sociological enough for some. The comparison has to be made explicitly—thus, the methodological fetishism of historical sociologists simply mirrors that of their positivist, statically inclined brethren (Calhoun 1996). She later

claims that all sociology is inherently comparative (Skocpol 1987), but so is all history.

Despite the protestations of sociologists (Goldthorpe 1991) and historians (Gaddis 2002), sociology that is historically informed presents a great opportunity to provide historical and cultural context to events and long-term movements (organizations, etc.). The recent tome entitled *Remaking Modernity* argues that historical sociology has evolved through three waves (Adams et al. 2005). First wave historical sociology embodies the functionalism and ahistoricism popularized by the post-World War II, Pax Parsonianism (following Talcott Parsons' lead) fueled by an American hegemony and the Cold War. Prompted by a resurgence in Marxist thought and the turbulent and polarizing 1960s, the "second wave" historical sociologists countered the functionalist and ahistorical assumptions of the modernization theorists resulting in critical work wrapped up, not just in critique, but self-justification. Third-wave historical sociologists, could simply be labeled as those that came after the Marxists for the unifying themes of countering modernization has dissolved into multiple projects centered on religion, post-this and post-that and, yet, continue to struggle with the original issues of modernity that form the foundation of Marx, Weber, Durkheim, de Toqueville, Tawney and Niebuhr.

Goldstone (2006) gently critiques the wave classification of *Remaking Modernity*, arguing (from the perspective of someone lumped into the second

wave) that their categories reify what were nuanced and complex eras attempting to separate, like oil and water, from a functionalist dominated perspective culminating in the hyper normative modernization theory while struggling with issues of structure, culture and agency. Those deemed most palatable involved structural explanations (e.g., Moore and Skocpol), thus setting the standard of what composed historical sociology. He further argues for steps to address these issues including a counterfactual approach where one documents not just what was present (e.g., facts), but also what is missing or what is not the case. For my I own part, I attempt a counterfactual description of the Catholic Worker as a social movement in the appendix. Lastly, Goldstone acknowledges that historical sociology (compared to physics) may yet be too new to condemn its predecessors.

Sociology of Religion and Historical Methods

Calhoun (1999) argues, "there is perhaps no greater disproportion between the concerns of sociologists and those of the rest of the members of contemporary society" (p. 237). Religion, almost necessarily, lends itself to historical study. In fact, the sociology of religion has been at the forefront of engaging the rise of modernity (Turner 2003). Thus, the sociology of religion is not exempt from historical methods. Unfortunately, as Christiano (2008) documents, historians are poor tutors of methods. There are, he argues, "No sacraments of technique [that] exist to mediate for [historical sociologists of religion] the saving grace of truth" (p. 18). Contrast this with the methodological fetishism of many sociologists and we

are left with an uneasy tension. However, we must not despair.

Gorski (2005) walks us through the estrangement of the sociology of religion and historical sociology that began in the 1970s. While the foundations of the sociological canon put religion in a central role of understanding society, the upheaval of the 1960s in combination with a hyper-materialist, Marxist influence into American sociology led to a separation only recently tending towards reconciliation. The case of the sociology of religion's blue ribbon subject—secularization—illustrates the case. The sociology of religion's dominant theoretical axis around which much work revolves involves the central debate on the existence and prevalence of secularization (and to some extent rational choice) (Christiano 2008; Gorski 2003, 2005; Hall 2007). The idea that religious beliefs decline over time assumes the modernist project of progress. Despite the concept hinging upon an understanding of change in the rate of religious belief over time, too often studies of secularization relied on cross-section (point-in-time data) or a universal understanding of religious belief incompatible with a, typically, medieval comprehension of religiosity.

Echoing Skocpol (1987), Swatos (1977) argues, "that all genuine scientific analysis is in the same measure comparative analysis and that we only know what something *is* when we also know what it is not" (p. 106). However, Swatos (1977) extends the argument that historical comparative sociology is *the* necessary method, hearkening those pillars in sociology like Braudel and Bourdieu as well as

Marx, Weber, Durkheim and Simmel. Specifically related to this inquiry, Hall (2007) contends that a socio-historical look at religion can recapture sociologists ability to reengage in a moral dialogue that has been lost. Hall also adds his name to the list contesting the boundaries between history and sociology (p. 167).

METHODS

The undertaking of any large project necessitates a plan to see that project through. Or as historian Marc Bloch (1959) put it, "Even when he has settled his itinerary, the explorer is well aware that he will not follow it exactly. Without it however, he would risk wandering perpetually at random" (p. 66, gendered language in original). After taking multiple methods course and reading articles and books on the subject in preparation for a comprehensive exam in methods, one's methods really come down to one sentence: Do your project in the way you want and do it responsibly. The methodological details often cloud the vision of a creative project. To that end, my study of the Catholic Worker farms includes archival materials (e.g., letter, clippings, photographs, deeds, diary pages, etc.), articles from *The Catholic Worker*, writings from Dorothy Day and, limitedly, responses to a letter I sent in June 2008 to active Catholic Worker houses and farms.

Archival Methods[5]

One summer, when campus was pretty desolate, I drove to my office to retrieve a book. After I had taken a turn a little faster than the posted signage, I was verbally assaulted by someone nearby for my transgression. While I could be the first to admit my own inclination towards speeding, I was not driving recklessly or anything else to prompt such a violent reaction. Upon exiting my car, with the berating continuing—I, like a good, critical sociologist, questioned his authority and asked, "And you are?" At that point he took a step forward as if he wanted to hit me—he's across the street at this point—and kept yelling, "You fuck! You stupid fuck!" He then screamed how he was going to report me and stormed off. I noticed something interesting, though. As he walked away I noticed his white t-shirt said "L-O-V-E." Inside the "O" was a peace sign(☮).

We are all storytellers. Whether relating stories of the hum drum or exciting and novel events of our day or relating our biography to a new acquaintance, we organize our life and days with narrative stories that give order and meaning to the seemingly inconsequential and meaningless.

The story I told you happened on an otherwise forgettable day, but my own experiences and background color what I remember and what I noticed. Over time, our memories change to become clearer and more precise or murkier and less defined. Our memories help to mythologize events and life. Stories, thus, become a combination of factual events and mythological meaning.

Think, for a moment, about your family stories. In my family, our vacation stories have reached mythical levels even yielding my brother's dog's name of Chief. These stories get told and retold to each other and those that enter the family circle many years later and change—each member puts emphasis on certain parts of the story—to the point sometimes that those about whom the story is actually about can change over time and even become unimportant in the story and your lives. But the story lives. And the story changes.

I have found the same thing in researching the Catholic Worker movement's archives in Milwaukee at Marquette University. Typically, the professional nest of biographers and historians (Hill 1993; Markoff 2001), the archives, in my three visits, have yielded a wealth of material (over 1,700 pages) and more potential stories than I ever could have imagined.

An early writing convention for novelists, such as Cervantes, was to claim that their story was not original—there were too many already existing for a wholly new story to be worthwhile, but that the story of Don Quixote was really a compilation found in the archives of La Mancha (Bradley 1999). Thus, archives serve as a mythical home of stories—a convention further adopted by Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Jorge Luis Borges, two of South America's most renowned authors.

This is what I've found. In the early, 1960s a long time acquaintance of Dorothy Day offered Marquette University as the repository of Dorothy Day's papers and those associated with the Catholic Worker. That collection has grown

into a rich and varied assortment of letters, documents, sound recordings and photographs related to the Catholic Worker. The reading room, wood paneled and over looking the university quad, is clean, beautiful, and open in a large-windowed room on third floor of the library. Contrary to many stories of archives involving low lit, basement rooms, it was sunny most of the time. There are large workspaces, large solid wood desks and wood paneled walls—the university kind, not like the house I lived in senior year in college.

The collection is overseen by your prototypical archivist. On my first visit to the archives, I stayed with friends and described what I anticipated the archivist would look like—frazzled, white hair, coke-bottle lenses, older and slow talking. I was not disappointed. Phil Runkel is beloved among the Catholic Worker and those who study the Catholic Worker for his diligence. He has forgotten more about the Catholic Worker than I will ever learn.

On my second trip, I shuffled through over 2,000 documents and came home with at least 1,000 copies. Some of the highlights in the archives include letters to Dorothy Day from

- Benjamin Zablocki, renowned sociologist

- Allen Ginsberg, the poet—the Allen Ginsberg!

- there were letters from single mothers, widows, struggling families looking for something from Dorothy Day—support, encouragement, assistance. I even made a note to myself that reads:

"The depth of gratitude—even in despair—is illuminating. From newly single mothers to spouses of those losing their faculties are touching and heart rending."

Now beyond these interesting (and sometimes distracting) bits of history, my project asks what stories do the Catholic Worker farms hold for us today in the midst of contentious politics, politicized science and perceived dying communities? A lot I would argue.

While any vision of the past can be criticized for the same mythological tendencies I described before, the Catholic Worker farms, in their endurance and persistence—75 years and counting and their continuing reemergence (McKanan 2008)—new ones just opened in London and Ames, Iowa last year—offer a refreshing story of hope and renewal that this world and the Catholic Worker is an unfolding project of improvement and struggle, not a linear, progressive search for perfection. The Catholic Worker farms reinforce that we are living in an unfinished story, but by looking back and finding those untold stories we might write a better next chapter.

Any research project begins with rough outlines of what the final picture will look like and ones' methods prescribe the way to obtain all the pieces. Furthermore, doing archival research is like a puzzle. I used to start with the edges and complete from there. Using a theory helps bound the puzzle by providing edges and yet an historian often works from questions that forms a piece in the middle and we are unsure of how to move from that piece and how far it is to the

edges. One of my favorite puzzles as a kid was a dinosaur puzzle that was beautiful, colorful with pronunciation help next to each dinosaur depicted. I swear that last piece was missing from day one. The major problem with archival research is you can never be sure if that important piece to answer your specific questions and, therefore, fill in that narrative gap will even be there.

The archive continues to be one of the primary tools of the historical investigator. Whether at the heart of a long lost Caravaggio (Harr 2005) or the key to the French Revolution, archives hold a mysterious power over researchers. The constant expectation and possibility of that one piece of evidence can captivate researchers—historian, biographer or sociologist alike. As Bradley (1999) describes, "This is the ultimate intoxication of the archive: that leap of imagination beyond listening to the voices that clamor within it into that sense of the recovery of the lost and at one and the same time the discovery of one's better self" (p. 111).

The uses of archival methods require careful precision on the part of the researcher. Just as quantitative researchers must clean their data, archival researchers must maintain a healthy dose of skepticism in approaching the documentation of the past. Many archives are set up with historians and biographers in mind thus maintaining a bias toward personalities and official documentation (Hill 1993). Sociologists of movements or events thus meet a significant disadvantage. The system of organization present an initial handicap to be overcome (Hill 1993; Markoff 2001). Furthermore, simply existing does not

guarantee importance. In fact those documents most important to a given research question may in fact be the same documents deemed unimportant by an archivist or the original keeper of documents. Simply because a document rests in an archive does not guarantee infallibility either. Despite these difficulties, the possibilities far outweigh the negative.

Hill (1993) and Gottschalk, Kluckhohn and Angell (1945) outline useful strategies in approaching documents for analysis. Gottschalk, Kluckhorn and Angell (1945) offer an interesting cross-disciplinary peek at using personal documents, primarily located in archives in history, anthropology and sociology. Drawing largely on the critical success of Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant*, they demonstrate the value and limitations of archival work as a growing method in the social sciences and humanities. Matsuoka, Mokuau and Paul (1998) utilized archival material to construct an event timeline concerning important event related to the economic stability of a Hawai'ian island.

The Catholic Worker Archives. Due to an early connection with Marquette students interested in the movement, when approached about archiving her life and that of the movement, Dorothy acquiesced and sent the first shipment of what is now the Dorothy Day-Catholic Worker Collection (DD-CW) in 1962 (Runkel 2001). Since then, the collection has grown as current Catholic Workers and researchers continue to send new and newly located material to the archive.

The DD-CW collection includes four major sections: Dorothy Day's papers

(nine series), the papers of the New York Catholic Worker (6 series), Secondary and Audiovisual material (3 series) and papers from the Catholic Worker communities elsewhere (62 series). Dorothy's papers include correspondence, manuscripts, publications, her journals and miscellaneous memorabilia related to life and career. Additional material include dissertations, theses, books and manuscripts related to the Catholic Worker prepared by those not named Dorothy Day. The two other collections, both the NYCW and other communities, are arranged primarily by the particular house that the materials belong too. So even though St. Louis has had multiple Catholic Worker houses since about 1933/34, each different Catholic Worker House of Hospitality and farm has their own box within each series within the archive. Some like the NYCW house and the farm in Maloy, Iowa have files that continue to expand. Others such as the Catholic Worker house in Cañon City, Colorado consist of a single page. The series are also sometimes dedicated to particular people who have had a significant impact on the Catholic Worker which includes personal papers and writings.

At this moment, my collections from the archives consists of 1,735 documents collected over two research trips in September 2007 and 2008. My first research trip focused primarily on gathering documents pertinent to the farms associated with the NYCW located on Staten Island, Easton, Pennsylvania and upstate New York. Additional material acquired focused on the West Virginia (Series W. 4 and 11), Sheep Ranch, CA (Series W. 4, Box 5) and Maloy, Iowa (Series W. 9 and 20)

Catholic Worker farms. These documents include transcripts of interviews conducted with Catholic Worker researcher Rosalie Riegle. My second trip focused on filling the material gaps including other, typically shorter lived, farms and those more prominently associated with urban Houses of Hospitality like Detroit and Cleveland. Lastly, I trolled through Peter Maurin's papers receiving original copies of some of his easy essays as well as a recording of Peter reciting one of these lyrical essays to a radio audience—the only extant copy of his voice.

Newspaper Methods

In addition to the collection of archival documents, my research is necessarily focused on the Catholic Workers' own perceptions of its agricultural communes and the importance of community. In order to track the mainstream Catholic Worker ideas on religion and agriculture, I obtained articles from the *Catholic Worker* from 1933 to 2008. Studying newspapers often come with certain cautions (Altheide 1987, 1996; Earl et al. 2004). With the *Catholic Worker*, by only using one newspaper, it is inherently biased, but it is a necessary bias. Selection bias remains a problem. While trolling through reels of microfilm and sheets of microfiche, I had to make relatively quick decisions based on a brief perusal of articles related to the farms, notions of community, relationship to land, economics and nature. This was further complicated by support of agricultural unions where the focus was on the organizing of workers and not explicitly about a relationship to land or agriculture per se.

Dorothy Day

Vocationally, Dorothy Day was a writer. A journalist, who began her career in college, she left a huge quantity of writing as her legacy including contributions to most if not every single issue of the *Catholic Worker* during her lifetime, a diary recently published (Ellsberg 2008) and contributions to other Catholic and radical publications both prior to and during her editorship and de facto leadership role of the Catholic Worker movement. Additionally, she wrote multiple books focused on the Catholic Worker, her autobiography as well as biographies of Peter Maurin and St. Theresa.

In addition to drawing on Dorothy's descriptions of the farms in her book length treatments of the Catholic Worker, I utilized the searchable database of her portfolio available at catholicworker.org. Typing "farm" into the "Search" box yielded upwards of 400 articles. In perusing these articles, primarily from *The Catholic Worker*, I procured those with any description of a Catholic Worker farm between the years 1936-1980. It also saved the time of reading every Dorothy Day authored article while perusing the *Catholic Worker* on microfilm. Dorothy's writings obtained from this search, in addition to her writing from the newspaper obtained from the microfilm/fiche search and small pieces for other outlets, should form a relatively comprehensive take on Dorothy's perceptions of the farms. While some have dismissed Dorothy as too urban centered or intent on sabotaging the endeavor (Personal correspondence, Cy T. Echele 2006), Dorothy implicitly

believed in Peter. While many have had a different vision (more focused on retreats and the healing power of nature), she never sought to dismantle the agrarian bent of the Catholic Worker experiment.

Assessing the Present

In June 2008, I sent a letter requesting information from 32 Catholic Worker houses/farms that included 14 Catholic Worker houses that proclaim to embrace urban gardening in some way, 12 Catholic Worker farms (eight domestic and four international, one House of Hospitality that is located in an urban area and one farm related to the Catholic Worker although not explicitly entitled "Catholic Worker." The locations to receive the letter were based on the Catholic Worker listings in the May 2008 issue of the *Catholic Worker* (it's 75th anniversary issue) and the directory located on CatholicWorker.org. My hope was to provide some context to the project in the present day. The letter elicited a modest response, especially in the middle of the farm season. While not able to give a complete picture of the current state of the Catholic Worker farm project, these few responses do provide evidence of the persistence, development and recursiveness of the Peter Maurin's concept of the agronomic university. Early on in the project I visited the Catholic Worker farm in Marlboro, New York and met with Tom, Monica and Tom Jr. Cornell. Furthermore, I am now on the Catholic Worker listserv and receive periodic updates on houses and farms from around the country.

These materials (*Catholic Worker* articles, Dorothy's writings, the archival materials and documents and the stories from present day farms) have been organized chronologically and read. A year by year narrative was then constructed to serve as the spine of the larger narrative allowing me to then write this history of the Catholic Worker farms.

LIMITATIONS

Any study runs up against limitations. In the case of archival research, the primary limitation is that of the availability of documents. Valuable documents may be lost forever, including pertinent letters Dorothy wrote to Catholic Workers operating farms in the past. On the flip side, documents, merely by their presence in the archive do not guarantee usefulness. Thus, the documents one is presented with necessitate difficult decision-making. As Brown and Davis Brown (1998) ask, "... is it more appropriate to acquire as many materials as possible but be unable to describe, preserve and make fully available a more limited range of records and documents?" (p. 18). It is also possible, that for the scope of this project, I suffer from a "paucity of data" (Calhoun 1996: 311). Furthermore, especially with the recent declaration of Dorothy Day as Servant of God, the opening step toward beatification and canonization, it is important to maintain a critical edge and avoid the sin of hagiography (Finer 2000). Despite these limitations, the employment of multiple methods should help obviate any egregious errors of assessment. However, any errors, both factual and of interpretation remain mine alone.

ENDNOTES

[4] Thank you to Mark Fiege for help with this insight.

[5] Much of the following section was previously presented at the Annual Meetings of the Midwest Sociological Society 2007.

CHAPTER 4

THE FARMS OF THE GREEN REVOLUTION

Peter Maurin, the story goes, began breaking up large rocks with a sledge hammer. The job needed to be done. The driveway at Easton needed new rock to make it drivable. There was always another sledge hammer sitting by the pile in the hopes that someone would join him. In 1965 (*CW*, May: 1),[6] Dorothy Day wrote another story about Peter along the same lines. While traveling by train to the farm at Tivoli, Dorothy lamented all the garbage and waste strewn on the tracks and in backyards on the Hudson line. She then remembered a story about Peter from the Easton farm.

> Suddenly I thought one day of one of the jobs Peter Maurin had undertaken on the first farm we owned at Easton, PA. It was a job which illustrated many of his ideas but also his love of beauty, his sense of the fitness of things. It also illustrated what he used to call his philosophy of work.
>
> There were two farms, actually, at Easton, the upper and lower farm, and it was on the lower farm that most of us were housed and where we had our retreats every summer. There was one old house, two large barns, one of which we used for the animals, and the other of which we converted into chapel, meeting room, dormitories, and at the lower level, a long kitchen and dining room. The entire barn was built on a hillside so that on the road level the entrance was into the chapel and dormitories. It was below that, on a much lower level, that we had converted cowstalls into a long concrete floored room which made up the kitchen, in one corner and long dining room which could seat thirty or more guests. It was only later that we had electricity and running water in that kitchen. For several years we used lamplight and water from the spring house across the road.
>
> At the very end of this large building, connected with it by one stone foundation wall, there was a foundation built up with field stone ceiling-high,

> which was overgrown with weeds when we first saw it that first summer, which was so hectic that we saw no further than that. We were too busy caring for the dozen children from Harlem and the numerous guests, most of whom were sick in one way or another.
>
> But the winter disclosed the painful fact that this beautiful foundation, overlooking the fields below it and the Delaware river valley far below that, was actually filled half way to the top with all the debris of years. The tenants of the farmhouse before us had used the foundation as a convenient dumping ground for garbage, tin cans, old machinery, discarded furniture, refrigerators, washing machines and other eyesores such as I complain of seeing from the windows of the train. (What to do with all this waste, all these old cars and machines is one of the problems of the day.)
>
> Peter Maurin surveyed this dump and before we knew anything about the project, he was hard at work at it with wheel barrow and pick and shovel. He had undertaken, with no assistance, to clean this Augean stable. Actually we had no plans then, nor did we for several years, for utilizing the foundation and making an additional house on the property.
>
> Fortunately, the ground sloped so steeply down back of the back of the barn that Peter's engineering project was feasible. By dumping the refuse over the back and covering it with fill (another laborious job since he had to wheel loads of this heavy clay earth from down the wooded hillside further down the road) he widened the footpath in back of the barn so that it became a narrow road around the back of the barn and in fact a little terrace where it was possible to sit and survey the long sloping valley below, a scene of incredible beauty, since we were high on what was called Mammy Morgan's Mountain overlooking the conjunction of the Lehigh and Delaware Rivers. (Pp. 1-2)

These stories provide an apt introduction to Peter and his thinking as well as Dorothy's and the Catholic Worker's awareness of environmental issues. One should always show rather than tell, do rather than complain and point fingers. Because of this personality trait, people critique Peter, both within and outside of the Catholic Worker, for a lack of pragmatism bound to fail. David Riesman, talking about utopia, hits on the brilliance of Maurin, "Few scholars achieve the kind of sensitive and friendly relation to reality which is necessary for utopian creation—a

relation in which one respects 'what is' but includes in it also 'what might be' and 'what ought to be'" (Riesman 2001: 180). In what might be and what ought to be is included a sense of beauty, a sense of personal responsibility for providing beauty as well as an ecological awareness involving beauty.

Peter Maurin's peasant background profoundly influenced his vision of a new society built within the shell of the old, as he liked to borrow from the Wobblies. When he met Dorothy Day in 1932 he had already lived a full life that took him across much of France, Canada and the United States. That time before the Catholic Worker provided time to synthesize the work that Peter trusted into a grand vision for social change he termed the Green Revolution. My concern here is not so much about Peter as it is the initial vision of the agricultural communes. For those looking for more biographical information, Sheehan (1959) and Day (2004) provide somewhat hagiographic insights while Novitsky (1975, 1976) and Ellis (1980) provide more critical, though still glowing, appraisals.

Sometime in 1939, Peter was invited to dinner at an eminent professors home. Upon arriving the professor's wife mistook Peter for the gas company representative to read the meter and was shown to the cellar "where Peter humbly went and stayed till the professor returned and rectified matters" (*CW*, 1940, June: 8). Peter did not grandstand or force people to his vision. Though known for a dogmatic approach to "discussion," his vision continued to seek new material to bolster the point. As academics (and politicians can sympathize here), we are often critiqued

for appropriating material that we like especially if that same author holds or writes of controversial material. The example of Heidegger comes to mind here; a brilliant mind, but now we discount him because of his association with the Nazis. Devra Davis (2007) makes the same point in relation to cancer research in that Nazi scientists were one of the first to link health concerns with smoking, but the research was ignored because of the political associations. Peter notoriously borrowed what he liked and ignored what he did not. This often led to a naive understanding of history and flawed examples he held up as models (Stocking 2006). Despite these deficiencies, Peter's idea for social change based upon roundtable discussions (including the newspaper), houses of hospitality and agronomic communes (later renamed agricultural communes or farms) continues to inspire Catholic Workers to "do the work."

THE GREEN REVOLUTION

The moniker "green revolution" has been thrown around since the 1930s. Peter Maurin argued that what was needed was a Green Revolution, counter to the red (communism), but also invoking the Irish. Peter held up the Irish monasteries foundation of agricultural communes, places of hospitality and educational techniques as the savior of modern Europe and something to be imitated. He suggested the title of "Green Revolution" to Mildred Loomis in 1943 and the School of the Living began using the title on its newsletter in 1962. In 1972, an exchange between the School of the Living's Mike Jones and Mildred Loomis with the Catholic

Worker's Dorothy Day and Chuck Smith revealed some of the intricacies of the phrase and its history. Prompted by the publication of Chuck Smith's *Green Revolution* from his recently established Catholic Worker Farm, a new School of Living employee, Mike Jones, took exception to the title that the School of Living had been using since 1962 (Mike Jones to Dorothy Day, 29 September 1972, DD-CW W4 Box 8).[7] Mildred Loomis then got involved and said she had no problem with the duplicate usage, though Dorothy suggested a possible change to Chuck offering suggestions (Mildred Loomis to Chuck Smith (Copy to Dorothy Day), 4 October 1972, DD-CW W4 Box 8). Loomis' concern lay solely in the USDA/USAID use of "green revolution" referring to increased yield and hoped to team with Smith and Day to refute that usage. Chuck Smith had offered to change the title two years prior, though at the time the School of Living, like Loomis in 1972, responded that was not necessary (Chuck Smith to Mike Jones, 7 October 1972 DD-CW W 4 Box 8). In 1974, the *Catholic Worker* published a small piece from Mildred Loomis on the name. She laid out the history of the term, Peter's original usage and the emphasis on an "organic, decentralist agriculture" that promotes "organic gardening, natural foods, modern homesteads, intentional community and the related social-economic-political changes in a decentralist direction" (p. 2).

The major problems over the phrase erupted in the 1960s and 1970s when the move towards intensive agricultural production efforts propounded by modernization theorists, foundations, think tanks and corporations also adopted the

moniker giving rise to numerous texts and a 1970 Nobel Prize speech ("The Green Revolution: Peace and Humanity"). Petrochemical giants (e.g., Monsanto, DuPont, Pioneer, etc.) fostered their global efficiency model throughout the 1970s during what is often called the "Green Revolution." During that time, international corporations, with International Monetary Fund and World Bank support, undertook a massive campaign to revolutionize global agriculture. By introducing more productive strains of rice and wheat to Asia, these corporations increased total food production by replacing long standing farming methods. Traditional on-farm inputs (fertilizer, labor, seeds, water, etc.) were replaced by purchased off-farm products provided by a new import/export system of agriculture. Third World nations imported a new system of agriculture, sacrificed their sustainable farming techniques and exported exotic cash crops to well fed First World nations. The revolution created a dependent system of monoculture while destroying a relatively peaceful and sustainable coexistence in parts of Southeastern Asia (Charles 2001; Shiva 1991). The same techniques influenced U.S. agriculture. The connotations of "Green Revolution" could not be more polar.

Mildred Loomis made the distinction clear in the same brief piece in the *Catholic Worker* ("True 'Green Revolution,'" July-Aug 1974, p. 2). Loomis concluded her plea for differentiation with, "Let's keep 'Green Revolution' for practices that result in more life, not less" (p. 2). Most recently, columnist and author Thomas Friedman (2008) claims that we need a new green revolution focused on technolo-

gy and innovation to recapture America's standing in the world and provide economic and social stability that includes an "ethic of conservation."

Specific to the Catholic Worker, there is an oft repeated mistake within the Catholic Worker that the phrase 'Green Revolution' only intuits the centrality of land where green can be equated with ecological. Luke Stocking (2006) revives the true foundation of the Green Revolution, one that counters the Communist Red Revolution and pays homage to the Irish of the Middle Ages. Stocking argues,

> Green is seen as a metaphor for the land and thus exclusively related to his 'back-to-the-land' refrain. . . . Green is not a metaphor for the land but for the Irish of the early medieval period. The Green Revolution is a 'technique of action,' an 'intellectual synthesis', and a 'technique of agitation.' (p. 3)

The intial confusion resulted from Dorothy's own hand, beginning in 1947, by conflating "green" with Peter's agrarianism. Historians and chroniclers of the Catholic Worker then spread the story (especially Fisher 1989 and Marlett 2002). Dorothy (1965), though, always full of contradiction in thought and writing, also used the "Green Revolution" correctly to speak to the entire program (*CW*, February: 1, 6).

The only Catholic Worker writer to get at unravelling the green revolution error has been William Collinge (2001). However, the importance of the Irish continues to be neglected or diminished. While Mazza (1987) questions the historical accuracy of Peter's claims about medieval Ireland, Peter's interpretation of the medieval Irish greatly influenced his vision of a reconstituted society (Stocking 2006). While Stanley Vishnewski (1984) described the Catholic Worker as the Green International, Peter's "Green Revolution" read as follows:

The only way
to keep people
from seeing Red
is to make them
see Green,
The only way
to prevent
a Red Revolution
is to promote
a Green Revolution.
The only way
to keep people
from looking up
to Red Russia
of the Twentieth Century
is to make them look up
to Green Ireland
of the Seventh Century. (Maurin 1984: 71)

Peter's Green Revolution revolved around his phrase, "cult, culture, cultivation" where Peter saw the ability to change society embedded within tradition, literature and agriculture (Holben 1997). Peter's vision of what the third part of the Green Revolution, his agronomic universities, would look like included a vision of a village-like organization of society based on an arts and crafts, more distributist economic structure with an emphasis on valuing labor, personal gifts and the local. For Peter, local food production and a local economy were central to the vision of a modern village. With a nod to the Benedictines and (giving strength to the idea of Maurin as the new St. Benedict), Peter suggested an *horarium* that split up the day, with four hours of manual labor and valuable time for scholarship and discus-

sion. Peter's vision looked toward bringing the scholar and the worker into harmony, privileging neither.

Although the initial phrase of agronomic university was used, Dorothy changed (as editor) the phrase to farming or agricultural communes. Despite the name change, personal and communal education remained central. This is a major reason why the cooperative and adult education movements so popular in Canada during the 1920s and 1930s like King City near Toronto and Antigonish in Nova Scotia influenced the Catholic Worker. As Michael Harrington wrote (*CW*, July-Aug 1951) that a "green revolution, of a non-violent movement toward a humanitarian society based on production for human dignity," was needed (p. 3).

The Catholic Worker Schools (started with labor schools then moved to farms during summer) often imagined a combination of physical labor in conjunction with discussion or pre-selected texts typically chosen by Peter. An early incarnation of the Catholic Worker schools project that the Easton farm would host for a number of weeks saw Peter also travel to Cleveland to "teach" at the Gauchat's farm. This "rotating" Catholic WOrker School put less emphasis on educational trappings such as texts, tests and classrooms and resembled other anti-education institutions like Black Mountain College, Commonwealth College and Highlander as well as the adult education programs in Nova Scotia and the study clubs so popular at the time (Miller 1998). These schools often prompted attendees to start their own farms elsewhere.

In an undated fragment of an Easy Essay on a folk school at Easton, Peter wrote:

1. To bring the American people
back to the spirit
of the Founders of America
the Catholic Worker
intends to transform
the Farming Commune
near Easton, Pennsylvania
into a Folk School.

2. In that Folk School,
people will learn;
Farming
Canning
Biodynamics
Building
Furniture making
Knitting
Weaving
Dancing
Singing
Public speaking. (DD-CW W10 Box 1)

BACKGROUND TO THE GREEN REVOLUTION

Novitsky (1976) and Mazza (1987) argue that there are five background influences to the Green Revolution:

1) French Social Catholicism

2) Personalism

3) Distributism: including Thomas Jefferson's yeoman farmer, decentralization, nonviolent anarchism and English distributists like Belloc and Chesterton

4) German 'Corporatism' of von Ketteler

5) Catholic Social Teaching especially of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI

These can be distilled into an understanding of the common good (connected to Kropotkin's mutual aid) from St. Thomas Aquinas and a running theme through many papal encyclicals; personalism that, at root, privileges the dignity of every person and distributism or an economic system that privileges decentralized authority and economic systems and preserves a philosophy or the dignity of work and labor. Embedded within Peter's understanding of distributism runs an anarchistic strain from Kropotkin and Proudhon. These three primary influences on the Green Revolution revolve around the central themes of recognizing the dignity of every person and cooperation. These recognitions define the boundaries of the environmental morality at the heart of the village concept of the farms and which served as a key component in the Green Revolution. By recognizing the dignity of persons and labor as well as the dialectical relationship between persons and the common good, Peter's Green Revolution and the farms, in particular, have served as a significant model, if never fully realized, of a way to mitigate technique and the burdens of total efficiency. While personalism and the common good have been discussed previously, distributism needs further explanation.

Distributism

Much of how the Catholic Worker emerged and developed reflects an affinity for distributism. While much of the twentieth century revolved around the tension between capitalism and socialism, a third ideology reached fruition in the work of

Pope John Paul II. Distributism (alternatively referred to as distributionism) advocates a society based upon the personalist (and humanistic) understanding of the dignity of every human being that further includes the economic starting points of the right to work, fair wages, fair distribution of resources and subsidiarity. The primary attributes of distributism initially took form in the work of G.K. Chesterton (1927) (especially *The Outline of Sanity*) and Hillaire Belloc (especially *The Servile State* (1977) and *The Restoration of Property* (2002)) with additional formulations by Eric Gill, Fr. Vincent McNabb, John Ruskin, William Morris and the *Catholic Worker* writings of Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin (Médaille 2000). The last inspiration for distributism (and decentralization) took shape in the Southern Agrarianism of Tate and Agar (Agar 1935, 1938). Distributism advocates a society based upon sharing and respect that also mimics Greeley's speculation of a "Catholic ethic" (Greeley 1976; Rigney and Abney 2004).

Socialism and capitalism are both predicated on a materialistic understanding of well being that diminishes or erases the dignity of the human person and thereby dissolves any connection between the economic system and morality. This materialistic assumption thus erodes the person's capacity to operate morally in either economic sphere. While distributism has been dismissed as utopian and impractical, these are straw man arguments that assume that what we have is the only way (Médaille 2000).

Additionally, distributism is built upon many systems and ideas that we either

already embrace or recognize as possibilities (if not necessities) such as coops, credit unions, employee owned businesses, the importance of small businesses, business diversity, technology, creativity and the primacy of community. The differences lie in the assumption of the ends to be sought by a given economic system. As Schumacher (1973) states in his "Buddhist Economics" (an outline of distributist economics with a Buddhist flavor), "The ownership and the consumption of goods is a means to an end, and Buddhist economics is the systematic study of how to attain given ends with the minimum means" (p. 55).

According to Dermot Quinn (1995), in a letter to the editor, "[Distributism's] economic claims proceed from anterior moral claims about the acting person and the nature of charitable community. It is concerned above all with the creative subjectivity, their openness to transforming grace, and their capacity for dignity through work and property." This primacy of the human person takes on further clarification in the justification that work is a right entitled to all people that is not necessarily tied to or morally equivalent to the free market ideal of labor as a commodity. In distributism, full employment is the assumed goal, not a market that is ideal for profiting at the expense of creative, autonomous work. Further, distributism takes a different view of property. "The Church's view avoids the twin evils of collectivism, which denies the private character of property, and of individualism, which denies the common good" (Médaille 2000: 4).

While we implicitly understand what a just wage and just distribution hint at,

the idea of subsidiarity lacks familiarity. In essence, subsidiarity recognizes the primacy of workers united for common cause that hearken guilds or syndicates where unions are the best example we have (despite their many problems in today's economic climate). One of the primary differences of distributism compared to capitalism and socialism, economically, at least, is a dispersal or distribution of the nodes of power and control (Zwick and Zwick 2005). This decentralizing aspect comes particularly into play in the Catholic Worker's enactment of distributism and organization.

Distributism is ideologically linked to personalism. It is at the conjunction of distributism and personalism as the basis for a new society in the shell of the old that the Catholic Worker enacts moral choices in their own organization and treatment of financial matters. And it is here that the Catholic Worker enactment of distibutism through householding strategies links distributism as a critique of capitalism. Dorothy Day wrote relatively often about the necessity of distributism quoting the papal encyclicals at length while also invoking Chesterton, Belloc, Gill and McNabb. At root, "The essential [aspect of distributism] is ownership which brings responsibility, and what is more essential than the earth on which we all spring and from which comes our food, our clothes, our furniture, our homes" (Day, *CW*, 1948: 6). An emphasis on the land colors much of the discussion of Catholic Worker distributism, but it is only a part of an advocation for social change. In response to the publication of Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful*, Dorothy

Day wrote, "We need a new economics with a strong emphasis on institutions on the land, decentralization, more study as well as more laboring at meaningful work" (*CW*, 1974, Sept.: 8).

The Anarchism of Proudhon and Kropotkin. Louis Mumford (1962) argues that all previous utopias agreed that land in common is a crucial assumption. This utopian strain of anarchism was most fully developed in the work of Russian scientist Peter Kropotkin and the French philosopher Proudhon. Buber (1958) illustrates Proudhon's argument for agricultural communes where production and consumption are intertwined as Kropotkin would write later in *Fields, Factories, and Workshops* (1913). Small scale and decentralized organization form the central focus for a new, utopian vision of society.

Just as Wendell Berry describes our false assumption that wealth guarantees food (*New York Times*, 2008), Kropotkin writes,

> We only know nothing about whence the bread comes which we eat—even though we pretend to know something about that subject as well—we do not know how it is grown, what pains it costs to those who grow it, what is being done to reduce their pains, what sort of men those feeders of our grand selves are . . . We are more ignorant than savages in this respect, and we prevent our children from obtaining this sort of knowledge—even those of our children who would prefer it to the heaps of useless stuff with which they are crammed at school. (Kropotkin 1913: 240, after defending the accumulated knowledge of civilization.)

Often, Dorothy Day and the *Catholic Worker* drew connections between personalism and anarchism (based on the premises of respect for persons, nonviolence and advocation of decentralized organization) where personalism offers an alterna-

tive to Marxism and existentialism (contextually) and distributism offers an alternative to capitalism and socialism. McKanan (2008) argues, "One of the deepest insights of Catholic Worker personalism is that authentic individual freedom and genuine community are not opposites, but interdependent" (pp. 19-20). The dialectical relationship between persons and the common good (community) lies at the heart of the genius and necessity of the Green Revolution with an agricultural and communal component central to the vision.

THE VISION OF FARMS OF THE GREEN REVOLUTION

Sheehan (1959) describes Peter's vision of the communal aspect of the Green Revolution thus:

> Although the Catholic Worker farms often began as houses of hospitality in the country, and consequently had communal kitchens, Peter did not advocate this as the best plan. Each family should have its own house, he said. The private gardens should be small, the communal property large. Work was always much more interesting when performed in a group, and if private gardens took up too much time, the work of caring for them would become dull and tiring. (P. 184-185)

Thus, these farms and communes would have a focus on a family of families, whereby, not everyone was a farmer, but it functioned more like a village, thus necessitating people with different gifts. While the farms were seen as a part of the total Green Revolution, they represent "the concrete form of Maurin's ideal of the good human life and the good human community" (Collinge 2001: 386). In turn, these farming communes were meant to address the particular problems of labor relationships, the value of work and the disintegration and fragmentation of com-

munity and education. Maurin, like many of his contemporaries, hearkened to the days where guilds organized skilled artisans (Kropotkin 1913; Ellis 1980). The emergence of cooperative organizations of workers and distributors also captured his attention.

Maurin also represented a burgeoning emphasis on the local. He used to say, "Eat what you grow and grow what you eat," an instruction taken very literally in the midst of Dorothy's enchantment with the Basic Retreat movement that called for detachment from things of the world with smoking and coffee being most prominent. Despite these hopes and models of previous and contemporary agricultural solutions to the various problems of modernity, Maurin lacked "blueprints" or direction for specifics outside of a daily schedule that was ridiculed and terse phraseology describing what the Irish had done. Further, without blueprints, multiple visions of what the farms would look like led to contentiousness and eventually the dissolution of the first incarnation of Maryfarm at Easton, Pennsylvania (Alcorn 1992). He was even less instructive on actual agricultural techniques minus indications to do without technology like tractors and machinery and pointing people in the direction of biodynamic or organic techniques (Collinge 2001).

Maurin (1933) wrote, "My whole scheme is a Utopian, Christian communism. I am not afraid of the word communism. I am not saying that my program is for everyone. It is for those who choose to embrace it. I am not opposed to private property with responsibility. But those who own private property should never for-

get it is a trust" (*CW*, June-July 1933: 2). Further, William Alcorn (1992), whose sister-in-law, grew up on Maryfarm in Easton, Pennsylvania, adds, "Maurin's often repeated goal was to make workers out of scholars and scholars out of workers—in effect, to produce an enlightened farmer who would accept the poverty of Christ and the sacraments of the Church" (p. 24). Exactly how this was to be done was left unsaid, partially because, Peter was primarily a speaker from an oral tradition in rural France and partially because of his belief in human persons, no matter their failings. For Anthony Novitsky, shortly after his introduction to the Catholic Worker farm in the late 1960s at Tivoli, "It became clear to me, however, that Maurin had envisioned a community far different from what the Catholic Worker had become" (Novitsky 1976: 9).

The Green Revolution did, however, plant the seeds of a revolution of cultural thinking. Along with Lenin, Maurin agreed that a revolution could not occur without a theory of revolution, thus:

> . . . there is no revolution
> without revolutionary action,
> that there is no revolutionary action
> without a revolutionary movement,
> that there is no revolutionary movement
> without a vanguard of revolution,
> and that there is no vanguard
> of revolution
> without a theory of revolution. (Maurin 1984: 15)

While this vision of a Green Revolution drew heavily on those of the past (e.g., the Irish, peasants, guild society, arts and crafts), it also drew from the contemporary.

The following section offers brief glimpses of contemporary (to Maurin and the Catholic Worker) that the farming communes have drawn inspiration and practical ideas from and those that simply offer contemporary context.

CONTEMPORARY AGRARIAN PROJECTS

National Catholic Rural Life Conference

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference remains the face of Catholic agrarianism. While Hamlin and McGreevy (2006) document the checkered history of the NCRLC, they underestimate the connection between (and really the relevance) of the Catholic Worker, Maurin and the NCRLC. I believe this is so because of the institutionalized nature of the NCRLC. It is much easier to document and, therefore, inflate something's importance if it has a documented history, rather than something without a significant written history. The NCRLC, primarily the brain child of Fr. John C. Rawe and Msgr. Luigi Ligutti, organized Catholic support to repopulate the rural areas, reorganize Catholic education and promote, in general, Catholic ruralism (National Catholic Rural Life Conference 1950).

> David Bovee has commented that in 'farming communities with utopian purposes, American Catholics were only following a popular American trend in the nineteenth century.' It must indeed have been a popular idea, since it seemed as if 'almost every bishop in the American hierarchy had a pet colonization scheme.' (Marlett 2002: 54)

The most successful project of the NCRLC was the establishment of a settlement in Granger, Iowa, but also offered conferences and connections for Catholics also concerned with the soil health, the loss of education and vocational opportu-

nities and other issues central to strong communities and families. Hamlin and McGreevy (2006) try to recapture the centrality of religion, particularly Catholicism, to early explicit concerns of what we now term environmentalism. To this end, they privilege the NCRLC while diminishing the Catholic Worker. The Catholic Worker and the NCLRLC crossed paths multiple times with mutual respect. Letters between Msgr. Ligutti, Rawe, Maurin and Day exist in archives and the *Catholic Worker*, not to mention attendance at the NCRLC multiple times by Day, Maurin and other Catholic Workers and a visit to the Catholic Worker farm by Ligutti. I wonder how we can privilege or discount the impact or importance of either group. While they claim the importance of the NCRLC lies "in its appreciation that profound social change did not come from the rants of intellectuals, but somehow had to be grounded in lived culture, in community" (Hamlin and McGreevy 2006: 487), I would argue that the same can be said for the Catholic Worker. I hope to explore this relationship more completely in a rejoinder article in *Environmental History*.

Canadian Cooperatives

The 1920s and 1930s brought forth many experiments seeking more sustainable ways of living and ways to strengthen community. Two experiments from the Canada particularly inspired Maurin and the Catholic Worker. Fr. McGoey's King City (near Toronto) and the adult education and cooperatives of Antigonish Nova

Scotia demonstrated cooperative principles and important guild-like inspiration for the Catholic Workers (Fowler 1938; Terpenning 1931).

Subsistence Homesteads

Communal projects often retain an emphasis on subsistence, agriculture and the environment. Agriculture used to occupy a much larger concern for the general public in America than it does today, although vague references to the Farm Bill and food prices do resonate somewhat. *The Grapes of Wrath* (Steinbeck 1939) continues its stake to the elusive title of "great American novel" by illustrating the reality of the American dream dissolving. The economic crisis that began in 2008 churns out incessant comparisons to the Great Depression like any totalitarian streak is compared to Hitler. Housing remains critical economically and for building community. Gould (1997) offers us a typology of homesteading over time that includes nineteenth and twentieth century progressives (e.g., the Jews of Clarion, below, and the original kibbutzim), Depression and Post-War homesteads including the government programs and Penncraft, the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s that includes the Nearings and the Environmental Awakenings of the 1990s. Gould (1997) argues that "[this typology] reveals homesteading as a kind of parallel movement growing and shifting alongside religious movements such as the social gospel, neo-orthodoxy, the Death of God, and the New Age" (p. 220).

During the Great Depression, farm and home owners (whose mortgages were purchased by the government) fell victim to ecological and economic crises

prompting calls for modern homesteading alternatively called the subsistence homestead program or the country-life movement (Gast 1934; Harding 1945; Layton 1987; Melvin 1932; Taylor 1935; Zeuch 1935). The prime government mover, the Farm Security Administration, famous for the photographs documenting the Depression, founded or consolidated numerous farms and homesteads including 25 in 1941 ranging in size from 204 acres to 6209 acres (Infield 1950). The Catholic Worker agrarian ideas and the National Catholic Rural Life Conference both found traction during this same time period (Hamlin and McGreevy 2006). This is not to say that it took the Depression to force people to look to the land as opportunity. U.S. history, in the mold of Manifest Destiny, thrived on the movement westward (Linklater 2002). Furthermore, homesteading was not only a government plan.

Religious groups often saw a return to the land as a singular way to remain insulated yet make a home in America. From the 1880s up through the 1920s, Jews attempted no less than 40 communal, agricultural experiments in the Dakotas, New Jersey, Louisiana, Colorado and Kansas with most with their roots in the Lower East Side of Manhattan (coincidentally, the geographic origin of the Catholic Worker). The idea of

> Back to the Soil, then, translated into a sweeping cure for many Jewish ills—unemployment, poverty, slum living, disease, crime, prejudice, and discrimination. There seemed no fruit the soil could not bear. Self-interest had merged with idealism as a varied constituency rallied to the cause. German and Eastern European Jews, rich and poor, conservative, radicals, and the

> apolitical coalesced in support of the agricultural remedy. (Goldberg 1986: 37-39)

Between 1911and 1916 cultural Jews from Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York City moved to Clarion, Utah with little to no agricultural training other than from the Jewish National Farm School (Allman 1935). While the Jewish disaster in Clarion, Utah predates the "official" subsistence homesteading movement, it also parallels the origin of the Israeli kibbutz which developed into a rather successful demonstration of utopian hopes on the land (Buber 1958; Goldberg 1986).

The Quakers saw an opportunity to put forward ideas for a more land-centered community plan. In 1937, the American Friends Service Committee put forward plans for the 600 acre model homestead community called Penncraft (Bacon 1969; Miller 1998). Located in western Pennsylvania, Penncraft strove for a small and decentralized community to be a model for other homestead. However, the changing landscape of the U.S. after WWII killed the hope and utopian dreams and became housing for returned veterans.

During times of upheaval and crisis, we are wont to nostalgize the past including the way people lived—"in simpler times such and such didn't matter"—this is the critique of Peter Maurin's peasant influenced ideas as well as those that advocate simple living. Gould's (1997) treatment of the Nearings draws parallels between homesteading and religion—there are symbols and meaning and help organize one's life with a central thesis. Gould expounds on homesteading here:

> On the other hand, homesteading is an open term, allowing for a range of possibilities: locating oneself imaginatively within a pioneering tradition, as the Nearings have done; returning to the family farm after teaching and writing in the city as farmer and essayist Wendell Berry has done; or extending the idea of the backyard garden to advocate a new practical and moral way of living, as Bolton Hall and Ralph Borsodi variously attempted in the early twentieth century. Such experiments in living demonstrate the practical, as well as metaphorical aspects, of a generalized practice known as homesteading. (1997: 220)

It's an interesting, but I'm not sure all that helpful metaphor. Homesteading, regardless, has a significant history in the intersection of agriculture, utopia and building of community that cannot help but influence the Catholic Worker. The Nearings contributed to the *Catholic Worker* as well as had their books reviewed (Nearing 1954; Nearing and Nearing 1954) (see also *CW*, Mar 1955; *CW*, 1959, Jan: 1,2,7; Helen and Scott Nearing, *CW*, 1974, Jan).

Ralph Borsodi's School of the Living. Borsodi's School of Living represents one of the primary examples of homesteading (particularly of the rugged individualistic type) in the 20th century. The initial experiment began at Suffern, New York and Maurin visited often (Collinge 2001). The School of Living, another advocate of a kind of green revolution, embodied an initial back-to-the-land ideal demonstrated by Borsodi's own move to a more rural homestead and the associated books that inspired so many mimics (Miller 1998). Mildred Loomis continued the School of Living's promotion of decentralism, primarily through publications.

Koinonia. The interracial farm at Koinonia started in 1942 by Clarence Jordan and others emerged as one of the first interracial agriculture communes in the

country. Koinonia held similar Christian ideals related to race, the dignity of the person and care for the land, that also led to Koinonia having trouble during the Civil Rights Movements (K'Meyer 1997). Dorothy Day also narrowly missed being accidentally killed while on night watch duty at the farm during a visit in 1957. During the previous summer, coordinated attacks including bombings, shootings and fires began that prompted a closer relationship between Koinonia and the Catholic Worker leading to Dorothy's visit in the first place (see *CW*, 1956, Sept; *CW*, 1957, Jan; *CW*, 1957, March; *CW*, 1957, Apr; *CW*, 1957, May). On the cusp of the Civil Rights movement, the Catholic Worker again demonstrated no fear in tackling the difficult social issues of the era.

Highlander. Another project seeking interracial justice and vital during the Civil RIghts Movement was Myles Horton's Highlander School (now the Highlander Research and Education Center) (Adams and Horton 1975; Bledsoe 1969; Glen 1993; Morris 1984). From training Rosa Parks to working at the forefront of the environmental justice movement, Highlander represents another significant node of left-leaning activism. From Chuck Smith's involvement at Highlander in the late 1960s to associate editor Judith Gregory's fascination with and hopes to replicate Highlander, the Catholic Worker's affinity for the Center cannot be denied (*CW*, 1959, Sept: 2, 8; 1959, Dec: 2, 7).

Hutterites. The Hutterites also provide interesting background to the combination of religion and agriculture demonstrated by the subsistence homesteading

ideas of Jews, Quakers and Christians. The Hutterites, like the Old Order Amish, live a religious life almost completely isolated from Secular society. As part of the Anabaptist sect of Christianity that emigrated from Europe, the Hutterites took a very insular approach to community to preserve their faith often moving to remote areas of the U.S. such as the Dakotas to insulate themselves (Baden and Stroup 1972; Bennett 1967; Friesen and Friesen 2004; Goldberg 1986; Hostetler 1974; Pickering 1982). By alienating themselves from the larger community, Hutterites can emphasize their own community, the importance of modest dress, family and subsistence agriculture (Pickering 1982). Furthermore, Hutterites emphasize networks within those that are Hutterites: "Hutterian agriculture develops as a unit, not singly, by colony; and this is facilitated by the fission process, which leads to a flow between colonies of pertinent agricultural information" (Bennett 1967: 226). This emphasis on networks draws comparisons to the growth of the Catholic Worker in general, and the farms to a lesser extent (McKanan 2008). Dorothy and other members periodically visited Hutteritre settlements and reported on their visit, often frustrated at the lack of discipline on Catholic Worker agrarian endeavors by comparison (see Day, Dorothy, *CW*, 1969, July-Aug).

The Community of the Ark/L'Arche and Camphill Movement. Often the Catholic Worker and chroniclers of resort to direct comparison, much like the history of Hutterite updates. The Gandhian-inspired Community of the Ark advocated communal, rural and cooperative living, most notably in France. Descriptions of

and pleas for help were often published in the paper (see *CW*, 1958, April; *CW*, 1965, Sept.; *CW*, 1972, Oct-Nov.; *CW*, 1975, July-Aug.; *CW*, 1976, Jan.). More recently, John Sniegocki (2005) drew an explicit comparison between the two movements looking towards the formulation of a more peaceful world. Similarly, Dan McKanan (2006) draws comparison to conversion stories in the Catholic Worker and the Rudolf Steiner and biodynamic influenced-Camphill Movement.

Organic Movement and Biodynamic Farming. One constant among Catholic Worker farm incarnations has been a concern for soil and care of the land. While Maurin lacked explicit guidelines or blueprints for enacting these farms or communes, he did advocate biodynamic methods initially started by Rudolph Steiner and then later, the organic methods of Sir Albert Howard (see *CW*, 1944, Feb; *CW*, 1945, Jan). Rudolf Steiner and Sir Albert Howard recognized the direction that global agriculture was headed and began international movements based on similar, but different composting methods. In the United States, Jerome I. Rodale, following a correspondence with Howard, demonstrated organic production as more efficient and safer than the burgeoning chemical methods that would become known as "conventional" or normal. Although Steiner and Howard provided vocal resistance to the changes they anticipated, they were often referred to only in passing and then as merely anti-progress and Luddite.

Arthur Sheehan (1959) relates, "To show them the importance of organic methods of agriculture, [Peter] had them read Lord Albert Howard's *Agricultural*

Testament" (p. 136). This initial interest in more earth-friendly farming techniques represents an initial moral perception of care for the land that connected seamlessly into the moral care for people (Stock 2007a). Similarly, this same connection to the earth manifest itself in newspaper, explicitly demonstrating the connection between Catholicism (and Christianity) and environmental awareness. Further, this explicit intimation on the necessity for a care for the environment tied the Catholic Worker (and the farms, particularly) into the American environmental movements with origins in environmental/industrial health to concerns over pesticides initiated by Rachel Carson (1962) and continued by Sandra Steingraber (1998) to the environmental justice movements adding concerns of class, race, ethnicity and gender explicitly to the conversation in addition to mainstream organizations like the Audubon society, Sierra Club and the environmental and agricultural critics that include Aldo Leopold, E.F. Schumacher, Wes Jackson and, most prominently, Wendell Berry.

LATER MANIFESTATIONS

On Peter Maurin, William Collinge (2001) argues:

> In his ideas about agriculture as in the rest of his work, Maurin is both backward- and forward-looking. He romanticized the peasant society of the middle-ages and his own childhood, but he also accurately perceived the tendencies of contemporary agriculture. In his emphasis on protection of the soil, on rural community, and on local self-sufficiency, he anticipated the ideas of such contemporary critics of industrialized agriculture as Wendell Berry. (P. 396)

Jeffrey Marlett (2002) adds, "Much of what the Catholic agrarians said about nature could—shorn of its Catholic identity—be mistaken for contemporary environmentalism, including even deep ecology" (p. 7).

What Peter Maurin rallied against was the fragmentation and disintegration of the rural and the urban. By separating and losing the traditional knowledge of husbandry, food production became a technical operation rather than an appreciated craft. This fragile system imperils not only access to healthy food, but also traditional knowledge. Not unlike an economic system built upon gambling at the margins, a food production system built upon technical operators rather than an integrated community infrastructure is susceptible to toppling.

Agriculture in the U.S. (and globally) continues to follow a trend of concentrating wealth in terms of tools and land resources. Culturally, the idea of farmers as slow and backwards, in opposition to the agrarian ideas, also continued. These ideas typically refer to farmers that do not live up to the ideals of efficiency and production. Wendell Berry (2002) terms this the "prejudice against country people."

> Often, the image of the farmer as salt of the earth, independent son of the soil, and child of nature is a sort of lantern slide projected over the image of the farmer as simpleton, hick, or redneck. Both images serve to obliterate any concept of farming as an ancient useful, honorable vocation, requiring admirable intelligence and skill, a complex local culture, great patience and endurance, and moral responsibilities of the gravest kind. (P. 22)

The conglomeration of the government, large agricultural capitalists (agribusinesses), the formation of the land-grant university system and large land

holders created a behemoth structure that serves as the twentieth century's dominant image of agriculture. The power structure also enabled the largest shift in agricultural history, spawning what Wes Jackson (1980) calls a "global disease" and a continuation of "the most significant and explosive event to appear on the face of the earth, changing the earth even faster than did the origin of life" (p. 2). Although the 'agricultural power structure' system, as Reisner (2003) terms it, cannot be understood as fully integrated until post-World War II, the seeds of domination were planted more than 100 years prior. Berry (1977) goes further to say, "What we have called agricultural progress has, in fact, involved the forcible displacement of millions of people" (p. 41).

The system preys on fears regarding the cost of food, efficiency and freedom of choice through its propaganda about global hunger, biotechnology and increased technology. Kimbrell (2002) rejects these notions as propagandistic and manipulative to maintain a constant level of fear in global consumers. He concludes that only a sustainable, organic agriculture will be able to truly alleviate world hunger, provide actual choices to consumers and produce food at a reasonable cost economically, environmentally and socially.

From the introduction of the tractor, to the adoption of synthetic chemicals to the adaptation of computer software by farmers, agriculture over the past century and a half has embodied reductionistic thinking (Bowring 2003). The lack of holistic thought by the agricultural power structure illustrates their naiveté. This

same naiveté has led to the erosion of the soil as well as rural and, specifically, agricultural communities. Reductionism has led to the consolidation of power and capital (see Mann 2008).

The agricultural power structure embodies one of the largest bureaucratic structures in the world. Unlike the children's book notion of one farmer on one farm, agribusiness is a multibillion dollar industry, including petrochemical corporations, farm technology producers, biogenetic firms, the transportation industry, storage facilities, investment firms, land-grant research and extension offices and consumers. A nightmarish bureaucracy of specialization results in monocrops produced with chemical fertilizers and pesticides without care for the ecological, social or economic ramifications (Shiva 1991, 1997). Specialization and the technological control provide the illusion of power, but the ancillary incidents of worker dissatisfaction, fluctuating costs of transportation, storage and other aspects involved in the process add up to an unstable system of production. This instability is a result of what Carson (1962) dubbed the "shortsightedness of the specialist." The continuance of such consolidation manifests itself in lost farms, poor quality food, threats of disease (i.e., mad cow) and unstable prices for farmers and consumers. As a few have illustrated, great civilizations have fallen as their agricultures have disintegrated, most explicitly the Romans and the Mayans (Diamond 2005).

We know the "culture" from agriculture has been removed (Berry 1977).

Although, there are a few that attempt to reclaim agriculture as an understanding of a relationship between a farmer, his family and the customers, the literal consumers, of the food being produced. Jefferson's ideal may never have been the case in post-Revolution America, but there may be an agricultural shift that could bring us as close as we've ever been.

Beginning with the practical critiques of Howard and Steiner and continuing with the more contemporary critiques of Rachel Carson, E.F. Schumacher, Wendell Berry, Jackson, Sandra Steingraber and Michael Pollan we see the prescience of Peter's agrarianism. These contemporary ecological and agricultural advocates in combination with Jacques Ellul's (and those he's inspired) critique of technique demonstrate what I think is a more complete and updated worldview of Peter's synthesis of history and anticipation of the direction of the modern world.

The combined message of these critics embodies Ellul's notion of technology as sacred. In agriculture, the tractor, combine and chemicals represent the material technique while the economic system of concentrated control in the hands of a few and the denigration of the farmer represent immaterial technique. This is the stuff that maintains an image of nature as a reservoir to be depleted (not caring that it cannot be refilled) as opposed to a common good for all to be cared for, not for its own sake which is the mistake of environmental ethicists, but for our sake. As illustrated by Schivelbusch (1986), "The degree of control over nature and the violence of the collapse of that control, in shock, are proportionate: the more finely

meshed the web of mechanization, discipline, division of labor, etc., the more catastrophic the collapse when it is disrupted from within or without" (p. 158). Deane Mowrer (1969) reiterated Peter's program to mitigate such control and destruction: "Peter Maurin's program was really based on the village-commune idea, a community of families, with cooperative buying and selling, and sharing of assets, talents, tools, work" (*CW*, May).

PETER'S 'GREEN REVOLUTION' AND THE BRAID

While some critique Peter's lack of pragmatism, Dorothy Day (2004) defended the value in his prescient analysis of multiple issues that ring relevant,

> Maurin saw the need for humanity to live in harmony with the natural environment and outlined a plan to do so, decades before intellectuals and social activists took up this concern. His observations anticipated a growing number of historians and economists who are just beginning to study not only the impact of changing forms of technology on the organization of human labor (the Marxist model) but also the impact on the land and the possibility of a sustainable economy. (Pp. 126 -127)

However, what we are missing in condemning the farms to "failure" status is the utter success of the rest of the program that of caring for people and fostering 'clarification of thought.' Though Dorothy Day and other editors would never ask someone incapable of writing or thinking clearly of writing for the paper or being responsible for producing it, that same consideration was never made of the farms. This was partially out of necessity and, partially, as a result of Peter's failing health.

We can characterize the Catholic Worker's Green Revolution as a braided

rope. At minimum, a rope or a braid consists of three individual strands. With only two strands wound together, it can come undone and be only parallel strands. But with three, the rope gains strength and stability. We can look at the Catholic Worker in the same light. The Green Revolution consists of three independent, yet interrelated aspects including the roundtable discussion (that includes the publication of the newspapers, websites, pamphlets and weekly discussions), houses of hospitality and the farms. Out of necessity and a misunderstanding of the importance of the farms, the Catholic Worker have privileged the newspaper and houses of hospitality to the detriment of the farms and communes. While the farms have never been fully neglected, they have also never enjoyed the centrality and priority of the other two strands. If we return to our braid metaphor, we could thus argue that by undermining the farms, the Catholic Worker have not been as strong as they might have been. If and when the Catholic Worker as a whole integrate the farm ideal into the fold, we may see the beginnings of a real green revolution. Novitsky (1976) contends "An honest assessment of the success of Peter Maurin's Green Revolution thus requires the acknowledgment that his agronomic university has yet to be established" (p. 134) while keeping in mind that in 1976 Sheep Ranch was in its infancy, the Maloy, Iowa settlement was at least 5 years hence and the recent incarnations in other places were not even glimmers on the horizon. Furthermore, "Ultimately, Peter's greatest legacy was a recognition of the dignity

and absolute worth of each human being, regardless of race, religion or economic function. There is nothing very original in this, but the attempt to create a society on this foundation is truly revolutionary" (Novitsky 1976: 343).

While Harry Murray concluded his study of the Catholic Worker and hospitality with an assessment of the importance the farms can yet play, McKanan (2008) argues, "Though the Catholic Worker has in recent decades been more associated with issues of war and homelessness, the decentralized economics of Peter Maurin's Green Revolution provide one of the most promising solutions to global warming" (p. 221). Thus, the farms and communes of the Catholic Worker continue to inspire hope in those that "do the work" and those that admire from afar.

Unlike Peter's charge of breaking rocks for the drive way, people have followed his vision of the importance of village-like focus on the community and the common good. While many Catholic Worker attempts at going back to the land have "failed," attempts keep springing forth. Peter's Green Revolution provided a fountainhead. Those who have and continue to draw from the vision range from familial attempts at book farming, to village visions or a reconstituted economy to the recent incarnation of a rural school of crafts and agriculture in Iowa. The importance of a message focused on the common good, the dignity of all human persons and an emphasis on a care for the land and the environment

rings prophetic, especially in the midst of an economy sinking under the weight of its gambling addiction and economistic, and uncaring, treatment of environmental resources and niches.

ENDNOTES

[6] When referring to articles in the *Catholic Worker* newspaper, I have abbreviated and italicized the title to *CW*.

[7] Archival materials retrieved from the Dorothy Day-Catholic Worker Archives at Marquette University in Milwaukee, WI all retain a series denoted by a "W" and a numeral and a box indicated by a "B." If necessary this citation in the text is followed by the folder within the box denoted by an "F" and a numeral or description.

CHAPTER 5

SOWING THE SEEDS:
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CATHOLIC WORKER FARMS, 1933-1963

"We hesitate to list these farms which have been associated with us through the year, some more closely than others, because we are never sure whether they are willing to receive the kind of Catholic Worker visitors who arrive bag and baggage at odd times."

- Dorothy Day, from an undated (but from when Maryfarm at Newburgh was open) document with the heading "Farms" in Dorothy's handwriting and next to a list of farms associated with the Catholic Worker. (DD-CW W4 B1 F1)

"Catholic Worker farms deliberately invited failure by following the movement's radical Gospel commitments to openness, toleration, and personal sacrifice for others."

- Historian Mel Piehl (1982: 130)

One of the primary indices of the technological society, for Ellul, is that thought and action have been separated. Technique tends towards a lack of personal responsibility, not only for oneself, but others. Thus, Peter's Green Revolution including the houses of hospitality, clarification of thought (at this point, primarily through the newspaper and roundtable discussions) and the agronomic universities formed a three pronged path (albeit vaguely described) to a new social order that respects the person and the common good by reestablishing a social order that is decentralized, communitarian and appropriate. Maurin further

advocated an economy that favors a philosophy of work and labor over the efficiency and expendability of the worker that drew inspiration from medieval guilds and the village of the peasant and contrasts with modern industrialization and secularization that culminated in the technological society that privileges efficiency in production and social relationships above all.

In this chapter, I follow the development of the Catholic Worker farms and their specific brand of romantic agrarianism. By building on the foundational ideas developed in chapter 4, the Catholic Worker opened the first Catholic Worker farm in 1936 only to have it dissolve in a feud over what it meant to be a "real" Catholic Worker in the 1940s. The emphasis on clarification of thought through Catholic Worker Schools and retreats prompted a move to Newburgh and then Staten Island as well as to farms across the country. The relatively unified thread of romantic agrarianism inspired these other ventures as well as connected the Catholic Worker to other groups like the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. While enjoying some success at Peter Maurin Farm on Staten Island, the economics of the situation moved the farm north on the Hudson. The move, the geography and the socio-historical context would forever change the direction of Catholic Worker farms. While never continuously successful in terms of crops grown or societies changed, the Catholic Worker farm story demonstrates the perseverance and vision needed to pursue utopia.

THE FARMS

The Green Revolution never provided a blueprint for how to achieve this new society, but the continued emphasis on thought and action and means and ends demonstrated much of what is wrong. Maurin's injunctions against the machine, industrialization, secularization and other societal ills resemble Ellul's formulation of technique. Thus, Peter's vision for a new society with a strong agrarian character can serve as one model for how to mitigate the effects of technique.

Catherine Reser (*CW,* 1939, July-August) (with arrangement help from Peter) wrote an Easy Essay-style manifesto of sorts of how and what the farming communes can and should look like.

> The Catholic Worker
> is a revolutionary movement.
> It intends the destruction
> of the present industrial
> society.
> One of the instruments
> of this revolution
> is the Farming Commune. . . .
>
> By the establishment
> of Farming Communes
> we wish to demonstrate
> a way of life
> in which men
> once more assume
> personal responsibility
> for their own economic
> salvation
> instead of depending
> upon the urban collective. . . .

The out-to-the-land movement
is not a plan to settle families
on a hundred acres of land,
homestead fashion,
and let them
starve to death
or make a fortune
in rugged isolation.

The theory and practice
of the Catholic Worker
farming communes
means the acquisition
by a group
of like-minded
individuals and families
of a hundred
or fewer acres.

XI. Mutual Charity
For example,
although the farm
at Easton, Pennsylvania,
is still in large part
dependent on St. Joseph's
House,
Mott Street,
it has been able to
send vegetables
eggs and meat
to Mott Street,
an exercise
in mutual charity.
It also serves
as a summer camp
for many poor children
who otherwise
would know only
the little breeze
and sunlight
that sifts
through clotheslines

crisscrossing
the backyards
in which they live.
. . .
a way of life in which
all the variety
the responsibility,
the integrity of action
which are removed
from the usual existence
of the wage earner
are restored to him
so that he can
once more
function as a human being
rather than
as a machine minder.

In Reser's and Maurin's minds, the farms provide a way to mitigate the encroaching industrialization that works to deform and separate people from freedom. To that end, the Catholic Worker started their first true agronomic university or farming commune in Easton, Pennsylvania in 1936.

MARYFARM AT EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA, 1936-1947

The Catholic Worker's primary farmer for over 40 years was a former seaman who joined the Catholic Worker during a strike. While painting a barn, he fell 40 feet. Luckily, he missed the piles of slate and old boards filled with rusty nails and fell between them into a pile of manure. While not an ideal landing place, it was a soft one. This illustrates how the Catholic Worker farms have run since the mid-1930s; nothing beautiful or perfect, often between a proverbial rock and a

hard place, but somehow finding a way to survive.

The initial start of the *Catholic Worker* gave no hint that any actual farms would emerge, though we know this was Peter's great desire. However, in 1934, the Catholic Worker began to cultivate more explicit, agriculturally-based societal critiques. These rants against industrialization and the machine began with Catholic bishops and popes and have continued to include Caesar Chavez, Lewis Mumford (*CW*, 1974, July-Aug.) and E.F. Schumacher among others (see *CW,* 1934 Dec.; *CW*, 1935, June). Distributism countered the erosion of society and promoted a small scale, decentralized society based on agricultural stability.

In March 1935, the *Catholic Worker* started a column entitled "Farming Commune" to document the emergence and development of what the Catholic Worker hoped "may grow into a big [project]" (1935, March: 5). Between the May and June 1935 issues, the Catholic Worker located a garden commune on Staten Island run primarily by Steve Hergenhan. While a start, the property on Staten Island could not sustain the vision or the number of people that needed who escape an the country (Miller 1973, 1982). Dorothy explained that the garden commune established in 1935 served primarily as a half-way house, a rural house of hospitality that happened to have a garden. As Dorothy recounted in *Loaves and Fishes* (1972), "The idea [of farming and agronomic universities] captivated the young men around *The Catholic Worker* that winter of 1935. I do not believe the women were so sold on it. I know I was something less than enthusiastic" (p. 44).

Despite Dorothy's hesitation, a January pronouncement in the *Catholic Worker* stated, "*March 1 will see the start of a serious attempt to put into practice the third point in our program*. We are going to move out on a farm, within a few hours of New York, and start there a true farming commune" (1936, January: 1, italics in original). While no place had been found, Cyril Echele and the editorial staff set out vague plans as to what the commune or village commune, with a combination of crafts and cultivation, might look like (*CW*, 1936, Feb; *CW* Editorial, 1936, April). Plans included individual houses for families as well as how to deal with issues of lost members, finances, land and other practical issues. James Montague would later comment on John Filliger's frustration at any planning on the farm for they always go "awry" (*CW*, 1940, Feb.). Frustration and disappointment would become a common occurrence on Catholic Worker farms.

In April 1936, Dorothy and a group of men found a twenty-eight acre farm on Mammy Morgan's Hill outside Easton, Pennsylvania for the cost of $1,250 (paid partially by a school teacher in Baltimore) along with "a hundred peach trees, some apple and cherry trees, raspberry bushes and a half acre of asparagus already in. The house has seven bedrooms and is in very bad repair" (*CW*, April: 6).[8] A year later, Dorothy would remember fondly the origins of Maryfarm: "We didn't care what kind of house it was. We just knew the place was a Catholic Worker farm" (*CW*, 1937, April: 8).

In the spirit of community and cooperation, a Michigan farmer wrote to the paper with advice to seek local help that echoed Peter and Dorothy's own sentiments on context and place. This began a long tradition of the paper printing letters from farmers (and cranks) with advice, grand solutions and updates on the multiple forms of the Catholic Worker and related communes. The June (*CW*, 1958) issue saw Cyril Echele's report from Missouri on the second official Catholic Worker commune venture that he would later term a complete disaster. Later in 1936, the Catholic Worker moved the business office of the paper and movement to the Easton farm while also opening a small office in the city of Easton indicating the primacy with which the venture held.

Much of the history of the farms consists of reflections on the beauty or struggle of rural life and those who share it. Dorothy is foremost among those descriptors:

> The trees are getting bare, but still it stays warm. Coming down at night from the city, the warm, sweet smell of the good earth enwraps one like a garment. There is the smell of rotting apples; of alfalfa in the barn; burning leaves; of wood fires in the house; of pickled green tomatoes and baked beans than which there is no better smell, not even apple pies. (*CW*, 1936, Nov: 1, 6)

Commenting much later on these early years, Dorothy offered that, "As farmers, perhaps, we were ridiculous, but Maryfarm was a happy home that summer and for many summers after" (Day 1972: 53).

Relative Success

While the initial year at Maryfarm witnessed scrambling for food, tools and water, 1937 brought some stability and growing pains to the Catholic Worker Farm at Easton, Pennsylvania. Visitors streamed in and out, a theme begun at the houses of hospitality and continued on the land, including priests—notable and not—and children, mainly from Harlem. The ever-changing cast of characters speaks partially to the interwoven nature of the Green Revolution promoted by the Catholic Worker in word and deed. While Peter would have loved to have seen primacy given to the creation of a modern village, the reality of the Great Depression and an adherence to personal responsibility moved the Catholic Worker mainly towards hospitality. What started as provision of food and housing in Manhattan evolved into camps for kids and the ability to provide access to green space, manual labor and fresh air. Thus, the three strands of the Green Revolution stayed, not separate, but integral to one another in clarification of thought, hospitality and some form of agrarian living.

James Montague first wrote of the farm with a lighthearted style of devotion and dedication that would continue through a number of farm chroniclers. John Filliger, from the beginning, demonstrated husbandry skills that were his primary contribution and prevented the utter failure of the farm. Montague, more than once, complemented Filliger's skills as a farmer. In March (*CW*, 1937: 8): "John [Filliger], the all-around farmer, showed his skill as a pruner [of peach trees] . . . St.

Joseph showed his interest in the farming commune when he directed [John's] footsteps this way."

While the Catholic Worker movement expanded to 11 affiliated "branches" in April 1937, the Easton farm itself began to grow during the summer of that year. "These are the beginnings of the first Catholic Worker Farming Commune and though groundwork has been laid, the growth has been steady, and though we are not at all satisfied, still we are content," Dorothy said at the end of the first year (*CW*, 1937, April: 8). That same month, the Catholic Worker rented (and would later purchase) the neighboring farm adding 40 acres for a total of 70. The lower farm - house and barn - housed primarily women and children. This is where Dorothy often stayed and worked when at the farm. In May, Montague described the much improved crops: "We don't claim to be real farmers yet, but at least we are going ahead" (*CW*, 1937: 8). With potatoes, corn, fruit and other crops doing relatively well, Dorothy proclaimed in July (*CW*, 1937): "It is a happy place, this farm, with its bright sunny days, the heavy odor of milkweed blossoms coming in the window and the daisies studding the fields. Every night we have black raspberry shortcake, and there is all the cherry jam you can eat."

By the end of 1937 the Catholic Worker had 12 acres under cultivation that yielded 3.5 tons of corn, 2.5 tons of alfalfa and 4 tons of timothy hay for livestock (*CW*, 1937, Dec.). John Curran summed up the mission of the Catholic Worker farms, "Our farm will never be noted for material success, not as long as Miss Day

and needy people are in this section. We do hope that it will point the way to a more decent mode of life, to a better ideal of what the land can be and can give, to other values in life than mere greed and exploitation can give" (*CW*, 1937, Dec.).

By describing the farm ventures, both successes and failures, the Catholic Worker laid plain the struggles and joys of attempting to live out the self-sufficient vision of the Green Revolution. Readers of the paper responded with stories of their own as well as requests for help and mentions of land availability among other things. The Green Revolution of the Catholic Worker is not just the agricultural part as some historians have mistaken (Stocking 2006). The Green Revolution is the combination of educating people, providing hospitality *and* attempts at agrarian living. While the central focus of the Worker, especially the New York City houses, remains the newspaper and the houses, the farms, other houses and other publications including listservs and websites, today, promote an integrated and inseparable vision of a sustainable community. The updates of the farm at Maryfarm started the "farm column" that continues to this day. Other farms that started with the "Catholic Worker" moniker also produced newsletters and periodic updates. The Green Revolution resembles a braid of three interwoven strands that make up the braided rope of the program.

The beginning of 1938 brought a modicum of national attention. Carl C. Taylor, rural sociologist and government agricultural agent, visited the Catholic Worker late in 1937 and wrote a follow-up letter requesting the specifics about the Catholic

Worker agricultural commune at Easton in terms of people, material resources and plans for the future. Dorothy's response as an open letter indicates the hopes, but also precariousness, of the Easton farm and the venture as a whole. There is an emphasis on cooperation at all times where "All funds are held in common. By communal living the expenses are cut down thus making practicable many of the activities of the paper" (*CW*, 1938, Jan.:8). Day emphasized the need for the farm to provide subsistent amounts of food, but also to serve as an example of trying to live out the lessons of the Catholic Worker. "The fact is our farm will always be a university as well as a farm. (Peter's first name for the kind of farming community he wished to see started was an agronomic university, but we persuaded him to give up this more academic, though perhaps more precise term, for the simpler name, 'farming commune.')" (*CW*, 1938, Jan.:8). The Catholic Worker has served as a witness to what is possible, not what is or necessarily should be, "The difficulty of working with few materials, with scant funds, with just what we can get our hands on from month to month, often precludes the idea of planning ahead. It becomes the hand to mouth existence of the poor which we truly are" (*CW*, 1938, Jan.: 8). While this approach sums up the major reasons for the "failure" of the farms as operational and subsistent and sustainable ventures, it heeds to the tenants of personalism and the works of mercy that form the foundation of the Green Revolution.

The beginnings of an environmental attitude developed early on, in addition to Peter's localist bent. "Reforestation work has also started on the farm," the *Catholic Worker* stated, "Every time a tree is cut down two must be planted. The waste of trees for the printing of cheap newspapers, books, etc., is criminal waste. We hope all our members will join the clean literature campaign. Our slogan should be: Don't heed these and save our trees" (*CW*, 1938, April: 8). In the October 1938 *CW*, "We have made a pledge this fall not to cut down a single tree, but to use only the dead wood which we can clear out." Later, at Peter Maurin Farm, following the gift of chickens from a commercial egg farm, Stanley Vishnewski would recount how the chickens would huddle together not knowing how to behave outside of the cramped cages, a harbinger of what we call free range today (*CW*, 1958, June: 4, 6). The farm began its third summer (1938) with renewed emphasis on community decisions with weekly meetings planned and an emphasis on their menus drawing on what they grow only requiring necessities from elsewhere as well as reducing their purchase of waste-producing packaging.

Tamar and Family. It is often forgotten that Dorothy Day, while the maternal influence over the Catholic Worker, was a mother. Tamar's life is intimately connected with that of the Catholic Worker. She was partially raised in the houses of hospitality and at the Easton farm. She also thoroughly embraced Peter's emphasis on rural living. After getting married in Easton, Tamar and David Hennessy lived for a brief time at Maryfarm before moving to West Virginia in the mid-1940s.

David was an avid Distributist and ran a distributism-inspired mail-order book shop out of his house. Soon after the purchase of Peter Maurin Farm, Dorothy welcomed Tamar and her family to a home nearby where they would live until they relocated to Vermont. After the marriage dissolved in 1960, Tamar and her children would continue to live a rural life until Tamar's death in early 2008.

Animals. One of the hallmarks of the *Catholic Worker* coverage of the farms included, not only roster updates on families, visitors and retreats, but continuous updates on the animal residents as well. This included births and deaths in addition to caretakers and yields. Dorothy responded to the criticism about all the animal coverage:

> We get a lot of cracks from our land-minded friends about these bits of news as to the cows, and such like items from the farm. But we who are engrossed in trying to work out our ideas as to the land being a solution of the problem of unemployment in this country, can't keep from doing it, and our readers seem to find the same interest we do. I have talked with taxi cab drivers, miners and fishermen and many others throughout the country on my many journeys and the actual details of how a farm is working out is what they are interested in. And it is enjoyable to meet readers who upon being introduced ask after the various animals by name. (1938, Oct.: 8)

The end of 1938 found Dorothy remarking on grand plans both specific and abstract while enjoying praise and support from Msgr. Luigi Ligutti of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. A brief letter correspondence with a Harold Craddock, though, reveals cracks in the stability of the farm. While Dorothy's immediate reply is not available nor anything mentioned in the paper, Mr. Craddock was dismayed at the leadership, claiming many wasted money from Day

on alcohol (Harold Craddock to Dorothy Day, 25 March 1939, DD-CW W4.2 Box 1 Folder 1). Dorothy responded by "dismissing" the stubborn Craddock. Combined with a letter from Eva Smith, Maryfarm was cracking (Alcorn 1992). Furthermore, a letter from John Mella, lays out the struggles of the farm provoking his family to leave the farm for lack of privacy and coordination on the farm indicating that they cannot wait for the intended stability (John Mella to Dorothy Day, 6 September 1939. DD-CW W4.2 Box 1 Folder 1).

CATHOLIC WORKER SCHOOL

Stanley Vishnewski announced the Catholic Worker Summer School (1940) (a tradition for clarification of thought still carried out today in Iowa and at the national gatherings). Stanley announced Peter's classes that will be the "first summer school where the theory and history of the Catholic Worker movement will be studied" (*CW*, 1940, June). Topics to be covered include Farming Communes, the Cooperative Movement, Houses of Hospitality and War and Peace. Additionally, attendees were expected to contribute to farm labor so that the workers can become scholars and the scholars can become workers. Erwin Mooney of Notre Dame described the actual school in the following issue detailing Peter's expectation for two hour blocks of discussion from 9-11AM, 3-5PM and 7-9PM but that schedule became "too tedious." The idea of a Catholic Worker school ties in with Peter and Dorothy's respect for crafts and craftsmanship to the point that looms,

spinning wheels and bookbinding became staples in Catholic Worker farms (as much as anything could be deemed permanent in a Catholic Worker farm). In the Summer of 1941, the Catholic Worker School spread out. Our Lady of the Wayside (OH) and St. Isidore's in Aitken, Minnesota eachhosted Peter and Catholic Worker artist Ade Bethune for two weeks while Maryfarm hosted "classes" throughout the summer (*CW*, 1941, June).

RETREATS

In addition to classes or school, the Catholic Worker farms served as retreat houses. This is all in addition to their primary role of hospitality houses on the land based on the argument on the benefits of the country over the city that has gained empirical traction recently (Berman et al. 2008; Sullivan et al. 2004). Labor day weekend has been the traditional host for all types of retreats and conferences, sometimes "mandated" by Dorothy, while others were seen as nodal points for progressives everywhere. At Peter Maurin Farm (Staten Island), these retreats focused on pacifism; later, the same retreats would focus on activism and other pertinent topics. The primary retreat, though, for Dorothy, was an Ignatian inspired retreat composed of eight days of silence focused on detachment.

While Dorothy served as the editor of the paper and the movement's most vocal and visible proponent, she insisted on carving out a life of spirituality for herself (Merriman 1994). The Basic Retreat captured her attention wholesale to the point where it created more tension within the movement and between those who had

completed the retreat and those who had not (Zwick and Zwick 2005). While others have written more extensively about the content of the retreat, it is important to note the ramifications of the retreat led Dorothy to vociferously promote a Catholic Worker retreat house. The building tension at Maryfarm partially came to a head following Dorothy's proclamation of Maryfarm as not only farm, but also a retreat center.

THE END OF MARYFARM

With 20 regulars at Maryfarm in the winter of 1940-41, grand visions of a school, building projects and improvements multiplied (*CW*, 1941, Feb.). In March, Eva Smith started writing the farm column full of romantic agrarian notions contrasting the dismal character of the city. Eva had escaped from Nazi Germany and sought out the School of the Living. However, with the war and imminent closure of the School of Living (until its later reincarnation under Mildred Loomis), the School of Living sent Eva to the Catholic Worker. In the meantime, she married Victor Smith (Alcorn 1992). They were also two of the first involved at a second Staten Island operation while Maryfarm was still in full swing, but it ceased operation prior to April 1941 due to lack of numbers and resources (*CW*, 1941, April). In addition to the monthly updates and in spite of the romantic sentiments and later developments of Maryfarm involving the Smiths (Alcorn 1992), Eva Smith (*CW*, 1941, Oct.: 8) understood the goals of the farming communes well, especially in

light of means and ends, in that war begets war and "Yet peace will give birth to peace, too, and that is why we will live our peace, breathe it into our lungs and plant it into the souls of our children." Further, in June 1941, Smith wrote an article for *Commonweal* entitled, "Vision on the Farm: Why Preparing the Agrarian Revolution is Work of Genuine National Importance." The article focused on the centrality of an agrarian livelihood and community in the face of the twin totalitarian threats of fascism and industrialization.

In the midst of WWII, the Catholic Worker addressed the war effort by struggling to maintain two conscientious objection camps and publishing helpful, utilitarian information in the paper through Graham Carey's column "Herbs of the Field" illustrating plants and their uses. Again practical agrarian living permeated the paper. Over and over, the Catholic Worker tried to make explicit the interconnectedness of the Green Revolution. The emphasis is not on a singular vision, but multiple visions. As of September 1942, five families called Maryfarm home. While there were six "official" Catholic Worker farms at the beginning of 1943 (and down from nine in 1941), the seeds of discontent and future problems came through in the newspaper. Joe Hughes wrote in May 1943: "We are not thoroughly united. We have our different ideas and different ways of bringing about what we want" (*CW*: 12). And Dorothy (*CW*, 1943, Feb.: 1,4) a few months prior:

> Whether our farms will ever be more than groups of people living together, more than villages on the land, it is hard to tell. We simply have not the people with skills to work, or to follow or to lead. We have many rugged individualists, each one doing the best he can. But we have lost our knowledge of

> crafts, we have not yet achieved the unjudging self-discipline, the asceticism, the voluntary poverty necessary for even the beginnings of a farm commune. We are still little more than refugee camps on the soil, and we are still no more than refugees from the industrial revolution, the class war, a race war and international war that is engulfing us.

While 1944 brought joy to Dorothy upon Tamar's marriage, it also saw the decline of Peter Maurin following what were probably a series of strokes along with increased tension on the farm. Part of the reason for the change of Maryfarm to a retreat center was confessed failure,

> But we must confess to failure. Farming communes are not possible without interior discipline, without a philosophy of labor. We should, really, have grouped ourselves around a religious community so that we could have partaken of their spiritual life; so that we would have been have been influenced by them, taught by them, as the lay people were taught by the monasteries of old. Never again will the Catholic Worker group (officially) acquire land either by gift or purchase, unless it is next to such a community. (*CW*, 1944, Oct.: 2)

While Dorothy later ignored her own proclamation, she also mentions the struggle between families couched in phrases about property, communitarianism and personalism.

While difficult to accomplish, some thought the retreat house idea brilliant. Aldous Huxley (*CW*, 1945, Jan.: 6) wrote the *Catholic Worker* to offer:

> In this Age of Organized Noise—noise on the ear-drums, noise in the mind, intellect, feelings and imagination, noise in the clamorous and constantly stimulated desire—anybody who does something for Silence, as you are doing, is performing a real act of charity.

While celebrating the continued retreats, the war ended with the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Dorothy's response in the September 1945 *Catholic Worker* has been cited as one of the best. In part, Dorothy

writes: "Jubilate Deo. President Truman was jubilant. We have created. We have created destruction. We have created a new element, called Pluto. Nature had nothing to do with it" (*CW*, Sept: 1).

During the transition, the families moved to the upper farm where the original house and Grace Branham's (the original benefactor of the farm) home stood (Miller 1982). The lower farm became the retreat house (Forest 1994). This set up difficulties. The families began to raid the lower farm for access to food and water (Alcorn 1992). With less and less farming taking place on Maryfarm (*CW*, 1946, April), Day focused heavily on the retreats (*CW*, 1946, July-August). By the the beginning of 1947, only four families remained with Dorothy lamenting,

> As long as we think of the isolated farm, rather than the village community, as long as we are business-minded in regard to farming, thinking of cash and profits rather than farming as a way of life, as long as we neglect to teach voluntary poverty as an ideal, we are going to have fierce competition on the land as well as in the city. Four H. clubs, the teaching of spinning and weaving in the Canadian schools, the cooperative set up of Nova Scotia and the maritime provinces, and Christian recreation can bring people together and bring a taste of heavenly joy here on the earth. (Day Jan 1947:1-2).

At the dawn of the Catholic Worker's fifteenth year, the first real agricultural experiment was crumbling while pursuance of a new Maryfarm in Newburgh, New York, specifically as a retreat house, began in earnest (*CW*, 1947, May: 1-4). A February letter by Dorothy Day, as well as a document entitled "Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary," drove home the failure of Maryfarm at Easton and discusses the strain between families and performing the works of mercy, entitlement, private property and uncivil behavior (Dorothy Day to Retired Rev. Msgr. Lee G.

Fink, 20 February 1947, DD-CW W 4.2 B1, F 2 and 6). Dorothy summarized the rift thus:

> [it] comes down to the issue of the family and the farm, and who should have control of the retreat house and the land, the emphasis is more on one's personal future, than on the work itself. The vision is lost, and there is a distortion in thinking in terms of only the family.

While not discussed in the paper, the arrival of Guy Tobler prompted significant changes in the dynamic of the farm and hastened Dorothy and the rest of the Catholic Workers to abandon Maryfarm. The Smith family gave more and more control to Tobler. The place at Easton that had once housed the first Catholic Worker farm evolved into a cult in the absence of Dorothy Day and others in the Catholic Worker (Alcorn 1992). Future Catholic Worker farmer, Jack Thornton escaped the remnants of Maryfarm to start his own farm. Alcorn (1992) documents the sexual and domestic violence along with weird, gendered rituals that evolved. THe story of Guy Tobler, the Smith family and the vestiges of Maryfarm, while interesting in and of themselves, illustrate much of the struggle in vision and reality of the Catholic Worker farms. Despite the failure of Maryfarm, Dorothy lovingly mentioned the death of Victor Smith (*CW*, 1964, Nov.). Eva Smith lived at Maryfarm at least until 1969 when the original farm suffered a major fire (*Easton Express*, 26 November 1969, DD-CW W4.2 Box 1 F 2).

While the farms were turbulent, the Catholic Worker welcomed Robert Ludlow, possibly the most theoretical writer the *Catholic Worker* ever enjoyed as editor. At the same time the Holy Family Farm of the Heaneys and Pauls began in

eastern Missouri (see below) (*CW,* 1947, June). By the end of 1947, Peter had been moved to Newburgh and Maryfarm (Easton) had been basically deserted by regular Catholic Workers. Contrary to the disappointment of Easton, Dorothy enjoyed that St. Benedict's in Upton (see below) had been so successful just prior to a major fire in December (*CW,* 1947, Oct.).

The year 1948 saw Eileen Egan join the Catholic Worker as well as initial successes at Newburgh including the arrival of Hans Tunesen and John Filliger from Easton who carried much of farming and carpentry burdens at various Catholic Worker farm incarnations (*CW,* 1948, Jan.). With Robert Ludlow and Ammon Hennacy actively using the phrase Christian Anarchism as descriptive of the Catholic Worker, Dorothy connected the phrase to the farms:

> To go on speaking of farming communes, or agronomic universities, as Peter used to like to call them, we are distressed to say that the type of people we have attracted to this idea has often been the anarchistic type in the wrong sense, those who submit to no authority, talk of property as community property when it concerns someone else and as private property when it concerns them and their families; who want to live as members of a religious order and yet as a family; to be priest and judge, and not a worker; to indoctrinate rather than to toil by the sweat of their brows; to live off the earnings of others, in a system which they excoriate. We do not deny that the family needs subsidy in this present social order. And there are many single ones in the Catholic Worker movement who are working at honorable jobs, who could be helping more the family men who are finding it almost impossible to make ends meet. (*CW,* 1948, Feb: 6)

Dorothy furthered her own critique of the back-to-the-land ideal, with an emphasis on Distributism, by claiming that people are not prepared. She, thus, emphasized Peter's advocation for clarification of thought while mentioning that there are 50 or

so families circa 1948 trying to get a "toehold on the land" (*CW,* 1948, June). The tension between the reality of Maryfarm, St. Benedict's, Holy Family, etc. and the vision laid out by Peter and the interpretations since remains a constant theme of the Catholic Worker farms. Dorothy held the idea as visionary (*CW*, 1948, Dec) and Irene Naughton described what a modern village might look like where "The purpose is not picturesqueness but freedom, that word mouthed by all with little understanding that freedom is the necessary basis for holiness" (*CW*, 1949, Sept: 1,4).

While freedom remained central to the vision, that ideal contrasted with the reality of hardship of people trying to live off the land endured hardship. Peter Maurin and one of his closest disciples, Larry Heaney, both died in the Spring 1949. The deaths of the architect and one of the primary builders of the Green Revolution's agrarian vision really closed the beginning chapter of the Catholic Worker farms. Both deaths were celebrated in the paper (*CW*, 1949, June) while Heaney's last letter to the *CW* was also published lamenting the food habits of Americans a good 40-50 years prior to Michael Pollan's best seller (*CW*, 1949, June; Pollan 2008). Heaney and others in his wake discussed the increase in food processing combined with the decline of home farming and gardening. The death of Peter Maurin barely preceded the purchase of Peter Maurin Farm on Staten Island. Newburgh, while spacious, could not very well function as a silent retreat house with the noise of the nearby airfield. Peter Maurin Farm thus began the sec-

ond chapter of the Catholic Worker farm story. Newburgh, while in operation for a few more years, really only provided space for people to rest. Tivoli would later provide the access to nature and green space function of the rural houses of hospitality, but not move the Catholic Worker towards the village economy situation envisioned (*CW*, 1950, Sept.: 2).

SIMILAR AGRICULTURAL AND COMMUNITARIAN GROUPS

The Catholic Worker farms did not develop in a vacuum. The U.S., between the onset of the Great Depression and WWII, was rife with agricultural experiments, some religious, others not. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the Catholic Worker often communicated with and published updates on organizations like the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Canadian cooperatives, Ralph Borsodi's School of the Living, the Highlander School and others.

National Catholic Rural Life Conference (NCRLC)

The NCRLC was one of many cooperative efforts the Catholic Worker kept tabs on throughout the years. Bishop O'Hara's 1934 visit is the first explicit link between the Catholic Worker and the NCRLC. The NCRLC started as a missionary arm of the Catholic Church to promote rural parishes and provide support for rural families (National Catholic Rural Life Conference 1950). These ideas expanded under John Rawe and Luigi Ligutti into a powerful group lobbying for stronger rural

communities and certain kinds of agricultural principles (Hamlin and McGreevy 2006).

The relationship of mutual respect over the years between the Catholic Worker and NCRLC involved correspondence, visits to each other's farms, and attendance at conferences. Much of the mutual respect stemmed from similarities of vision also shared with the Canadian cooperatives and the Southern Agrarianism of Allen and Tate. Also during a NCRLC in Richmond Peter Maurin met Carl C. Taylor, sociologist and USDA employee (see "History of Farming Commune," *CW,* 1939, May: 8). One of the central tenets of both revolved around the necessity for cooperation: "The Co-operative movement is being concentrated upon with a view to having the subsistence homesteaders and others market their produce cooperatively. Diversified farming is another important subject" (*CW*, 1937, Feb.: 8). While Ligutti (*CW*, 1937, April: 8) offered this on cooperation: "As you know, I do not believe in co-operative farming by machinery, but I do believe in cooperative purchasing, cooperative working of the individual plots, and cooperative selling or processing."

Dorothy also received a letter of support from Rev. Ligutti for the farm venture offering the advice to seeking out the Penn State agricultural extension with a mention of the success of Fr. Duffy while ending his letter warmly with: "Wish I were nearer so I could be of greater help" (Rev. Luigi G. Ligutti to Dorothy Day, 3 October 1938). The July-August 1940 issues also included a thank you letter from Fr.

John Rawe for the review of his and Ligutti's *Rural Roads to Security*. Rawe exclaims, "On such farms men can once again find the ambition and acquire the skills and experience and agricultural knowledge which are necessary for home-owners, home-makers, and home-builders who build the community, the Parish, and the democratic government by building and owning the home and making it productive of the needs of the family." His concluding remarks of "best wishes and blessings" indicate the intimate connection and respect between the Catholic Worker and the NCRLC and the overall Catholic land movement in the 1930s and 1940s (Hamlin and McGreevy 2006).

Canadian Cooperatives

Adult education cooperatives originating in Canada also provided inspiration for the Catholic Worker. With mutual respect, the Catholic Worker, King's City outside Toronto and the Antigonish Cooperative shared experiences, reading material and friendship. In March 1935, Dorothy recounted a recent visit to Fr. McGoey's project outside Toronto where five families began a communal project as an outgrowth of study groups focused on adult education while October 1935 brought an update of an increase to 25 families and over 50 acres of communal agricultural living. After attending the NCRLC conference in October 1935 in Rochester, New York, Day mentions a fruitful visit with Fr. James Tompkins, who was responsible for Antigonish in Nova Scotia. Tompkins and Maurin spent the better part of a day in 1934 discussing the importance of a vital decentralized agri-

cultural schemes. Ade Bethune visited Fr. McGoey's rural commune outside Toronto while Dorothy visited the burgeoning St. Benedict's farm about 20 miles outside Boston meat as a rural hospice for convalescing mothers and children (*CW*, 1936, Oct.). In November 1937 the Catholic Worker strengthened their connection with Fr. McGoey as he visited both the NYCW and the Easton farm offering support .

Other Experiments in Community

Periodically, the *Catholic Worker* updated progress on the agrarian vision so important to the Green Revolution as a whole. *The Catholic Worker* announced the founding of Fr. Terminiello's St. Teresa's in Bollin, Alabama south of Greenville as a cooperative farm. Terminiello refused government housing and financial assistance. On 500 owned and leased acres, St. Teresa's successfully built a community house and began plotting crops while utilizing the cooperative principles of Rochdale (Terminiello update, Day update Jan/Feb; Sept 1939). Other examples include Glen Gardner and Gould Farm that the Catholic Worker had personal contact with as well as affiliation through the Fellowship of Intentional Communities.

The Catholic Worker also tried to bring historically relevant ventures to bear on contemporary agrarianism. The May 1938 issue told the story of a Boston bishop's effort at cooperative community called Bendicta. On land purchased in upstate Maine, 70 plus families communally constructed building and began potato production. Bishop Fenwick had planned to open the College of the Holy Cross on

the 24,000 acres in Aroostock County, Maine until the Bloodless War of 1842, a territory dispute with Great Britain over the county. The dispute forced the Bishop to locate Holy Cross in Worcester. The communal spirit of Benedicta lasted through the beginning of the twentieth century, but a lack of train transportation and a lack of integration of craft and agriculture as well as small scale factory production led to some issues of disintegration where families decided to leave. This is an important story of possibility for the Catholic Worker. Combined with the expansion of Ligutti's work in New York together with Ralph Borsodi's Independence Foundation (formerly the School of Living) and the fascination with the Antiginosh movement in Nova Scotia, the Catholic Worker actively networked with like-minded groups. Similar connections remain central to the perseverance of the Catholic Worker (McKanan 2008).

ROMANTIC AGRARIANISM

Some of the more abstract discussions of distributism and agrarianism discussed in Chapter 4 played themselves out in the paper. Beginning in October 1938 and prompted by Paul Hanley Furfey's October article decrying the *Catholic Worker* headline, "There is no unemployment on the land," a three issue debate on unemployment on the land broke out. While Fr. Furfey made some valid points, his letter sparked a wonderful response from Rev. John Hugo and others about agrarianism, capitalism and poverty. Furfey blamed agrarians' utopian visions of agriculture for impeding practical efforts to address issues of unemployment. Fur-

fey also argued that "as long as the agrarians refuse to face the fact that every rural district is not necessarily a Utopia, so long they will simply interfere with social progress."

Furfey's letter initially prompted an editor's note following the letter that implicated capitalism in unemployment, but which also claimed,

> We have never held that life on the land is a Utopia. Our fellow workers on the farm are confronted by endless work, lack of tools, seed, lack of variety and stimulus in their daily work. They are indeed leading a hard life and a poor life. But they are trying to rebuild within the shell of the old, a new society, wherein the dignity and freedom and responsibility of man is emphasized. And there is no place better to do it than on the land." The theme of utopia appears again and again ranging from book reviews to the reality that the Catholic Worker do in fact seek utopia, but more as a guideline for what the new society in the shell of the old might look like. (*CW*, 1939, Oct.) (see Levitas 2003a, 2003b)

The Catholic Worker termed its idea of utopia the Green Revolution. Part of the clarification of thought centered on expanding the discourse on the industrialization of agriculture. In January 1939, the *Catholic Worker* reprinted parts of a speech Ligutti gave to the first convention of the American Catholic Sociological Society (what would become the Association for the Sociology of Religion) in Chicago in which he claimed that U.S. agriculture was one of the least efficient in the world. He said,

> We must build up a propaganda great enough to overcome the one which is working our ruin. To ridicule the idea of Ruralism is to shut one's eyes to facts and figures which prove conclusively that the ownership of productive property is absolutely necessary if we are to 'Restore all things in Christ.' (*CW*, 1939, Jan.: 8)

Ligutti's views anticipated the later work of Wendell Berry who decried the "prejudice against country people" (Berry 2002).

The same issue saw a continuation and conclusion to the brouhaha started in October with a note under "The Land" banner, "Being the last of the series of expostulations pro and con the Agrarian Movement. Our only purpose in stimulating this controversy was a desire to arouse interest in the land movement. We thank those who took part and hope their efforts will prove of value to our readers." It concluded with a Hugo response to Furfey's riposte in December in which Hugo took Furfey to task for his distinctions and further clarified that there is no such thing as a realistic agrarian as Furfey describes and for that matter Furfey himself is actually a romantic agrarian based on his credo published in his December letter. He also points out the Southern Agrarians who published *Free America,* whom Furfey so admired, lived in New York City.

Hugo also defended his position of seeing agrarianism as the solution without himself being a farmer: "Without being a farmer one may likewise see in agrarianism a solution to many of our modern problems." He added on utopianism in agrarianism: "They [romantic agrarians] realize that a successful agrarian movement is only possible as part of a larger industrial and financial reformation. . . . all plans of social reform are concerned essentially with the future; and it cannot be otherwise." Peter never argued that everyone had to be a farmer. In fact, Peter intimately knew that many were not cut out for the peasant-inspired agriculture he

grew up with. However, an economics and a society that privileged freedom over profit *could* allow people to pursue their passions and skills while providing stability and well-being.

The Catholic Worker continuously played host to notions on the importance of a strong rural life. While, at times, the rhetoric of many condemned the city, often the rural was held up as necessary, but not the only locus of a moral life. Larry Heaney and Bill Gauchat, as important Catholic Worker farm originators, also informed, explicated and concretized Peter's vision. Part of living in community meant living nonviolently with one another (see McNeal 1992 for Thomas Merton's integration of Gandhian nonviolence into Christian theology). Dorothy recounted a story of Peter that took place at Maryfarm where: "[Y]ears ago at the Easton farm, one man knocked down another over a dispute about an egg (it is horrible to think of people fighting physically over food), and for the rest of the summer Peter ate neither eggs nor milk in order that others might have more. That was his idea of justice" (Day Sept 1948: 1, 6). And it was this sense of justice, combined with peace and nonviolence, that permeated the idea (and often the follow through) of the farms that links the communal village of the peasantry to a possible modern village centered on freedom. Peter always taught one needs to do, not talk about, what is necessary to change the structure of society. In this instance it meant showing how to not fight over food, but more importantly how to cooperate.

Work

Gauchat often contributed, beyond updates of Our Lady of the Wayside, Maurin-like reflections on the value of work and the spirituality of farming, sometimes even adopting Peter's written verse format (Gauchat 1941)(see also *CW*, 1942, Dec.). Heaney, prior to starting Holy Family in Missouri with Marty Paul and their families, lived at Maryfarm for a time and offered reflections on the importance of local agriculture and work (*CW*, 1942, Jan and March). Later, Irene Naughton (*CW*, 1951, March) would comment on work, "Our civilization has a preponderance of the false, the parasitical work,—the clerk, the bureaucrat, the pseudo-intellectual, the over-elaboration of housework, and of fastidiousness about clothes" (p. 2). The Catholic Worker prided themselves on trying to recapture a philosophy of labor and work neglected by the mass industrialized society which exemplified Marx's concept of alienation, Durkheim's idea of anomie, the fractured self of psychology and the consequences of Ellul's technique.

One of the major contributors to the romantic (and realistic) agrarian goals of the Catholic Worker was Fr. Clarence Duffy. Fr. Duffy periodically contributed autobiographical stories about growing up in rural Ireland, although he was born in the U.S. Duffy often invoked the Jeffersonian yeoman and the practicalities of farming or a return to the land (*CW*, 1943, Jan-Feb). His serialized autobiography entitled "A Farm in Ireland" ran between July 1943-March 1944. Later, Fr. Duffy would become a regular at Peter Maurin Farm (Staten Island) advocating and im-

plementing organic methods of soil reclamation in conjunction with John Filliger, the longtime Catholic Worker farmer.

Peace and Agriculture

Peace and justice remained at the center of the Catholic Worker pursuit of a life on the land. As Heaney (CW, 1941, Oct.: 2) argued in his "Life on the Land: A Road to Peace," "Let community life on the land be the aim of those who would abolish mechanized warfare. There is no short cut to a peace that will have lasting qualities. Only a long-range view can effectually envision a society restored to sanity and the means to achieve that end." Borrowing a piece from the *Blackfriars* (1941) in England, the Catholic Worker connected, time and again, the land and its health (and thereby those on the land) and a lasting peace (*CW*, 1942, Dec.).

The machine or mechanization referred to by Heaney and others is not just physical or material technology; it permeated much of modern culture and had characteristics that Ellul would later diagnose as technique, that embodied much of Marx's critique of capital and of Weber's bureaucracy. Not only are there material effects, but the immaterial, the cultural and the psychological are just as damaging. As Newberry (*CW*, 1944, Feb: 2) quotes in his review of Sir Albert Howard's *Agricultural Testament*, "'Artificial fertilizers lead to artificial food, artificial animals, and artificial men.'" The mass orientation of the twentieth century led Marty Paul (*CW*, 1950, March: 4) to comment, "Our weakness is the lack of knowledge of the crafts. . . . It is a weakness of mass production, mass thinking and mass living." The

Catholic Worker viewed their agricultural communes as a way to mitigate those effects of the mass, of the technical, of the machine.

In a piece on Distributism, Dorothy added: "Distributism does not mean that we throw out the machine. The machine, Peter Maurin, used to say, should be the extension of the hand of man. If we could do away with the assembly line, the slavery of the machine, and the useless and harmful and destructive machines, we would be doing well" (*CW,* 1948, July-Aug: 1,2,6). Much of the Catholic Worker's emphasis on agrarianism was a direct response to industrialization and the damaging effects of capitalism leading to the commercialization of farming critiqued in Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* and Frank Norris' *Octopus* (Conlogue 2001; *CW,* 1943, Oct.). Peace remained central to the Catholic Worker as Turner quoted Eric Gill (*CW,* 1962, Feb.): "There is no use talking about peace until we have made the foundations of peace on our own land" (p. 3). The continual demonstration of means to ends embodies personalism, anarchism, Christianity and humanism.

A major interview with Peter Maurin conducted by his later biographer, Arthur Sheehan (*CW,* 1943, July-Aug.: 1,5), revealed insights into Peter's view of how land and soil should be treated. Mind you, Peter grew up a peasant son of a farmer in southern France. While praising Sir Albert Howard's organic techniques, Peter commented, "Yes, our farmers too often aren't farmers at all. They are land miners. They just take stuff out of the soil and don't replace it right." (5). He later commented on what farmers should do instead, using erosion as an example: "We

begin to see all the connections when we think in this organic way. A good farmer plants trees along the edges of his fields. That keeps the wind from eroding the soil" (5). The Catholic Worker often ran quotations on certain topics. In October 1945, the words of Liberty Hyde Bailey read (bold in *Catholic Worker* version):

> The requirements of a good farmer are at least four: The ability to make a full and comfortable living from the land; to rear a family carefully and well; to be of good service to the community; **to leave the farm more productive that it was when he took it.**

The Catholic Worker (often through Larry Heaney and Marty Paul's updates on Holy Family Farm) continually emphasized the common good and it's fulfillment as dependent on a connection to the land (*CW,* 1948, July-Aug.).

In addition to the common good, the agrarian vision is Utopian, in that it is a vision of something possible and better. Dorothy (Dec 1948 "On Distributism: Answer to John Cort": 1,3) quoted Chesterton:

> They say it (the peasant society) is Utopian, and they are right. They say it is idealistic, and they are right. They say it is quixotic, and they are right. It deserves every name that will indicate how completely they have driven justice out of the world; every name that measure how remote from them and their sort is the standard of honorable living; every name that will emphasize and repeat the fact that property and liberty are sundered from them and theirs, by an abyss between heaven and hell.

For the Catholic Worker, the emphasis is on freedom, a freedom that protects the dignity of people and recognizes the common good without resorting to the mythical rugged individualism of American history. As Helen Adler described in 1951 (*CW,* Sept.) from Maryfarm (Newburgh),

> But we are not yearning back for the times of the past; rather we live for the new society. A society of communes of free people; guided by directive

rather than coercive action, and we try to live by free cooperation here, with suggestions coming from the group, not only from leaders. (P. 7)

ASSOCIATED CATHOLIC WORKER FARMS

The Catholic Worker liked to say the movement grew as an organism, not an organization. The reality of this statement sums up the networks of people that wind and emerge from and within those who call themselves Catholic Workers and the physical structures labelled as Catholic Worker houses or farms. While many who "graduated" from the Catholic Worker—those who spent some time at one or more Catholic Worker endeavors—went on to found Catholic Worker houses or other projects, still others founded farms or rural outlets of the Catholic Worker.[9]

Additional "Catholic Worker" farms sprung up across the country including Pittsburgh c. 1938 and the Alcuin Community, a craft school-farm that carried on the spirit of Danish folk schools, St. Benedict and bio-dynamic methods (*The Sower,* 1940, DD-CW W4 B4 F5). Dorothy lamented that the farms did not pop up as often as houses of hospitality: "If only the farms increased as the houses of hospitality are doing, there would be the beginnings of that social order which is the foundation of peace at home" (*CW*, 1939, Oct.). It is interesting to note, though, how often attempts at farming occur over the years, whether explicitly affiliated with the Worker or not. In an editors note in June 1955, prompted by the closing of Maryfarm-Newburgh:

> Many of our friends have gone to the land after reading the Catholic Worker, and after marrying and starting a community of their own. They have farms, but not 'Catholic Worker Farms.'
>
> Some friends which started as C.W. farms no longer consider themselves such because of differences of opinion on controversial matters like pacifism and anarchism. There are no true communities among us like the Hutterites in South Dakota, Montana and Canada, and the Bruderhof in Kingston, N.Y. and Paraguay and Uraguay. We are still talking and writing about community for layfolk, and anxious to learn what others are doing. Unfortunately, the 'doers' are often not the articulate, and writing letters and articles takes much more time than one realizes. I'm afraid none of us like to be told and we indeed do go on, each making the mistakes over and over. Here, however, are the names, of a few farms, but I'm afraid most farmers and craftsmen are too busy to answer letters. They should communicate with each other, of course. Brotherly love and held should extend far beyond the family, the little neighborhood. (*CW*, 1955, June)

Catholic Worker Family Farmers - The Welches, Carotas, Thorntons and Woltjens

Despite failure on a large scale, the Catholic Worker enjoyed and reported the small victories of numerous other agricultural attempts. One of the hallmarks of the Catholic Worker agrarianism involved correspondence with families and individuals interested in or actively pursuing agrarian projects or lifestyles. Often in sympathy, sometimes laced with criticism, Catholic and not, these letters from Quakers in LaPlata, Missouri and the hills of Vermont shared success stories, models and admonishments (*CW*, 1957, Dec.: 4). Sometimes these letters sparked back-and-forths on soil, food, and visions of a new society.

The Carota Family, based in California, maintained a significant correspondence with Dorothy and the Catholic Worker over a number of years. With a large family, the Carotas desperately sought a way to live on the land and

provide for a family living. While splitting time between Del Monte, California and their farm, Agnus Dei, the Carotas embodied the struggle of going back-to-the-land in an industrialized, urbanized culture (*CW*, 1954, Nov.). From trying to raise sheep and produce wool-stuffs to opening an apple cider production to plans for a Catholic village, the Carotas desperately tried to live the romantic agrarian life envisioned by Peter Maurin (DD-CW W4 B1 F3). With visions of community from California to Mexico, the Carotas maintained a connection with the paper and the movement while publishing pamphlets on decentralist economics (*CW*, 1949, April; *CW*, 1960, Jan.; *CW*, 1996, Oct-Nov.).

Carmen Welch in Ramsey, Illinois also illustrates a family interested in the Catholic Worker without being a full Catholic Worker. Carmen Welch called their farm and home in Ramsey, Illinois Nazareth House. She tried to provide clothing and food to women and children primarily while also providing some interesting feedback on farm life in general to *Catholic Worker* readers. In 1940, Welch's letter on the joy and struggle of rural life ranging from the practical to philosophical was published in the paper. In March 1941, the *Catholic Worker* published an appeal letter from Carmen to help purchase the farm across the road in order to expand operations (*CW*, 1941, March).

Jack and Mary Thornton, after stays with the Gauchats at Our Lady of the Wayside and at Easton, settled in Springboro, Pennsylvania on Monica Farm in May 1952. While maintaing the farm, Jack endured many health problems and

continued to search for sustainable ventures to keep the farm. Once they signed off a letter with "Yours in the Green Revolution" (*CW*, 1957, Oct.). By 1960, Jack quit his factory job and they became full time farmers (*CW*, 1960, Oct.), but by 1962 they had "given up" the farm and moved to California to raise their children and teach (*CW*, 1963).

The Woltjens, former Catholic Workers at Maryfarm (Newburgh), settled in Missouri near Holy Family Farm in 1953. The Woltjens celebrated some pasture in July-Aug 1956 while lamenting the dearth of takers on developing a community (p. 7). In order to survive, financially, Jack Woltjen worked off the farm at a children's mental hospital and proposed to take in children similar to the Gauchats (*CW*, 1956, Dec; *CW*, 1957, Oct.). In 1960 they celebrated the beginning of their ninth year as they expected their sixth child. While continuing his work at the mental hospital, Jack also made staves and bolts for barrels (*CW*, 1960, May).

St. Benedict's Farm, Upton, Massachusetts

One of the most successful Catholic Worker farms started soon after Maryfarm in Easton. St. Benedict's farm in Upton, Massachusetts actually took on some of the traits of a village envisioned by Peter Maurin. In fact, as of the 1980s, family members of the original founders still lived at St. Benedict's. In May 1938, behind Arthur Sheehan and others, St. Benedict's started with five cultivated acres, endured a hurricane and envisioned a village with each family having no more than five acres a piece (DD-CW W4 B2 F10). In 1941, an appeal letter in the *CW*

from John Magee detailed how the farm at this point was about fifty percent self-sufficient (*CW*, 1941, March).

Arthur Sheehan wrote in September 1942 on the importance of the rural endeavor to peace: "PEACE as a fruit. Peace is the tranquility of order and order is the apt arrangement of things according to their parts." (8). In late 1942, St. Benedict's endured the jailing of Carl Paulson for not proving his conscientious objector status (*CW*, 1942, Dec.). By raising sheep, selling vegetable and performing off-farm labor, St. Benedict's weathered WWII. Following the war, pleas of help started in April 1945, with Carl Paulson reiterating the ideal of St. Benedict's in Upton (*CW*, 1945: 8). Sheehan (*CW*, 1945, May: 7) followed up the appeal with the hope that 28 common cultivated acres could inspire community much like the Boston Commons had as a gathering place. In later 1947, St. Benedict's suffered a major fire, prompting the beginning of an official building fund as they also welcomed Bill and Mary Roche to the farm (*CW*, Dec.: 8).

By 1954, St. Benedict's, like St. Benedict's in Michigan (see below), began splitting property as originally envisioned at Easton. Now each family received a proportional plot where each, depending on their interests, had more or less land. Dorothy (*CW*, 1954, Dec.: 2, 6) celebrated the evolution and success at Upton using Julian Pleasants' phrase a "community of place." As of 1985, many of the Paulsons and Roches still lived on the property that now included 13 homes (*CW*, 1985, Dec.).

Our Lady of the Wayside, Avon, Ohio - The Gauchats

While prime movers in starting the Cleveland Catholic Worker, Bill and Dorothy Gauchat also started one of the first Catholic Worker farming communes outside of the immediate NYCW circle. In early 1938, the Gauchats began their farm in Novelty, Ohio (*CW,* 1938, July-Aug.). The land had not been worked for ten years and they cleared ten acres to put in peas and green onions on the 50 acre farm with only an extant basement from the original house. Our Lady of the Wayside Catholic Worker Farm moved to a 76 acre farm in Avon, Ohio in February 1940. Forty of the 76 acres had been cultivated the previous year (1939) along with 15 acres of pasture and 26 acres of neglected vineyard (Day 1997: 231-33). The property included a barn and a 2-story granary that the Gauchats converted to living space until a more permanent home could be built. Under the guidance of master farmer Rudy Mailer and six other men plus two pigs, 55 rabbits and 20 chickens, the new Ohio farm, boiling order and all, tried to set up shop.

Bill and Dorothy (nee Schmidt) were married in 1941 while March 1942 saw Dorothy Gauchat remark to Dorothy, "The farm is beginning to take on the appearance of a rural farming commune" (letter dated 22 March 1942, DD-CW W4 Box 3 Folder 13). Bill offered a summary and unapologetic defense of romantic agrarianism in February 1950:

> Since joining the Catholic Worker Movement, a dozen or more years ago, I believed fanatically in the farming commune as outlined by the simple, brilliant and saintly Peter Maurin. The land was the answer for most modern problems. I still believe that it is. But I realize that a return to the land is not

> as simple as it first appeared at our roundtable discussions. For we are so accustomed to reaping where we have not sown. We have never realized that cheap tires meant death to family life in the tropics, that cheap cotton was the result of colonies of sharecroppers accepting pellegra as part of their reward for their labor. That our citrus fruit comes to us with color added: the life-blood of Mexican migrant workers. (*CW*: 8)

He further described Our Lady as "the sorriest sample of a Catholic Worker farming venture. I know, I live here" (*CW,* 1953, May: 5). Gauchat also became critical of comparisons between Catholic Worker farms and religious groups' (monasteries and convents) efforts that Dorothy often invoked for they are quite dissimilar. Dorothy, especially after the dissolution of the first Maryfarm, liked to say that no Catholic Worker rural attempts should be made outside of an established monastery, abbey or religious group. Today, the Our Lady of the Annunciation Monastery of Clear Creek, Oklahoma follows a model similar to that which Dorothy described. Families have clustered themselves around the monastery and follow ecologically minded farming and gardening practices while intimately connected with a spiritual life (Adkins 2008; Newton 2008; ClearCreekMonks.org). Catholic Worker farms continue to promote this idea, not necessarily intentionally, but more so out of necessity related to land acquisition and the dwindling number of religious establishments.

By 1947, the Gauchats had begun taking care of a crippled child, a ministry they would continue for the rest of their lives (Gauchat 1976). In 1957, the Gauchats sold much of the farm, which then was turned into a suburban tract of 400 homes. They moved across the road into a solid brick home to care for the

children (*CW*, 1957, Nov.: 4,7). That property would later turn into more of a rural hospice for disabled children that then evolved into the present Our Lady of the Wayside foundation (see http://www.thewayside.org/mrddStory.html).

The Murphy's in Detroit

Around the founding of St. Benedict's in Upton, the Detroit Catholic Worker house received a gift of a farm in South Lyons, Michigan and also named it St. Benedict's. After the first year, vegetables were raised for the soup line in Detroit and plans for craft workshops and a retreat house began to take shape (Day 1997: 231-33). With quick developments and two cows, Murphy exclaimed in joy, "Just imagine we have been able to raise our own meat. It doesn't seem possible, for my mind always goes back to the first time we came out to the farm. How has all this been possible?" (*CW*, 1940, Jan.).

While Dorothy remained close to the Murphy's, the Detroit farms never served as a large scale project of the agrarian component of the Green Revolution and were more content to focus on craft workshops and hospitality. By 1962, the farm had split into family plots completely, though it still served as a refuge of sorts for the Murphys and others (Dorothy Day Jan 1963: 2,6). The theme of the Catholic Worker farms as refuges from the city and the machine continues to this day. Peter Maurin Farm continues this hospitality while Sheep Ranch in California has shifted to providing nature-based retreats for those suffering with HIV/AIDS. The Bitterroot Montana Catholic Worker farms has made access to nature for other

Catholic Workers its primary role.

Holy Family Farm

In the early 1940s, Marty Paul and others associated with the Chicago and Minneapolis Catholic Workers opened St. Isidore's Farm in Aitken, Minnesota. Due to financial stress and World War II, the farm suffered; Marty Paul was drafted and the Reser Family from Chicago lost a baby (Day 1997: 231-33). The Humphrey Family stayed on a little while until moving to the university town of Collegeville, Minnesota. However, Marty would soon make connection with Larry and Ruth Ann Heaney in Easton, Pennsylvania at Maryfarm. The Heaneys spent some time at Maryfarm, long enough for Dorothy to put Larry in charge without consultation of Ruth Ann (Riegle 2003). Larry, after spending some time in Stoddard, VT at a work camp as a conscientious objector, and Ruth Ann moved to Milwaukee to raise funds and look for a farm (*CW*, 1942, June). After searching, the Pauls and Heaneys, with help from Marty's GI Bill, moved to Missouri in 1947, sight unseen, to a farm about 100 miles outside St. Louis, near Washington, Missouri.

With no real farming experience, Marty and Larry struggled mightily with lack of tools, lack of resources and animal illness on 160 acres. As Larry wrote in June 1947, "The idea is to take a toehold on the land and by persistent plugging develop a community life with the spirit of mutual aid" (*CW*: 3). With tons of vision and not many physical or monetary resources, the Heaneys and Pauls struggled on their

land. In 1949, Larry visited Milwaukee to attend his father's funeral. Upon his return, partially because Western Union failed to deliver the message, no one was in Hannibal to pick him up at the train station. Following the walk through a blizzard, Larry developed pleurisy and died shortly thereafter (Ruth Ann Heaney to Dorothy Day, 2 June 1949 DD-CW W4 B2F21 and (Day 1997: 231-33). Two years later, due to negligence on the part of some workers at the farm, Ruth Ann's two year old son (born just before Larry's death) drowned in a pool of water.

Larry's death only heightened the developing crisis at Holy Family Farm as illustrated in letters from Ruth Ann to Dorothy and in the tone of Mary Paul's letters to the paper (*CW*, 1949, June). A drought in the mid-1950s only complicated matters (*CW*, 1955, Jan.: 2, 6). By the end of 1956, the Pauls abandoned the effort and moved to St. Charles, Missouri (*CW*, 1956, Dec.) and then to Michigan. Ruth Ann and her children stayed for a number of years. Later, Ruth Ann entered the Benedictines and became a nun based out of Columbia, Missouri. She worked primarily with the prison population continuing the works of mercy begun in the Catholic Worker. A reunion in 2004 brought nonagenarians Ruth Ann Heaney, Marty Paul and Cyril Echele together one last time in Starkenburg, Missouri (*CW*, 2004, Aug-Sept.).

A Move to Newburgh and Peter Maurin Farm, Staten Island, New York

In 1947, 5 miles west of Newburgh, New York, the Catholic Worker continued Maryfarm, primarily as a retreat house. Dorothy, writing in her diary in

June 1951, commented on Maryfarm: "Whenever I am here I am overwhelmed with gratitude for God's goodness to us. The order, the peace here, the beauty, are an oasis. We cannot give up this place" (Ellsberg 2008: 152). The reports of John McKeon and Jane O'Donnell emphasized the romanticism of country life as Eva Smith's had in Easton. While Maryfarm (Newburgh) functioned well as a rural house of hospitality, a lack of resources and workers prevented anything beyond rudimentary gardening. The disappointment of Maryfarm combined with an available farm on Staten Island led to the purchase the first Peter Maurin Farm.

While discussion of leaving Newburgh (primarily because of the noise and distance) began in 1949, the Catholic Worker was also forced to relocate its city headquarters. Just after purchasing a new headquarters, the 22 acre farm that would become Peter Maurin Farm became available at a lower price combined with a generous loan from friends (Miller 1973). The 22 acres cost $16,000 in 1950. As Dorothy later described,

> Peter Maurin is the most recent of the farming communes which came into being as a result of the Catholic Worker movement. It is true that many such farms do exist today, but they evolved into family farms rather than farming communes which Peter envisioned. Some are in the hands of from three to six families. More often a single family, because of it large number of children, has stayed on a farm to run it alone after others have left. (Day 1972: 206)

Irene Naughton wrote of plans for Peter Maurin Farm in October 1950 reporting on the visit from a neighboring organic farmer along with describing the types of fruit trees and grape vines on the property. In a prescient acknowledgment

of the need for help, Naughton also invited readers of the paper to weekly Saturday work days resembling current community supported agriculture (CSA) setups in which sweat equity can be used to help defray the costs of shares. Her articles also revealed herself as one editor much more inclined to discuss the actual farming techniques and plans often masked by visitors and other goings-on. The Catholic Worker also had the soil at Peter Maurin Farm tested and used seaweed as nitrogen fertilizer. While O'Donnell (*CW*, 1950, Jan.) described (jokingly) a growing rivalry between Maryfarm and Peter Maurin Farm, they often served two different purposes. Newburgh served primarily as a rural hospice able to provide access to green space and respite while Peter Maurin Farm served as a farm thus splitting the personalities that Easton tried to contain wholly. Naughton often worried about the larger issues of distributism and agriculture in relationship to Peter Maurin Farm and the larger agrarian vision, but also recognized the importance of the minutiae such as a functioning bakery on the farm able to provide up to 400 loaves for the farm and the soup line in Manhattan (*CW*, 1951, June).

Peter Maurin Farm also facilitated visits with close friends and affiliated groups like David Dellinger and family, then of the Glen Gardner cooperative. Dellinger was a conscientious objector and peace activist (*CW*, 1952, Feb.). The prime agriculturalist on the farm became Fr. Clarence Duffy whose tracts on rural living lined the pages in the 1940s. Fr. Duffy advocated and worked towards Peter Maurin Farm as an organic farm (*CW*, 1952, Oct.). In the same article he

commented,

> The object of the project is to build up healthy human beings on healthy soil and with healthy food and to make as many of them as possible, free men and free women who can live as God intended them, and as they desire to live in a world of peace and reasonable abundance on their way to eternity. (P. 3)

If you critically appraise Duffy's words, especially in the context of the larger vision of the farms, the end product is a peaceful world achieved through a moral approach to people and the land. As Duffy writes of the St. Benedict farm in South Lyon, Michigan (*CW*, 1952, Dec.): "The people in the budding Christian rural community near South Lyon, Mich., have found the answer to the depression and the way to peace" (p. 3).

In September 1952, Dorothy lamented the history of the farms in her diary,

> Now we have a growing farm. It begins to look very beautiful. But often before, our farms have grown up and then when people have gone away weeds have grown, everything looks abandoned and unloved. Up and down—no progress seemingly. (Ellsberg 2008: 180)

Despite the "failures," Dorothy celebrated the beginning of year number 21 of the Catholic Worker with "an emphasis on the land" (*CW*, 1953, May: 2). The editorial in the same issue proclaims a volume of *Catholic Worker* articles related to the land to demonstrate their commitment to Peter's vision that "did not mean that everyone should go out and operate a successful family-sized farm, or join a community on the land . . . [there] are various ways" (*CW* Editorial, 1953, May: 2). By emphasizing the need and dignity of the individual person and recognizing the common good, a new society in the shell of the old can emerge more peaceful and

appropriate.

While the soil remained a problem at Peter Maurin Farm, Fr. Duffy actively continued his restoration effort amidst the visitors, guests, alcoholics, homeless and destitute. As Dorothy described, "It is not a utopia. It is truly a place sometimes like heaven and other times like hell. A place where people live" (*CW*, 1953, Oct.: 2, 4). Deane Mowrer would later often write that the farm is not Utopia. Levitas (1990, 2003a, 2005) argues that utopia is the ends most of us seek. Following personalism and Ellul, the means we employ are just as important as the ends we seek. They must be consistent. Thus, if we seek a more peaceful community, we must act nonviolently and take personal responsibility for those around us. In this respect, the Catholic Worker farms are utopia. Utopia as method, not just an imagined end. The reality of the farm is not utopia in the theoretical morality sense, but an active embodiment of lived morality through the works of mercy including soil restoration and provision of healthy food including the gift of chickens (*CW*, 1953, Dec: 1, 7, 8).

At the same time, Maryfarm enjoyed a relative calm period with canning operations, and a pretty regular schedule of prayer, work, communal meals and relaxation (*CW*, 1953, Nov. :3), that prompted Tamar to comment on a "clean and efficient period" of the Worker counter to the expected chaos (*CW*, 1954, April: 3).

Dorothy began 1954 with, "We have failed in establishing farming groups [individual, family, communal], whether as agronomic universities, or farming

communes of families," (p. 6) despite the recent establishment of Peter Maurin Farm. Though Dorothy always claimed the rest of the Catholic Worker program as a failure, only with the agricultural component did she so often dwell upon their failure. However, the continued attempts do not constitute failure, but an honesty with means and ends so important to the Catholic Worker, personalism and distributism.

Peter Maurin Farm suffered a fire in the barn damaging the chapel of which they were all so proud (*CW*, 1954, April: 3). The constant struggles of Peter Maurin Farm, those at Maryfarm and those families elsewhere prompted John Stanley, writing from Maryfarm to ask, "Will anyone alive today see the victory of the Green Revolution[?]" (*CW*, 1954, Sept.: 6). Despite the struggles, the pacifist conferences begun at Easton, continued with speaker like Dave Dellinger and Ammon Hennacy. In relationship to agriculture, Dorothy wondered about the dispossession of those on the land. The government suggested that 2 million farmers leave the farm and work in the city, problems that Wendell Berry would lament 25 years later describing a modern enclosure movement at the behest of the market (*CW*, 1955 Jan.: 1, 6 and Berry 1977) .

Longtime contributor Deane Mowrer's first article celebrated Maryfarm (and really the entire agricultural experiment by the Catholic Worker) through analogy as a long retreat full of reflection, recognition of failure and, ultimately, hope. Unsurprising for a poet, teacher and author who joined the Catholic Worker family

in 1954 at Maryfarm (Newburgh). She would later become the major chronicler of the Catholic Worker farms, primarily at Peter Maurin Farm (Staten Island), Tivoli and Peter Maurin Farm (Marlboro). Mowrer's emphasis, throughout the onset of her blindness, was on the wildlife, primarily birds and the goings-on of the farm. Tom Cornell would later credit Mowrer with the enduring style of the farm article (*CW*, 2000, May). She also, her recognition of the beauty of the farm—despite the chaos the farms were often embroiled in—helped her speak of ecology, natural beauty, the restorative effects of the farms and the sound of birds (*CW*, 1966, March: 3). Mowrer's focus on birds continued Dorothy's habit of commenting on the farm animals. Deane Mowrer would write for the *Catholic Worker*, particularly about the farms, until her death in the early 1980s.

The closure of Maryfarm at Newburgh put a larger emphasis on Peter Maurin Farm. With a successful compost program in full swing by Fr. Duffy and sufficient vegetable production, a significant tension developed between romantic agrarians and realists (*CW*, 1955, July-Aug.: 6). By October 1955, Maryfarm was sold and Peter Maurin Farm hosted a conference and those on the farm worked to improve their craft skills as well as construction on the farm such as a rebuilt chapel and a greenhouse (*CW*, 1955, Oct.-Dec. issues). Peter Maurin Farm would remain the central focus of the Catholic Worker farms until 1963-64.

In that time, Beth Rogers chronicled much of the goings on at Peter Maurin Farm while Dorothy cultivated the Catholic Worker spirit through her many travels

as well as attendance at various conferences including the Fellowship of Intentional Communities (FIC) that welcomed the Catholic Worker, Glen Gardner, the Bruderhof and Gould Farm (MA) among others. The Catholic Worker also hosted an FIC conference. While continuing to discuss the failure, Dorothy continued to praise St. Benedict's at Upton (*CW*, 1956, April: 7). She continued the theme of trying in July-August 1956 (*CW*: 4): "We write of farming communes as an ideal form of institution towards which we should aim, and for which we should plan and we will continue to write about those which are in existence today in a continuing attempt as a way of living" (p.4). She discussed that distributism is not dead—a direct response to John Stanley's *Commonweal* article declaring such—but is dynamic and needs to be rewritten and updated.

Typically the paper printed reviews of new (sometimes old) books relevant to the mission and core values of the Catholic Worker. These included books on community, agriculture, faith, spirituality, politics and peace. A review of the USDA's yearbook of agriculture in 1957, termed care of the soil a "moral issue" (*CW*, 1958, Jan.). In 1957, the Christie Street house would be razed to make way for the city train network. While combatting the city, the Catholic Worker emphasized cooperation and cooperatives through the work of William Horvath, resident of Friendship House and student of Danish Folk Schools (cf. Horton and Highlander) (*CW*, 1959, Oct.-Dec.; 1960, March, June, Oct., Dec.). Practical crafts

skills also saw time in the paper including a series on building a home (*CW*, 1960 Sept., Oct., Dec.) and bits on craftsmanship (*CW*, 1963, Sept.).

The early 1960s saw a decline in farming or at least a reporting of it, as Deane Mowrer chronicled Peter Maurin Farm and the Worker comings and goings in general. It should be noted that, typically, in each issue of the paper another column under the title of the name of the house(s) in the city also kept track of visitors, Dorothy's whereabouts and talks which often overlapped with the farm. Out of necessity for this project, the city columns have been sacrificed. But in the early 1960s a decline in the farm reports translated into more reporting and, possibly, an attendant increase in hospitality at the farm, taking on the role that Maryfarm and Easton before primarily played.

In light of the increased activism promoted by Ammon Hennacy that began with the civil defense boycotts in the 1950s, Catholic Workers stepped to the forefront of the turbulence of the 1960s. With participation in the Polaris action in March 1961 and the burgeoning Civil Rights Movements exhibited by involvement at Koinonia, Highlander Center and reporting on the Freedom Ride, we see a transition to what Tivoli would become—the center or one of the nodes of the 1960s Left, anti-nuke, anti-authoritarian, hippie, drop out, anti-clerical era of the Catholic Worker (*CW*, 1961, April). Resistance activity has since taken a central place in what it means to be a Catholic Worker.

Even the other Catholic Worker farms at this point were transitioning. The Gauchats ceased being a farm to concentrate on raising children with special needs. The Pauls abandoned Holy Family Farm leaving Ruth Ann and her family with her brother's rotating in and out to help. And the Thorntons abandoned the farm life for California in 1962, though others continued to bear the agrarian torch like the Pleasants in Indiana and families around the country (*CW*, 1961, Feb.: 1,2,7; *CW*, 1963, July-Aug; *CW*,1961, Jan.). Thomas Merton (*CW*, 1961, Oct.) and Tom Cornell (*CW*, 1961, April) began to write for the paper. The final straw in Peter Maurin Farm was the completion of the Verrazano-Narrows bridge connection Staten Island to Manhattan thus skyrocketing real estate values on Staten Island. What they bought for $16,000, the Catholic Worker, despite a ton of legal wrangling and settlements, sold for approximately $175,000 allowing them to pay bills, buy Tivoli and settle other debts (*CW*, 1964, Jan., May, June).

Dorothy, in her own books, writes of the struggles and hopes the farms presented to her and the movement. In the *Long Loneliness*, her popular autobiography,

> One of the main difficulties of all these farm ventures is the lack of skills, money and equipment; lack of leadership too is a factor. There could be, I believe, groups of families on the land, surrounding a chapel, disciplined by family life and daily attendance at Mass, all subject to one another, with a division of skills and labor and accepting too the authority of one coordinator. Ideally speaking, this should be as successful as any community of monks who maintain themselves by the labor of their hands. (Day 1997: 234)

In *Loaves and Fishes*, her telling of the movement,

> If we have failed to achieve Peter's ideals, it is perhaps because we have tried

> *to be all things to all men: to run a school, an agronomic university, a retreat* house, an old people's home, a shelter for delinquent boys and expectant mothers, a graduate school for the study of communities, of religions, of man and the state, of war and peace. We have aimed high; and we hope we have accomplished enough at least 'to arouse the conscience.' Here is the way—or rather here is a way—for those who love God and their neighbor to try and live by the two great commandments. The frustrations that we experience are exercises in faith and hope, which are supernatural virtues. With prayer, one can go on cheerfully and even happily. Without prayer, how grim a journey! (Day 1972: 206)

In *A Harsh and Dreadful Love* (1973), Miller emphasized Dorothy's ambivalence at the farm venture, recognizing the drawbacks of the type of people that had been attracted to the Worker and the garden commune—more work than workers, but also recognized the enthusiasm and Peter's vision, even if it clashed partially with her city sensibility. However, as we look back and try and construct how Dorothy spent her time, if and when the Catholic Worker had a farm, Dorothy loved to be there. A recent documentary (Larson 2007) shows many photographs of Dorothy in the woods. We also know how dearly she loved her home on Staten Island on the water as well as visiting her daughter's various rural homes. It is an unfair characterization that Dorothy sabotaged the farms (Personal Communication, Cyril Echele to Author, 20 August 2008). They suffered more from incompetence and lack of resources than deliberate failure. While Easton ended badly on many levels and Newburgh suffered from a geographic rock and hard place, Tivoli suffered from the times.

ENDNOTES

[8] Dorothy Day warned Grace Branham of the kind of organization the Catholic Worker were and that she may not want to live on the land they purchase. Branham persisted, had a home built by Steve Hergehan and died at Maryfarm.

[9] Some, like Cy Echele's Missouri endeavor, never really got off the ground, while others continue to this day. Some remained somewhat disconnected while firmly placed within the agrarian ideas of the Catholic Worker. Julian Pleasants and his wife never explicitly operated a Catholic Worker farm, but lived somewhat rurally while Julian taught at Notre Dame. The Pleasants advocated small-scale farming. The Catholic Worker typically printed letters from those sympathetic to the aims of the Catholic Worker agrarian agenda. Letters and updates that Dorothy would mention from her travels came in from farms in Oneata, NY, Wyncote, PA, the Fiji Islands, Sudbury, MA (*CW*, 1962, Feb and July-Aug). In 1954, Hans Tunesen and Ernest Lindgren attempted a start a farm at Cape May Courthouse, NJ (*CW*, 1954, Nov.). It lasted until about 1959 when Lundgren suffered ill health (*CW*, 1959, Aug.) The Perrys, who met and married while Catholic Workers, moved to Greenville, MS as sharecroppers (*CW*, 1956, Jan.). The Stowells of Vermont related their quiet life on (*CW*, 1957, April; *CW*, 1959, Feb.; *CW*, 1959, June), as well as their move to New Zealand in 1961 (*CW*, 1962, March). Dorothy brought word of a possible farm developing 100 miles south of Portland, OR with a gift to a priest and developments of a 75 acre farm 8 miles near Burlington VT run by the Langlois Family (*CW*, 1940). Other farms in Vermont included Colchester and Cuttingsville (*CW*, 1942, Sept.). In 1940, news of a new Catholic Worker farm started by the Philadelphia Catholic Worker group near Oxford, PA in Chester County that includes 206 acres of rent to buy property ran in the paper. Other farms included Ade Bethune's studio in Rhode Island while 1942 brought word of a new farm in Rochester, NY also called St. Benedict's. One can gather the importance of the Bendictines simply from the naming of many of the farms not to mention Dorothy's own lay membership in the Benedictine's (Marlett 2002: 188).

CHAPTER 6

DIFFERENT VISIONS OF A GREEN REVOLUTION

Early on in the Catholic Worker agrarian tradition, John Filliger or John the Farmer came up on three young men in the garden at Easton. One had a book, another a ruler and the last, the seeds. John took the seeds and planted them saying, "By the time they would have finished the last row, the first would have been ready to harvest" (*CW*, 1982, June-July: 3,7). The tension between scholar and worker never manifested itself so clearly as at Tivoli. Except that, now, those under the scholar category were more often drug using, anti-authoritarian, narcissistic hippies rather than intellectually curious youth.

While the previous chapter explored the origins and development of the vision and reality of Catholic Worker farms, the current chapter examines the period from the mid-1960s to today. Following the profitable sale of Peter Maurin Farm on Staten Island, the Catholic Worker acquired an estate on the Hudson River in Duchess County. Tivoli captivated long-time Catholic Workers' imaginations while drawing disillusioned young people, so common in the 1960s, in droves. The tensions combined with a continuing lack of resources, left Tivoli untenable. Retreating to smaller environs, the NYCW farm remains entrenched near the Hudson in a

small town called Marlboro, New York. While the NYCW, often seen as the headquarters of the Catholic Worker, farm scaled back, other farms bearing Catholic Worker imprints expanded the agrarian vision. With farms in West Virginia, California and Iowa, the Catholic Worker farm ideal again spread across the country. Farms continued to emerge and spoke to the enduring relevance of the Catholic Worker and its message of personal responsibility, the practice of the works of mercy and an emphasis on people and the common good. It is this enduring message of freedom and the importance of nature and the environment to community well-being that the farms can shed a light of peace on the darkness of economic collapse and continual war-making.

TIVOLI AND CROSS POLLINATION

After 1965, Tivoli became the center of the Worker (Miller 1973). Tivoli held an important position in the Catholic Worker through the turbulent 1960s even briefly taking on the moniker of Roger LaPorte Farm in honor of the short-lived Catholic Worker who self-immolated himself out of despair during the Vietnam War (Buckley 1965, Thomas 1965). In Rosalie Riegle's (2003) oral history on Dorothy Day, "Tivoli remains a symbol of both the best and worst of those turbulent years." (40). Despite the centrality of Tivoli, less actual farming took place than ever before. At one point, in response to astonishment at her traveling by bus to Chicago, Dorothy Day replied, "I'd go anywhere to get away from that crazy

farm" (Riegle 2003: 42). While an interesting story in an of itself, Tivoli represents a departure for the Catholic Worker "farm" project partially restored at Peter Maurin Farm starting in 1979, but also picked up by others. The centrality of activism and protest superseded any sense of agriculture. Dorothy (from her diary March 12, 1971) herself understood the difficulty of sustaining the agrarian vision of the Catholic Worker as well as its necessity: "I have no delusions about this Catholic Worker farm. It is lighting a candle" (Ellsberg 2008: 524). At the same time, the Catholic Worker vision for what a farm or agricultural commune can and should look like expanded with Catholic Worker farms in West Virginia, California and Iowa and elsewhere envisioning different interpretations of how to enact Peter's Green Revolution. Dorothy Day's death in 1980 also colors the recent history of the Catholic Worker, but not nearly as negatively as previously envisioned (Aronica 1987; McKanan 2008).

Tivoli fell victim to the turbulence and volatility of the times. The increasing violence and disillusion of the Vietnam conflict, the explosion of student dissent, emerging literary changes and crises of faith seemed to converge at Tivoli. With people like Allen Ginsberg frequenting Tivoli and various "drop-outs" failing to distinguish between authority and authoritarianism, Tivoli became overcrowded as well as disturbed (*CW*, 1972, Jan.: 6). The members were also poor. At the time of their vacancy in the late 1970s, the mansion and property needed over $200,000 in repairs.

The Farm in Summertown, Tennessee emerged and flourished around the same time (www.thefarm.org/lifestyle/root1.html, Accessed January 27, 2009) as well as other hippie communes around the country including California, New Mexico, Colorado and points in between. People would often hitchhike to each experiment and hang out. The Tolstoy Farm in Washington State based itself on Gandhi's farm in South Africa that provided stability and subsistence from which to mount resistance. Gandhi's idea stemmed from his reading of John Ruskin and Leo Tolstoy. Many of the other communes suffered the same fates where once dissenting students grew up into responsible adults (Berger 1981; Miller 1991, 1998, 1999; Sutton 2004; Veysey 1978; Windsong 2006; Zablocki 1980). Some survived like the Farm and the Anathoth Community Farm in Wisconsin. The Catholic Worker's parallels with and mutual respect for these other communal adventures led to a cross pollination of ideas and experiences.

Despite the "failures" of Tivoli, the Catholic Worker continued to raise the banner of agrarianism, decentralism and community. Articles included a potential restaurant coop, the rise of industrial agriculture (*CW*, 1967, Nov.), the centrality of ecological thinking (*CW*, 1968, June), coops (*CW*, 1972, Mar/April) and community land trusts under guidance of Chuck Matthei (*CW*, 1970, Mar/April; 1974, Feb.; 1977, Sept.).

A focus on economics, especially distributism, received a boost from E.F. Schumacher in 1967. By reprinting an article called "Economic Development and

Poverty," the *Catholic Worker* continued to emphasize an economic system more in line with human needs not corporate or national. Dorothy, commenting on the piece, emphasized that people to see their labor as "creative work for the common good" (*CW*, 1967, Mar/April: 8). The Catholic Worker and Dorothy worked with Cesar Chavez and on farm labor issues.

Furthermore, while Peter Maurin, Robert Ludlow, Michael Harrington and Ammon Hennacy were gone, others picked up the mantle of scholar in the *Catholic Worker*. Submissions by Thomas Merton became more frequent in addition to the heightened awareness of significant authors and projects related to decentralism, community, agrarianism and the other ideals the Catholic Worker often drew under their umbrella. Lewis Mumford contributed an open letter to President Johnson (*CW*, 1965, June). The first mention of Jacques Ellul occurs in May 1965 (Merton had reviewed the *Technological Society* for *Commonweal* a few months prior, a point mentioned in the *CW*, May 1965) with a *Catholic Worker* review the following month. Peter Lumsden (*CW*, 1965, June) comments (obviously with the Catholic Worker in mind, too), "The problem then, is to remain in the society but not of it, and we must flourish like weeds in the cracks of the carapace of 'the system' (p. 5). Ellul's (1980) later work that emphasizes hope in the face of such totalitarian technique talks of those same cracks, the crack and fissures that the Catholic Worker, student protests and personalism, work to keep open or, more appropriate-

ly, keep from closing under the weight of technique, oppression and totalitarianism.

Furthermore, the Catholic Worker began to explicitly embrace an environmental morality framework. First demonstrated by Thomas Merton's "Wild Places" article in June 1968 the Catholic Worker would cultivate such a view by later including work by and about Wendell Berry (*CW*, 1978, June), ecological theologian Thomas Berry (*CW*, 1974, Feb.; *CW* Interview, 1989, Mar-Apr.) and author Paul Gilk (*CW*, 1978, Oct/Nov; 1988, May and Sept.). Merton's piece, in the wake of Roderick Nash (and Lynn White), argued for a environmental ethic along the lines of Aldo Leopold's ecological conscience and land ethic. Most importantly (for this project), Merton argued, "The ecological conscience is also essentially a peace-making conscience." Merton recognized the importance of environmental morality (an important semantic and conceptual difference from an ethic discussed in Chapter 2) and the Catholic Worker did too—implicitly by publishing Merton's work and explicitly in their continued agrarian approach and publications.

The Green Revolution continued to evolve and overlap. The agrarianism so important to the ideas of farm communes began to spread to ideas regarding the larger society just as the nascent environmental movement began blooming. The clarification of thought (newspaper, discussions), houses of hospitality and farms all embraced a sense of the importance of a care for the environment as well as the importance of caring for people by exposing them to manual labor and green

spaces. Thus environmental morality takes on a dialectical relationship between people and the environment evocative of moral care.

William Collinge's work began appearing in the *Catholic Worker* in June 1977 with "Peter Maurin and the Green Revolution" that would later appear in a collection celebrating Dorothy's centenary (Collinge 2001). Collinge (*CW*, 2002, Aug-Sept.) later reviewed Eric Freyfogle's *New Agrarianism*, commenting, "Eric Freyfogle presents agrarianism as fundamentally an ethical orientation, a matter of good living and not just good farming, for urban as well as rural dwellers" (p. 1). In the next issue, Collinge (*CW*, 2002, Oct-Nov.) took Jeffrey Marlett (2002) to task for adopting James T. Fisher's (1989) limited approach to understanding the Catholic Worker agrarian tradition that would later be adopted by Hamlin and McGreevey (2006). Collinge (*CW*, 2002, Oct-Nov.) defended the Catholic Worker: "That no farm has attained all of Peter Maurin's ideals at the same time is obvious, but Catholic Worker farming has outlived Larry Heaney's death by 53 years now, with numerous farms realizing some part of the Catholic Worker vision while failing to achieve or even attempt others" (5).

While continuing a tradition of environmental appreciation and care-taking, those that had played such a vital role began to die. Hans Tuneson, a former seaman and longtime Catholic Worker carpenter died in 1972. He had built workshops at Easton, Newburgh, Staten Island, helped with the Cape May, NJ Catholic Worker and, finally, Tivoli (*CW*, 1973, Jan.: 2,5). Helene Iswolsky, a Russian

scholar and close friend of Dorothy's died at the end of 1975 (*CW*, 1976, Jan.). Charles Buttersworth, longtime manager at the first Peter Maurin Farm, died in early 1978 (*CW*, 1978, Feb). Stanley Vishnewski, who joined the Catholic Worker as a teenager in the early days of the Worker, died in late 1979.

In June 1973, Deane Mowrer reported that it would cost over $200,000 to repair the mansions at Tivoli thus prompting discussion of sales and a move. At the same time, the longtime manager of Tivoli, Marge Hughes, resigned and moved to the West Virginia Catholic Worker Farm in the Spring of 1974 (*CW*, 1974, June). Deane Mowrer officially announced the closure of Tivoli in the October/November 1978 issue of the *Catholic Worker* while the last of the Catholic Workers had not vacated until the spring of 1979 when plans for a move to the new Peter Maurin Farm were solidified (*CW*, 1978, Oct/Nov; *CW*, 1979, Oct/Nov). While Tivoli floundered, others took up the farm vision. The first were Chuck Smith and Sandy Adams (see below). Second, Joan and Chris Montesano announced that they were looking for land (*CW*, 1973, May). They had helped start the Martin de Porres Catholic Worker House of Hospitality in San Francisco and hoped to take on an agronomic university or farm commune nearby. Little did they know, their experiment on the land would last over 30 years. They are still living at Sheep Ranch farm (http://claim.goldrush.com/~eartha/ea0fps.htm Accessed 1 February 2009).

NEW CATHOLIC WORKER FARMS

Hamlin, West Virginia - Chuck Smith and Sandy Adams

What started as a publication called *The Green Revolution* in late 1969 by former Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) employee during the War on Poverty Chuck Smith and partner Sandy Adams, turned into a farm in early 1970. Upon acquisition, Chuck named the property Catholic Worker Farm and received "approval" from Dorothy. Chuck's previous activism led him to study with Myles Horton in 1967 at the Highlander Center as well as use his position with OEO to help coal miners and identify environmental degradation in the Appalachian region. Dorothy visited soon after the acquisition and celebrated the relative success of Smith and Adams in the years following (*CW*, 1970, July-Aug; *CW*, 1976, May).

Smith soon became a sometime contributor to the *Catholic Worker* beginning in September 1970. Starting with a practical advice column called "Starting a Farm Column," Smith related the story of the founding of the Catholic Worker farm with advice on size, type of farm and animals. Letters from Smith and Adams in addition to occasional columns kept the agrarian aspect front and center and allowed Dorothy to praise a farm venture amidst the struggles at Tivoli. Later articles ranged in topic from a theology of work (*CW*, 1971, Mar/April), strip mining (*CW*, 1972, July/Aug.) and direct reporting on the Buffalo Creek flood in West Virginia (*CW*, 1972, March/April). The focus on strip mining and the flood

put Chuck Smith and the Catholic Worker promptly in the vanguard of writing on and keeping environmental justice issues in discussion even if that terminology was not used yet (Chuck Smith to Dorothy Day, 10 March 1972 DD-CW W4 Box 8). Smith and Adams' *Green Revolution* (*GR*) filled it's pages with stories of coal mining communities and the ecological destruction combined with stories of nonviolent resistance throughout Appalachia anticipating the protests in Cranks Creek, Kentucky and elsewhere with support of the Highlander Center (*GR* #1 as an example, DD-CW W4 Box 8).

Letters of update kept readers and other Catholic Workers abreast of the building projects, visitors, animal additions, job changes and other goings on of the Catholic Worker Farm (see DD-CW W4 Box 8). In 1971, Chuck put together a reprint of 55 of Peter's Easy Essays (*CW*, 1971, Mar/April: 7-8). The letters and other efforts combined with a (relatively) significant publication in the *Green Revolution*, kept Chuck Smith and Sandy Adams at the center of the intellectual development of the Catholic Worker in the 1970s. Articles on the farm, the common good (*GR* #7, DD-CW W4 Box 8), land trusts, and the Green Revolution also demonstrate a significant focus on the importance of a rural lifestyle as an alternative to capitalism (*GR* #12, 1971, Nov.; *GR* #19, 1973, Jan., DD-CW W4 Box 8). For Smith (*GR* #30, 1974, Nov/Dec., DD-CW W4 Box 8), "A decentralist society is by nature an agricultural society in which each household produces most of its own food and fiber. The village or community carries out cooperatively those

things which are inconvenient for single households to do" (p. 1). While relatively successful for around 13 years, the Catholic Worker Farm near West Hamlin, West Virginia also fell victim to the infamous Catholic Worker impermanence.

Despite hosting Marjorie Hughes, a longtime Catholic Worker starting at Easton, Chuck felt called elsewhere. First he pursued the diaconate and then graduate school. Sandy Adams returned to West Hamlin following a brief stay at Sheep Ranch in California to publish two more issues of the *Mountain Worker* (the name changed in 1975) in 1987 before a permanent move back to California at the Sheep Ranch farm around 1989 with the Montesanos (see below) where that relationship too would sorrow ("Earth Abides" Newsletter Spring 1989, DD-CW W4 B10).

The other interesting and important aspect to the story of Chuck Smith and Sandy Adams is that they represent the first "openly" gay couple to have a significant impact on the Worker. In the early eighties, the New York house struggled with an internal rift concerning gays and lesbians and the Catholic Church's official stance. Some members of the editorial board demanded that only those who followed Catholic doctrine to the letter could remain editors. Without Dorothy's single-voter method of consensus, the gay and lesbian members of the editorial board and their supports had no recourse. When the dust settled, the editorial board forced two people off the banner and two people resigned. Gary Donatelli and Peggy Scherer then moved to San Francisco to minister to AIDS

patients (for more see McKanan 2008: 194-198). Peggy Sherer had taken on a notably larger role in the Catholic Worker as Tivoli's manager in 1975, and really provided stability and leadership during the dissolution of Tivoli, the care of many aging Catholic Worker including Dorothy Day, Deane Mowrer, John Filliger and others and the newspaper. Hers was a loss to the movement and the stability of the organization. However, it speaks to the dynamism and power of the works of mercy as a guiding principle that no major outward sign of struggle were felt.

Sheep Ranch, CA - The Montesansos

As mentioned before, the Montesanos announced their initial search for land in 1973. Following the loss of a newborn daughter and the birth of two new children, in 1975, they successfully located an 80 acre farm at about 3,330 ft. elevation for $50,000 with plans for a trust, a model of land ownership first consummated at the Catholic Worker Farm in West Virginia (*CW*, 1975, Oct-Nov.). By May 1976, the Montesanos and another couple had moved on to the farm living in the barn with plans for houses, gardens and another Montesano child (*CW*, 1976, May: 6). By the end of the year, the Sheep Ranch farm had begun the small crafts production (notecards) that would become a staple of the farm in the form of candle production started in 1980 (*CW*, 1976, Dec.; "Newsletter" DD-CW W4 Box 5; http://claim.goldrush.com/~eartha/ea0fps.htm Accessed 1 February 2009). In addition to craft work and the candle coop, the Montesanos often worked off the farm such as cleaning houses and at a mental health institution (*CW*, 1978, Sept.)

Early on decisions were decided on by a method of consensus to compliment the land trust (http://claim.goldrush.com/~eartha/ea0fps.htm Accessed 1 February 2009). Projects included a two-story home for the Montesanos and guests, biodynamic gardening methods and interest in passive solar construction (*CW*, 1977, June; *CW*, 1979, Dec.). Additionally, like many Catholic Workers through the 1970s and 1980s, activism became a significant trait of Catholic Worker-hood. In 1982, the Montesanos protested the Lawrence Livermore Lab in California, home to a significant U.S. weapons think tank (Dec. "Newsletter" DD-CW W4 Box 5).

From 1987 to 2006, the Montesanos, the only family left on the farm, ran a children's camp combined with the Catherine House retreat center opened in 2001 to promote access to natural surroundings. Along with Brian Terrell and Betsy Keenan, Chris and Joan Montesano have been the most vocal defenders of the Catholic Worker agrarian tradition including a session at the 75th Anniversary Gathering in 2008 in Massachusetts (http://www.pieandcoffee.org/cw2008/ Accessed 19 February 2009). In May 1988, Chris reviewed Paul Gilk's *Nature's Unruly Mob* and took issue with Gilk's romanticization of the 1960s commune,

> If, in fact, what Paul is holding up as an example of community is a 1960's commune, I think that a mistake is being made. I know of numerous communities built on this model that have failed. Instead, family autonomy with common work and occaissional common meals can allow people to grow into cooperation. I would call it a more extended family sense, allowing cooperation, flexibility, and some autonomy all at the same time. it is more compatible since, historically, as members of Western civilization, our roots are in extended family. (*CW*, 1988, May: 4)

As detailed in McKanan (2008), networking of Catholic Workers, partially prompted by available technology, but more through gatherings over the years, has helped the Catholic Worker stay strong and grow since Dorothy Day's death in 1980. The Montesanos started hosting gatherings of Catholic Worker houses on the West Coast in the late 1970s (e.g., *CW*, 1978, Sept.). The availability of modern communications such as the internet, e-mail and listservs offer an interesting outlet to examine the Catholic Workers' tenuous relationship with technology. In the early, 1980s an internal debate concerning the acquisition of a computer following the demise of their labeling machine illustrates the ambivalence in the wake of Peter's thought and the poverty of the Worker. Ironically, these same technologies have strengthened the worker like never before.

Michael Kirwan and John Filliger Farm

Former seminarian and ex-sociology graduate student, Michael Kirwan began hosting homeless men in his apartment as a graduate student until the university kicked him out following the death of a second man in the apartment. Kirwan then opened up a house of hospitality in Washington, DC. The grandson of a Congressmen, Kirwan embraced the simplicity of the Catholic Worker ideas and translated that energy into multiple houses of hospitality and farms in nearby West Virginia. Kiwan's first farm, near Keeney's Knob, West Virginia, started in 1982. The 55-acre John Filliger Farm was purchased for $48,000 and named after the longtime Catholic Worker farmer from Easton, Newburgh, Peter Maurin Farm

(Staten Island), Tivoli and Peter Maurin Farm (Marlboro) who died earlier that same year. The farm expanded in 1988 to house primarily women and children. It was named for Tyra Dunn, a woman that died at the farm and called her year there the happiest time in her life (Fisher, Marc. 1988. "Heart for a Ravaged Flock," *Washington Post*, 21 August, pp. A1, 16-17, DD-CW W53). With a long list of donors and allies, the farms and houses adapted and changed until Kirwan's death from cancer in 1999 (McCarthy, Colman, *Washington Post,* Nov. 13, 1999, B7). The farms were finally closed and transfered to the Wheeling, West Virginia diocese (*CW*, 2006, May; Personal communication, 3 February 2009).

Strangers and Guests Community, Maloy, Iowa - Brian Terrell and Betsy Keenan

In the late 1970s, Betsy and Brian moved from New York to Davenport, Iowa to help with the Davenport House of Hospitality. Betsy wrote to the *Catholic Worker* in May 1981to describe the joint gardening effort between the Davenport, Iowa and Rock Island, Illinois Houses while anticipating a Mid-West Catholic Worker gathering. The 1987 issue of the *Catholic Radical* (the newsletter for the Quad Cities Catholic Worker) announced that Betsy and Brian had moved to Maloy, Iowa, a tiny little hamlet in southwest Iowa with a population of around 50 (DD-CW W20.1). While Brian strived to continue resistance to war and injustice that started with a protest at Rocky Flats, Colorado, Betsy and Brian really attempt to create and maintain a small, community centered on living as an enactment of Peter Maurin's ideals.

The name "Strangers and Guests" comes from the book of Leviticus in which the Lord proclaims that we, the humans, do not own the land, we are but strangers and guests upon it. As Betsy and Brian's pastor in Maloy wrote in *Catholic Rural Life* on the diminishment of Peter Maurin, "Most likely though, Peter is slipping out of our awareness because his farming communes didn't work very well in his lifetime, and most aren't working very well today" (9). But Brian Terrell and Betsy Keenan's constant work at building community in Maloy, counter to the Montesano's effort with family at the center, both provide long term interpretations of the Catholic Worker agrarian tradition.

Soon after their move to Maloy, they started a craft coop and catalogue in Maloy showcasing the work of local artists and craftspeople that did not think their work worthy of sale (Betsy Keenan to Friends, Jan. 1992, DD-CW W20.1). To supplement income, Brian worked at a nursing home for four years prior to working for the South Central Catholic Community while Betsy gave guitar lessons. The work of building community extended to continued resistance leading to an arrest in Honduras in 1988. The strange fellow who gets arrested all the time created quite a stir in the little town that only intensified after winning election to the city council. That election in combination with local politics led to Terrell being elected mayor in 1994 (Baldwin, Robert F. *National Catholic Reporter*, Feb. 25: 11).

After only a few years in Maloy, Brian described their project thus,

I think today we need to look again into the revolutionary ideas Peter was

> talking about. What we're doing in Maloy, Iowa, in an area where everybody's packing up to leave, in an area that's losing its topsoil and poisoning its water, is only a gesture. But we hope to see life there improved and hope to make it so that someday soon, the young people who grow up there won't want to leave. There just isn't anything we can fix with our own efforts, and we can't fool ourselves anymore. It's in God's hands. I . . . I don't want to be a quietist, and we still have to do what . . . what we can do, but I think this is forcing us to look into deeper solutions, at Peter's solutions. (Troester 1993: 102)

Terrell (2008) maintains a vocal presence in the Catholic Worker defending the agrarian and radical roots of the movement especially against those who would pigeonhole what it means to be a Catholic Worker . While continuing the work in Maloy, Terrell charged in the Troester (1993) book why the farms have always failed: "The farm idea has been one of the most neglected [parts of the movement] partly because most Worker farms have started in the shape of the American family farm" (p. 253). Like the Montesanos, though, Strangers and Guests sees the value of gatherings of Catholic Workers deemed so important by McKanan (2008; *CW*, 1994, Jan.-Feb.).

Miscellaneous Farms

St. Joseph's Farm, Ripon, Quebec, Canada. In November 1970, the Creskey family settled in Ripon, Quebec on St. Joseph's Farm. Over the next ten years, the Creskeys welcomed many families and individuals to help with the sheep, the garden, pottery and the publication of *The Catholic Family Farmer* (Jim Creskey to Peggy Scherer, 18 November 1980 and Jim and Anne Creskey to Chuck Smith and Deane Mary Mowrer, 20 October 1972, DD-CW W4 Box 8; *CW*, 1974, June;

Creskeys to CW, 1981, Jan/Feb: 2,4). The success of the Creskeys also anticipated other international farms. In September 1970, Dorothy visited a new farm venture run by Benedictine oblates outside Melbourne. Down under welcomed other agricultural ventures including the Whole Earth and Dorothy Day Centre for Nonviolence near Sydney and with the Brisbane Catholic Worker (*CW*, 1972, Dec.; "Mutual Aid" Newsletter, DD-CW W4 B9).

St Francis Farm - Lacona, New York. A companion project to Fr. McVey's Unity Acres, St. Francis Farm near Syracuse tries to model sustainable, rural living (Accessed http://www.stfrancisfarm.org/History.html- on 1 February 2009). Started in 1976, St. Francis joins the Sheepranch Catholic Worker Farm and the Maloy, Iowa Stangers and Guests as one of the longest tenured Catholic Worker-inspired rural projects. Strangely enough, Dorothy had discouraged Fr. McVey from beginning Unity Acres in the first place and later apologized (*CW*, 1971, May: 1,2,7).

Other proposals for farms in Davenport, Iowa and Lincoln County, Maine flowed into the Catholic Worker offices requesting prayers, interested parties and whatever help was available ("Proposal for the St. Joseph Hospitality Farm," 1978, DD-CW W20 B1 and "Proposal for a Catholic Farm School, Lincoln Co., ME," DD-CW W6.1 B1 F6). A companion farm project to the original St. Benedict's Farm in Upton, Massachusetts under the leadership of Fr. Bernard Gilgun suffered a fire while Mary Paulson (wife of Carl) started the Eric Gill school for crafts and art at St. Benedict's (*CW*, 1971, May: 1,2,7). Fr. Gilgun's project, now known as the Mus-

tard Seed in Wocester, Massachusetts helped host the 75th Anniversary Gathering in 2008.

The Dorothy Day (Catholic Worker) Community Farm operated outside Iowa City, Iowa for a few years in the early eighties (DD-CW W-4 Box 4) while the Obonaudswain Catholic Worker Farm in Lexington, MI operated on and off throughout the decade. Sr. Pat Oliss was the primary mover of Obonaudswain and continually wrote the *Catholic Worker* inviting people to the farm (DD-CW W4 Box 9 and 11; *CW,* 1981, April; Olis to CW, 1982, April; *CW,* 1983, May). Former New York Catholic Worker, Tom Coddington started the Hennacy Farm in California (DD-CW W4 Box 11). The H.O.M.E. coop began in 1970 as a craft coop selling local crafts from unemployed Maine workers (http://www.bairnet.org/organizations/homeinc/history/homehistorypage.html Accessed 2/2/2009). It has since grown into a multifunctional decentralized organization providing shelter, day care, craft workshops and other things. While not a Catholic Worker house or farm, a mutual affinity grew up in the late 1970s that continues to today (*CW,* 1975, Dec.; *CW,* 1977, June; *CW,* 1980, Jan.; Personal communication, June 2008). Other farms popped up in Chehalis, Washington (*CW,* 1999, Dec.), Nebraska, Goochland, Virginia, Harts, West Virginia and Dubuque, Iowa (DD-CW W4 B15, 17).

PETER MAURIN FARM

The move away from Tivoli to Peter Maurin Farm in Marlboro also serves as a metaphor for the shift in the Catholic Worker as a whole. While some Catholic Workers stepped up their activism in relation to weapons systems, agriculture and rural communities and other areas, others stepped up their emphasis on Catholic beliefs. Much of the tension stemmed from the fallout after Dorothy's death in November 1980. Her death left a physical and spiritual void in many people. The question was, How would the movement survive? Two point-in-time studies soon after Dorothy's death capture a spirit of divisiveness and hierarchy (Aronica 1987; Murray 1990). Tensions about abortion, gay rights and female ordination continue to be hot topics for Catholic Workers, Catholics in general and the public at large. Within the Catholic Worker, feelings have been hurt, friendships broken, houses and farms closed, but the Catholic Worker, by multiple measures, is larger than ever (McKanan 2008).

The changes of the late 1970s and early 1980s provide glimpses as to how that current growth and strength in the Catholic Worker emerged. The groundbreaking book *The Unsettling of America* by Wendell Berry (1977) combined with Reagonomics and a burgeoning farm crisis, put the agrarian tradition of the Catholic Worker front and center once again. Betsy Keenan's (*CW*, 1979, July-Aug) "Family Farms" and a summary of the Midwest Catholic Bishops' pamphlet titled "Strangers and Guests: Toward Community in the Heartland" (*CW*,

1980, July-Aug.) with Chris Montesano's "The Green Revolution" (*CW*, 1983, Jan.: 1,5) continued the shout against agribusiness with an emphasis on stewardship and ecological treatment of the soil based on distributism.

With the move to Peter Maurin Farm in Marlboro, New York, the Catholic Worker downsized the farm operation with a focus on taking care of the aging members including John Filliger, Stanley Vishnewski and a few others while at the same time recapturing a focus on organic or biodynamic farming methods at the new location (Tom and Monica Cornell to Peggy Scherer, 6 September 1979, DD-CW W4.5 Box 1). A concerted effort to be more ecological serves as a primary tenant of Peter Maurin Farm (*CW*, 1980, Oct/Nov.).

John Filliger's 1982 death cast a pall over NYCW farming (*CW*, 1982, June-July: 3,7). While he had trained a few would-be farmers, the farm operation of the New York Catholic Workers farmers would not be the same until the Cornell's oldest child, Tommy, took over the farming a number of years later. At the same time, the national Catholic Worker rallied in the wake of Dorothy's death with a number of regional gatherings and a celebration of the 50th anniversary in New Jersey. The deaths of long-time supporter and public intellectual Dwight McDonald, Scott Nearing and Irene Naughton continued the string of long-time supporters, activists and Workers to die, clearly helping mark an end of an era.

The agrarian tradition of the Worker hoped to stave off the totalizing effects of modernity and industrialization. In the late 1970s, with a PhD in Theology in

hand, Katherine Temple joined the NYCW and became a resident scholar and editor. Temple's scholarly interests brought together Jacques Ellul and similar philosophical, sociological and theological writers. A May 1986 article called "Scholars and Worker" (pp. 2, 5) called attention to the similarity of Jacques Ellul and Alasdair MacIntyre (both discussed at the end of Chapter 2).

> Jacques Ellul and Alasdair MacIntyre each speak about a loss, or a good that has been trampled upon. In other words, they indicate [quoting Maurin] 'what is wrong/with the things as they are,' and so shed light on 'the things as they should be.' Unfortunately, to the third part of Peter Maurin's advice about making a path . . . by scholars becoming workers, [farming communes], etc., these books [Ellul's *Humiliation and the Word* and MacIntyre's *After Virtue*] do not fully speak. (P. 5)

Though MacIntyre hints at the importance and relevance of Maurin's vision by waiting for another St. Benedict, Ellul's concern over nature and the environment are more buried in his work on the totalizing effect of technique through mechanization, computerization and psychological techniques of manipulation and propaganda. The Catholic Worker continued to emphasize the importance of a healthy natural environment to the importance to healthy communities with articles on the ethics of genetic modification, bovine growth hormone, the destruction of agri-business and the work of Wendell Berry and green political advocate Paul Gilk (*CW*, 1988, May; *CW*, 1995, Jun-July; *CW*, 1988, Sept.).

Another turning point in the history of the farms occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Following a brief stint in New York City, following the sale of Tivoli, farm chronicler Deane Mary Mowrer died. In the early 1990s the Cornells,

Tom and Monica finally moved to Peter Maurin Farm from their House of Hospitality in Westbury, Connecticut. Their move to the farm also gave Tom Cornell, Jr. the opportunity to reestablish some actual farming that had been somewhat neglected since John Filliger's death eleven years prior and prompted Tom Cornell to recommend calling it Peter Maurin "Garden" (Tom Cornell to Bruce and Lisa Moseley, 7 May 1994, DD-CW W4.5 Box 1).

The Cornells, including Tom and Monica and occasionally their children, Tom Christopher and Deirdre, continue to live and work at Peter Maurin Farm. Tommy (as Tom, Jr.) is referred to is the primary farmer trying to grow food for the residents as well as the soup line in New York. They have also taken turns writing the "farm column" since 1994. In 1998 (*CW*, Jan-Feb), Tommy reflected, "We are historical beings, aware of our potential for harm or for good, and, thus, we want to observe and enhance the natural world around us while pursuing our own, modest goals" (8). Tom Cornell, upon moving to Peter Maurin Farm, remarked on moving into smaller quarters adding that "the future of our planet requires that we all learn to live with less" (*CW*, 1993, Dec.: 2). Along the same lines, the Cornells see their work at Peter Maurin Farm as a form of resistance (*CW*, 2003, March-April).

With the Peter Maurin Farm, Sheep Ranch, Strangers and Guests and other farms that continue to emerge, the Catholic Worker family continues to ebb and flow. Since 2001, Ade Bethune, Chuck Matthei, Katherine Temple and David Dellinger have died. At the same time, the modern movement is as strong as ever

with farms representing a tremendous growth as interest in global food issues become more and more mainstream. The next section explores some of the developments over the last ten years.

TODAY

The nature of archival research makes that which is closer to the present more difficult to chronicle. However, the emergence of the internet, e-mail, listservs and continued publications of books on the Catholic Worker facilitate a brief overview of Catholic Worker farm activity. Furthermore, the Catholic Worker have, over 75 years, continually reexamined the roots of Peter's thought and Dorothy's writings for inspiration. Additionally, the continuation and blossoming of national gatherings, communication networks and publications continues to reseed the Catholic Worker idea and ideals amongst new and seasoned Catholic Workers. This has led to an ever-increasing overlapping of the three strands of the Green Revolution: clarification of thought, hospitality and farms. Today, there are approximately 17 Catholic Worker farms and 20 houses of hospitality that practice some form of gardening or urban gardening (see the appendix for a timeline of Catholic Worker farms). Those farms and gardens often offer hospitality as well as practice resistance of some sort with all of them hopeful for a more peaceful world.

Farms

The farms and communities of Sheep Ranch and Maloy continue and remain

a vocal presence for an agrarian tradition. Since the late eighties, farms have come and gone. Another long-standing farm is the Noonday Farm in Winchendon Springs, Massachusetts attached with the ecumenical Haley House of Boston started in the 1980s (McKanan 2008). Multiple farms have sprung up in West Virginia and northern Virginia continuing a long Catholic Worker tradition since the Hennessey family moved to West Virginia in the 1940s and then the farms of Chuck Smith and Michael Kirwan. More recently, farms have opened in Montana, outside London, two in New Zealand and most recently in Rochester, New York (Personal communication, 3 February 2009). Most significantly, following the Maloy, Iowa Catholic Worker Community, Iowa has seen the emergence of two of the most ambitious Catholic Worker farm efforts.

Mustard Seed Community Farm (Near Des Moines). In the last year, the Mustard Seed Community Farm in Ames, Iowa has emerged with a 10 member CSA. With a stated emphasis on land stewardship, hospitality, nonviolence and sustainability, the Mustard Seed Community Farm and the other Iowa projects seem to actively attempt to realize Peter's vision (mustardseedfarm.org/?q=about Accessed 4 February 2009). While not only growing great amounts of food, they also sponsored a craft retreat in January 2009 (Personal communication, 15 December 2008). A similar effort in northeast Iowa emerged a few years earlier.

New Hope Catholic Worker School. In the mid-1990s Rick Mihm and Mary Moody re-established the Catholic Worker house in Dubuque, Iowa. Gardening

and farming have been a significant part of their relationship and that did not change when they had children. In 2005, Rick and Mary started New Hope Farm (*CW*, 2005, May). Since then, with help from others, New Hope Farm has expanded into a Catholic Worker school along the same lines as that which started in the 1930s and 1940s with an emphasis on theology, Catholic Worker thought and history in addition to practical skills and crafts resembling an actual agronomic university originally envisioned by Peter Maurin (Personal communication, 2 March 2007). Furthermore, the Catholic Worker School Manifesto emphasizes the importance of "scholars becoming workers" and vice versa with an emphasis on sustainability. An explicit sense of stewardship runs through their plans, "We believe that an active care of creation is as important as the traditional corporal works of mercy" that is also connected to nonviolence and a way to a more peaceful world (Personal communication, 27 April 2007).

International Catholic Worker Farms. Since a few families attempted farms in Canada near the beginnings of the Catholic Worker movement, there has been an international flair to the movement. The 1980s saw the emergence of some farming and gardening in New Zealand and Australia that continues to this day in Kaikohe, New Zealand northwest of Auckland as well as a farm in Wellington, New Zealand (Personal communication, 27 June 2008). The Land family in Kaikohe organically garden three acres and collect seeds that they then sell to supplement their income. While incorporating indigenous Maori principles in their gar-

dening and lifestyle the Land family address the social problems of the day in the context of their place. And they write about it in their publication the *Radical Christian* (Personal communication, 27 June 2008). Recently, the Albrecht family from the London-based Catholic Worker acquired a farm and large house that promotes organic gardening, hospitality to asylum-seekers and performs resistance to war (*The London Catholic Worker,* Advent 2008).

Urban Gardening

While not everyone has taken the plunge into a more rural centered movement that reaches out to the urban populations suggested by Brian Terrell at various times, those in the cities continue to work at incorporating the ideas of sustainability, self-sufficiency and community food systems through a number of urban gardening projects. While the difference between a Catholic Worker farm and garden is sometimes only name-deep, the growth of urban-rooted houses of hospitality attempting urban food production increases every year. At this writing, about 20 houses proclaim some form of gardening project, some more developed than others. Karl Meyer's ecumenical Nashville Greenlands started in 1997 while the New Urban Roots Farm started in the impoverished area of north St. Louis more recently. With an emphasis on advocacy, community and sustainability, New Roots also runs a CSA and has networked with other urban food producers in St. Louis trying to reclaim abandoned lots and provide some stability to an often fragile food ecosystem (newrootsurabnfarm.org Accessed 4 February 2009). As part of the net-

work of Catholic Worker houses in St. Louis, New Roots Urban farm was featured in the Summer 2008 newsletter of that network called *The Roundtable* in a special issue on food and sustainability called "The delicious revolution" adopting the phrase from Alice Waters. And just this February, the Catholic Worker listserv announced a brand new farm and gardening project in Rochester, New York called St. Fiacre Gardens.

CONCLUSIONS

While chroniclers of the Catholic Worker, including Dorothy Day, have been quick to dismiss the rural efforts of the Catholic Worker, the reality is closer to Daniel McKanan's (2008) assessments of the more recent efforts. The previous efforts have not been failures, per se, but predecessors, who endured difficulty compounded by economic realities, personal struggles, personality clashes and a fractured vision of Peter Maurin's intentions. Brian Terrell (*CW*, 2008, June-July) describes his own take on the vision, "After more than 30 years with the Catholic Worker . . . I am convinced that all we do is but a gesture and a prayer for the better future that we hope for but can only glimpse from afar" (3). McKanan (2008) and Murray (1990) both see the agricultural piece of the Green Revolution as key to addressing some of the ecological problems facing our societies. The recent developments in the Worker like New Hope Farm and School and the Mustard Seed along with the urban gardening of places like New Roots and St. Fiacre speak

to the continued relevance of Peter Maurin's agrarian vision and the developing environmental morality.

CHAPTER 7

THE GREEN REVOLUTION, ENVIRONMENTAL MORALITY AND HOPE FOR PEACE

"When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on the throne of his glory. All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. And he will put the sheep at his right hand, and the goats at the left. Then the King will say to those at his right hand, 'Come, you that are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you gave me clothing, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you visited me.' Then the righteous will answer him, saying, 'Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry and gave you food, or thirsty and gave you something to drink? And when was it that we saw you a stranger and welcomed you, or naked and gave you clothing? And when was it that we saw you sick or in prison and visited you?' And the king will answer them, 'Truly, I tell you, just as you did it to one of the least of these who are members of my family, you did it to me.' Then he will say to those at his left hand, 'You that are accursed, depart from me into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels; for I was hungry and you gave me no food, I was thirsty and you gave me nothing to drink, I was a stranger and you did not welcome me, naked and you did not give me clothing, sick and in prison and you did not visit me.' Then they also will answer, 'Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry or thirsty or a stranger or naked or sick or in prison, and did not take care of you?' Then he will answer them, 'Truly, I tell you, just as you did not do it to one of the least of these, you did not do it to me.' And these will go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life."

-Jesus, The Gospel of Matthew 25: 31-46 and the basis for the works of mercy

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, . . .

Article 1.
All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. . . .

Article 6
Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.
- United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

The history of the Catholic Worker farms is, at best, uneven. However, an agrarian thread has consistently run through that same history. The Green Revolution of Peter Maurin, consisting of continuous clarification of thought through publications and discussion, hospitality for those in need and farms or places to garden, continues today. The primary newspaper, *The Catholic Worker*, is still published. More houses of hospitality than ever before are open and the farms continue to bloom. The networks of those who call themselves "Catholic Workers" is larger and stronger than ever (McKanan 2008). This growth and stability emerges despite strong contradictions. The Catholic Worker are Catholic. Yet they remain ecumenical and progressive. The Catholic Worker promote an agrarian way forward and yet are primarily an urban movement.

THE (ONGOING) LESSONS OF THE CATHOLIC WORKER

In spite of, or maybe because of, the many contradictions inherent in a movement as diverse and persistent as the Catholic Worker, many lessons have emerged after 75 years. Since their primary involvement in labor disputes beginning in the 1930s, the Catholic Worker has maintained respect for labor of all manual, craft and scholarly workers. While technique aims for efficiency in systems and individuals, the Catholic Worker uphold the dignity of one's creativity and labor. A philosophy of work runs throughout the Catholic Workers' concern for the dignity of people central to the works of mercy and the humanistic ideal of rights. Today, work is often secondary to having a job. What the job entails or considerations of what one is good at are unimportant to employers. Not that individual business owners do not care, but the market for running a business is purely geared toward quarterly profits and sustained growth. Additionally, the efficiency of technique translates into specialization. Our college degrees gear us toward instrumental employment. I attended a private, college preparatory high school where there were no shop classes. My father can barely operate a drill. Only when I worked for a carpenter one summer rehabbing houses did I acquire functional skills of home maintenance and tool literacy. The separation of the manual and the scholarly so prevalent today are not sustainable educational or work practices.

The Catholic Worker philosophy of work is related to good work, a functional

concept (like MacIntyre) where work is good when it respects the dignity and creativity of person and is not turned in to a machine-like repetition of movements for a certain end. It is the determinism of the factory life, of the city that dehumanizes. Thus, good work is that which maintains and strengthens the person and the common good—that which is beautiful, that which maintains the earth and the person.

The corollary to a philosophy of work is a care for those unable to care for themselves. Our governments are set up with safety nets that dehumanize those incapable of working. As a corollary, even those capable and willing to work are not able to find work. The strength of the economy is measured in stock prices for the small percentage of the population with sufficient wealth to invest in such a system. Distributism and its sister ideas, like the human-scaled economics of E.F. Schumacher, base the strength of an economy on whether those who are willing and able can find work that is creative and fulfilling and sufficient. The Catholic Worker modeled their beliefs by encouraging those who came to share their gifts with community. If one was a carpenter, carpentry was encouraged and so on. While the anarchistic decentralism of the Catholic Worker often failed the movements' long term goals of more houses and more farms, many people called the Worker home and rebuilt their lives following addictions, unemployment, the loss of a spouse or other tragedies. The focus of the Catholic Worker's personalism has always been the support of persons, not the movement.

By devaluing the focus of the success of the movement, the Catholic Worker demonstrate time and again a willingness to fail. Houses have closed, only to reopen. The accounts have run empty only to be filled by generous donations. The precarity has been and continues to be a curse and a blessing. More could always be done. However, by going without the Ford Foundation grant or government assistance, the Catholic Worker is beholden only to those immediately in front of them. A focus on personalism and distributism allows the Catholic Worker to live out the works of mercy in context. Much of that context revolves around nature and the natural world including life in the city. Before getting to the centrality of the agrarian tradition to the Catholic Worker and the importance of environmental morality, let me briefly address what this project has not done.

WHAT'S NOT HERE

The environment is in vogue and to be green is to be trendy. To be frugal and resourceful is not only green, but economically sound. The problem with trendy or economistic solutions to the environment is that they stay abstract in the larger sense. For example, car manufacturers claim that demand did not previously exist for high mileage vehicles. But how does one gauge demand when there has not been an option? These brief thoughts illustrate the challenges of "solving" environmental problems such as global climate change, pollution, soil loss and destruction. These "problems" remain abstract for most people. However, the ethics or

value ethics proclaiming to offer environmental solutions remain just as abstract as that of the theoretical morality described by Jacques Ellul and Dick Stivers. Theoretical morality is the abstract ethics and moralism that claims how one should live. The problem with theoretical morality like Confucianism or Aldo Leopold's land ethics is they remain abstract shoulds and do not look at what people actually do or lived morality.

Despite the abstract nature of ethics and theoretical morality, my project still fails to actively engage the work of Kierkegaard or pragmatic ethics that can help further the discourse of lived morality. Secondly, I did not deeply engage the growing and valuable work in environmental ethics. The main reason for this is that even the most recent and best formulation of environmental ethics from Phil Cafaro, continues to argue for care for the environment in and of itself failing to recognize that people cannot care for an abstraction. People can only, regularly, care for other people. However, in the near future I hope to further examine environmental ethics and compare them to an environmental lived morality or environmental morality. Lastly, though primarily a textual exercise, I did not address or engage the work of Paul Ricouer or hermeneutic methods. An engagement with any of the three stated areas would have strengthened this project immensely, but due to pragmatic considerations of time and length, they will have to wait. That being said, the following section details how the Catholic Worker illustrate an envi-

ronmental morality followed by the importance of an environmental morality for stable communities, the mitigation of technique and peace.

THE GREEN REVOLUTION AND ENVIRONMENTAL MORALITY

The three strands of the Green Revolution remain central to the Catholic Worker. Furthermore, over time they have become intertwined with one another such that they are inseparable like a rope. In a rope with three braids, there is a tension that keeps that rope together that gives it strength. We can treat each of the three parts of the Green Revolution as part of a rope with three braids: clarification of thought, houses of hospitality and farms. The tension that keeps the three braids of the Catholic Worker together is an environmental morality that recognizes the beauty of nature and persons while keeping in mind the common good or the possibility of utopia. The Green Revolution is as much concerned with process or the means as it is an imagined better society. As Dorothy wrote on June 26, 1971 in her diary, "It is one thing to dream of Utopias, it is another thing to try and work them out" (Ellsberg 2008: 493). However, consistently over 75 years, the Catholic Worker keep trying. To that end, environmental morality is enacted by the Catholic Worker through the three strands of the Green Revolution.

"clarification of thought"

Since the 1930s, the *Catholic Worker* has printed articles on agrarianism, the environment, environmental beauty, organic and biodynamic methods of gardening, book recommendations and reviews of E.F. Schumacher, Sir Albert

Howard, Paul Gilk, Wendell Berry, environmental justice, environmental risk, environmentalism, Thomas Berry and farm updates. Additionally, Catholic Worker farms have published the *Green Revolution/The Mountain Worker, The Catholic Farmer* and the new *Catholic Worker Farmer 'zine* and websites of newer farms.

"hospitality"

The Catholic Worker have always viewed the "country" as healing to those out of work. The farms have provided a place that is restorative and psychologically healing. William James and Henry Thoreau saw green space as necessary and recent psychological research backs up the claims (Berman et al. 2008; Sullivan et al. 2004). Further, there has always been a central importance on nature, especially as contradictory to the wear and tear that cities affect embodied in the critiques of Mumford, Ellul and Simmel (1950). In fact, the title of Dorothy's published diaries, *The Duty of Delight* (Ellsberg 2008), comes from John Ruskin. Ruskin claimed that we have a duty to delight in nature and natural beauty to the point that he proclaimed,

> I think that, of the weaknesses, distresses, vanities, schisms, and sins, which often even in the holiest men, diminish their usefulness, and man their happiness, there would be fewer, if in their struggle with nature fallen, they sought for more aid from nature undestroyed. (Ruskin 1889: 402, gendered language in original)

Wendell Berry (2001a: 69) proclaimed that there is "The Peace of Wild Things,"

> When despair for the world grows in me
> and I wake in the night at the least sound
> in fear of what my life and my children's lives may be,
> I go and lie down where the wood drake
> rests in his beauty on the water, and the great heron feeds.

I come into the peace of wild things
who do not tax their lives with forethought
of grief. I come into the presence of still water.
And I feel above me the day-blind stars
waiting with their light. For a time
I rest in the grace of the world, and am free.

It is an emphasis on conservation and providing natural beauty where the Catholic Worker enact a moral concern for the environment. There has remained a constant necessity in the Catholic Worker to plant flowers, maintain the farms as best as possible with the few resources available. The Catholic Worker have always distinguished between their voluntary poverty and destitution. To that end, the farms have been cared for and groomed and the beauty of the natural enhanced as much as possible to maximize the duty of delight in nature and beauty. Dorothy, quoting Dostoyevsky, would often say that "Beauty will save the world" and she often meant the beauty of nature. They also made that same beauty available to others.

"agronomic universities"

The current explosion of Catholic Worker gardens combined with the continued emergence of farms keeps the idea of communal farms or agronomic universities alive. Throughout, there has been an emphasis on biodynamic and organic methods with a look towards sustainable food provision. While Peter emphasized the local, the Catholic Worker do not romanticize the local. However, by seeking sustainable practices and a focus on the geographic context, the Catholic Worker farms model the need for stability. Global commodity chains and

the current economic system are susceptible to slight fluctuations that have tremendous ripples. By seeking stability, the Catholic Worker farms provide one model for stable communities integrated into the local context, but retaining a larger vision of peace and community.

Really, the strength of the Catholic Worker, especially since Dorothy Day's death, is an interweaving of the Green Revolution braid. Both Murray (1990) and McKanan (2008) look to the agrarian tradition of the Catholic Worker as holding the most potential. McKanan (2008) explicitly states in his concluding remarks, "Though the Catholic Worker has in recent decades been more associated with issues of war and homelessness, the decentralized economics of Peter Maurin's Green Revolution provide one of the most promising solutions to global warming" (p. 221). The original formulation of the Green Revolution spoke of a clarification of thought, hospitality (the works of mercy) and agronomic universities—three cords to make up the braid of the Green Revolution. But what has happened is that each of those involves the others—clarification of thought involves invoking the Gospels, talking about the hospitality of the Irish and monasticism, of other organizations currently and historically like Koinonia, the Community of the Ark, of other chroniclers of the Catholic Worker making similar comparisons like McKanan to the Camphill movement and an emphasis on family, the publications of different farms and houses and individuals. More recently, websites like catholicworker.org, catholicworker.com, pieandcoffee.com and a host of new blogs and books old and

new, continue the writing about agriculture, ecology, genetic engineering, biotech, technological risk and Jacques Ellul amongst other things.

Resistance remains an important part of the clarification of thought whether anti-nuclear or protest for the release of Guantanamo detainees. Hospitality and the physical works of mercy primarily occur in the urban houses of hospitality, but the farms also serve as places of hospitality for the aged, those in need and those needing to recuperate. The psychological benefits of nature continue to be explored (Berman et al. 2008; Sullivan et al. 2004), though the Catholic Worker have lived as if they've known it all along. Finally, the farms themselves continue to emerge and thrive. Some are celebrating 20 and 30 year anniversaries like Strangers and Guests in Maloy, Iowa and Sheepranch, CA and Peter Maurin Farm in Marlboro.

Furthermore, a recognition of nature and "farming in the city" continues to expand. Whether the urban garden in Philly, the Nashville Greenlands ecumenical project of Karl Meyer or the organic garden projects in north St. Louis, they all speak to an interweaving of the three strands. The farms publish and provide hospitality. That which is published talks of farms and hospitality. Furthermore, the farms that provide food also provide clarification of thought by their publications, but also a continuation of the Catholic Worker schools or agronomic universities. The Catholic Worker farms in Iowa recently provided a writing workshop as well as workshops on gardening techniques. The New Hope Farm

outside Dubuque, Iowa boasts probably the closest incarnation of the ideal of the agronomic university ideal yet with an explicit concern for the environment.

One of the major difficulties in chronicling and explaining (and understanding) the Catholic Worker stems from the fact that it is really not a movement at the same time that it is. The Catholic Worker is the people that are touched by it and drawn to the work—that of providing for the poor, enlightening the ignorant and working for peace. For Peter, the goal was to make scholars into workers and workers into scholars. That tension, while still important, pales in comparison to the importance of strong communities and a search for the common good. The Catholic Worker seek this utopia through the enactment of an environmental morality that places the dignity of persons and the common good first.

ENVIRONMENTAL MORALITY AND COMMUNITY

The purpose of an environmental morality, following Ellul, Stivers and Willkinson is twofold. First, it helps mitigate technique and technological utopianism by emphasizing the dignity of people including their labor and capacity for creativity and love. Second, it promotes community well-being advocated by Wilkinson by working toward (with an emphasis on means or process) utopia or the common good.

The sociology of cooperation and utopia provide the basis of argument for

Wilkinson's community well-being factors that all speak to mitigating technique. The importance and central focus is on ensuring human freedom (that technique destroys, manipulates and prevents) and dignity through respect for identity, respect for work and intellect through care. This enacted or lived morality through the environment represent the central key to an environmental morality. Thus, environmental morality—the lived morality of community—is essential for mitigating technique and ensuring community well-being and the common good. Environmental morality ensures addressing the dialectical relationship of human freedom and the common good. Then, if we follow the personalists and Ellul and nonviolent anarchism's argument that means and ends have to resemble one another, environmental morality (that is seeking community well-being or utopia) can potentially bring about a more peaceful world.

The common good, which privileges the dignity of the person above all and is manifested in personalism, distributism, humanism and enacted through morality or care in the regard for the land and concern for the scale of a community, thus resembles utopia. The Catholic Worker agrarian tradition embodies parts of the ideals of the Christian gospels, communitarianism, personalism, anarchism and humanism that all emphasize freedom, the importance of community, relationships, responsibility and autonomy. Furthermore, the cooperation and interpersonal relationships emphasized in the Catholic Worker model of community provide feedback that is counter to a technological society. Also, a technological society

(and therefore, technological morality), is antithetical to the common good (and, therefore, the person) for it undermines dignity (and therefore rights) which undermine moral ends (and means through 'possibility as necessity'). The Catholic Worker farms therefore merely represent a resistance to possibility as necessity and uphold the common good (Maritain 1966: 51).

THE DUAL NATURE OF PEACE

If we seek a more sustainable world that also adheres to those humanistic qualities we deem essential: virtue, justice, humaneness, rationality—we must look to the past. Let's take for instance, art—even that which is abstract and great is only great in relation to that which came before. In design, we look to that which was successful, but also that which failed—there are lessons good and bad to learn from. This is why we study the fall of the Roman Empire. From an environmental standpoint, it's why Jared Diamond's study of failed civilizations in *Collapse* sells so well.

But we look not only for models of how to avoid collapse, but how do we work towards more stable communities and more peaceful communities. As we have seen, large scale models often fail because they remain abstractions. On the other hand, the models of the Catholic Worker do not necessarily inject confidence either. However, as the personalists contend it is our means, more than the ends that matter. The Catholic Worker embody many non-violent anarchist characteris-

tics that Stivers (2008) sees as the only way forward. With an emphasis on decentralization, pacifism, human freedom, the dignity of human persons and a search for a common good, the Catholic Worker can help mitigate technique and the attendant technological utopianism (the belief that technology with solve all problems) and promote strong communities. This is not a model for the rearrangement of states. It is a model that advocates living with them, but not of them.

Peace comes out of the enactment of belief in the dignity of the human person which can also be enacted by care through the land (cf. Stock 2007a). The centrality of nature as healing as well as to the stability of community life promotes peace. That being said, there are two kinds of peace. One is an inner peace that one can come to through relationship, by being cared for, by using one's creative talents, by having a personal savior or living in a supportive community among others. Wendell Berry (2001a: 68) talks of this kind of peace, in "The Want of Peace,"

All goes back to the earth,
and so I do not desire
pride of excess or power,
but the contentments made
by men who have had little:
the fisherman's silence
receiving the river's grace,
the gardener's musing on rows.

I lack the peace of simple things.
I am never wholly in place.
I find no peace or grace.
We sell the world to buy fire,
our way lighted by burning men,
and that has bent my mind
and made me think of darkness

and wish for the dumb life of roots.

The other type of peace is that where communities (and states and nations) live co-operatively and coconstitutively, recognizing the dialectical interrelationship and interdependence related to resources, politics and the environment.

> The Catholic Worker advocate nonviolence in working toward peace. 'Nonviolence' is a word of negative construction, as if the most important thing that could be said about nonviolent action was that it was not something else. Yet that which it negates - violence - is already negative, a subtractor from life. A double negative, in mathematics, gives a positive result. And in fact the thing itself - nonviolence - is entirely positive, as Gandhi said. Yet in English there is no positive word for it. It's as if we were obliged to refer to action as 'non-inaction,' to hope as 'non-hopelessness,' or to faith as 'non-unbelief.' It was in search of a solution to this problem that Gandhi coined his untranslatable 'satyagraha.' (Schell 2003: 350-351)

Schell (2003) attempts to resolve this dilemma by defining nonviolence as 'cooperative power'—collective action based on mutual consent, in contrast to coercive power, which compels action through the threat or use of force. Peace is, therefore, an active and dynamic thing, not just the static absence of war.

> It is also 'the maintenance of an orderly and just society,' wrote [Michael] Howard—orderly in being protected against the violence or extortion of aggressors, and just in being defended against exploitation and abuse by the more powerful. Many writers distinguish between negative peace, which is simply the absence of war, and positive peace, which is the presence of justice. 'Peace can be slavery or it can be freedom; subjugation or liberation,' wrote Norman Cousins [in the 1946 *Modern Man is Obsolete*]. Genuine peace means progress toward a freer and more just world. Johan Galtung developed the concept of 'structural violence' to describe situations of negative peace that have violent and unjust consequences [like poverty, oppression, lack of access to full human dignity, etc]. (Cortright 2008: 6-7)

As he does so often, Wendell Berry (2001b) says it best in his post-9/11 manifesto,

"What leads to peace is not violence but peaceableness, which is not passivity, but an alert, informed, practiced, and active state of being predicated on local self-sufficiency and a human economy." While we are all tempted to envision the good or perfect society, we cannot back ourselves into an imaginative corner that only sees one way forward; this is the major failing of Marxist thought—there is *only* the revolution. The Catholic Worker gives us multiple avenues forward, but they all point, not to *the* good society, but toward a society in which it easier for people to be good.

CONCLUSION

While, I think we all recognize the potential and current crises of our politics, our environment and our community, there is hope. The most wonderful example the Catholic Worker and their farms provide is a perseverance and hope that we educate out of our students and children and ourselves. To recognize dignity in people, to work (at so many levels) for the common good and to protect the environment that is an integral part of that dialectical relationship takes time and effort. An environmental morality is not just an ethic of we should do this that we shout to others, it follows in the tradition of personalism and non-violent anarchism. The Green Revolution is more than farming as we've already seen. The Green Revolution encompasses the whole of the Catholic Worker movement, that which is faith inspired and that which is community inspired. The Catholic Worker's emphasis is

on community, in heaven as it is on earth. The "history" of the Catholic Worker cannot be told as the biography of just Dorothy or just Peter or of just the newspaper and so it is with the farms and gardens. The Catholic Worker are another example of the whole being greater than its parts. Furthermore, they offer one model of how to enact a more peaceful world. As Elise Boulding (2005), the long time peace activist and writer proclaims, "We can't work for something we can't imagine!" (p. 18). The Catholic Worker present us with their imagination of a better world every day.

The beauty of the Worker may be that it is just hitting its stride. The interwoven braid of the Catholic Workers' clarification of thought, hospitality through the works of mercy and the continued resurgence of an ecological and agricultural recognition through farms or articles or book reviews provide a model for what a new community life could look like. The Catholic Worker's program is now more interwoven than any other time with publications discussing history, current affairs, hospitality, prayer and agriculture among other things while the houses provide places for discussion and care of people as well as gardens big and small. The farms continue to emerge with places to provide nature retreats, recuperation, food as well as places of publication, clarification of thought and rural living. As Tom Cornell (Dec 1993 CW: 6) argued soon after his move to Peter Maurin farm,

> We hope to share information with our readers reporting experiments in gardening and small scale agriculture, replicable by anyone with a backyard or a strip of earth by the side of the house, even by city dwellers. In an apartment it is possible to put an herb garden out on the fire escape, just a pot with mar-

> joram, basil and sage, for example. Try an experiment that combines principles of health, economy, beauty and ecological responsibility.

And then in 2007,

> Peter Maurin Farm is not just a garden, not just a house of hospitality on the land. . . . It is an experiment in good and Christian living, with goals beyond our reach. We have never come close, in any of the Catholic Worker farms over these seven decades, to Peter Maurin's ideal of an agronomic university or the self-sustaining cell of that new society we long for. It is enough to keep trying, to keep the vision alive, to keep talking, to keep praying, to keep practicing the Works of Mercy, Corporal and Spiritual. (*CW*, Oct-Nov.)

Success is not measured in the final outcome. A sense of environmental morality permeates the doing, not the hoped for. But so too do community meetings focused on sustainable agriculture, our local chicken coop and potluck dinners. As Dorothy stated in 1976 (*CW*, Sept.:2), "Land trusts, credit unions, cooperatives, decentralization, a redistribution of land—this is the living peace movement today." Collectively we lament the loss of community, but collectively and individually we can also recapture it. And I think we're well on our way.

APPENDIX

A LACK OF CONSENSUS ON "CONSENSUS": PERSISTENCE AND THE CATHOLIC WORKER AS A CONSENSUS SOCIAL MOVEMENT

"Consensus" means many things across academic and political landscapes. Unfortunately, the term lacks theoretical clarity. The overall discussion is further complicated when writers utilize "consensus" in its most basic connotation—that of agreement across a population as in the case of the growing body of consensus social movements literature. The purpose of the following argument is to dissect the various interpretations of consensus social movement, argue they are inadequate and demonstrate how the Catholic Worker might better illustrate a consensus social movement. This article gives clarity to both our use of "consensus social movement" while at the same time more adequately describing one of the longest tenured social movements in the United States.

The Catholic Worker remains one of the longest standing social justice entities in the world as it celebrated its 75th anniversary in 2008. Besides its orientations to social justice, the Catholic Worker remain entrenched in the teachings of the Catholic Church, thus providing a paradox for many outsiders and researchers. As a result of this apparent contradiction, it is difficult to describe exactly what the

Catholic Worker is. By analyzing the Catholic Worker in relationship to the qualities of social movements and new social movements, I will address the convergences and divergences from social movement literature and try to explain what the Catholic Worker is in relationship to mainstream social movement literature. By exploring and exposing the weakness in the current literature concerning consensus social movements, I argue that the Catholic Worker can really be described as a consensus social movement. Furthermore, that same consensus structure allows the Catholic Worker to persist.

I aim to redefine consensus social movement, illustrate how the Catholic Worker cannot be encapsulated by mainstream social movement literature and describe the Catholic Worker as a consensus social movement that also helps explain their persistence. To that end, I present a negative proof of sorts. Following a brief introduction to the Catholic Worker, I describe the use of "consensus" in political and social movement literature. I then introduce the Quaker idea of consensus and the centrality of context through indigenous decision-making. I then demonstrate how the mainstream social movement literature do not explain the Catholic Worker. If not a social or new social movement, they must be something else. That something else is a consensus social movement enacted by the Catholic Worker through their consistent emphasis on process and means, personalism and decentralization. At the same time, the centrality of consensus also helps explain the persistence of the Catholic Worker for 75 years and going.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER

On May 1, 1933, Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin began distributing their newspaper, *The Catholic Worker* to the poor, the hungry, the workers and the unemployed of New York City. The paper addressed the social ills of the day reminiscent of the muckrakers covering labor strikes, poverty, breadlines and lack of appropriate state intervention. Additionally, the *Worker* served as a forum for Maurin's Easy Essays, verses that demonstrated in a straightforward style, the necessity for social change based in papal encyclicals and the historical social teaching of the Church. These Easy Essays, necessary for the "clarification of thought," promoted a three point plan or a "Green Revolution as opposed to the Red Revolution [of Communism]" for broad social change and an opportunity to bring appropriate means to the fight for just ends or more simply, a clear bridge between thought and action.

The publication of the *Catholic Worker* presented the first step in the plan (along with roundtable discussions for the clarification of thought) while hospices or houses of hospitality, similar to the idea of a shelter, represented the second point. Lastly, Maurin proposed a return to communal agricultural living or agronomic universities presciently anticipating the "back to the land" calls of the sixties. The Catholic Worker have often anticipated issues of the mainstream Left. Soon after the publication began, Maurin began inviting those he met on the street to the meagre publication offices for food, drink and discussion. From those first en-

counters emerged a distinct entity of both social justice and demonstration of religious faith rarely equaled in any movement.

CONSENSUS

"Consensus" appears throughout the academic literature with multiple meanings. While much of the consensus literature remains stymied in particular political roadblocks (in other words, consensus is a solution to a point in time problem), it fails to theorize consensus as an operating framework or the modus operandi of a particular legislative body, organization or a social movement (Susskind and Cruikshank 1987; Ozawa 1991). Most notably, consensus implies an overall agreement of either a small group or a nation. Consensus also implies a way of decision-making. Lastly, consensus in the social sciences applies to a type of social movement in which the movement tackles an issue that gathers wide-spread (consensus) support (e.g., MADD against drunk driving). While these various interpretations all mesh with dictionary definitions of consensus, they are all theoretically weak.

The Quakers, one of the United States' historical peace churches, utilize consensus as an integral part of their faith and mechanism for running the church. The formation or carrying out of a Quaker meeting follows specific guidelines, not unlike Robert's Rules of Order,[10] that help to ensure consensus agreement amongst those at a meeting. Despite giving order to the meeting, the similarities in meeting

styles end there. Robert's rules of order dictate a pluralistic, hierarchical approach with the inherent power differentials concluding in majority-rules decisions with compromise a given. Consensus respects the possibility that the minority may be right and provides a framework that respects process over outcomes. The Catholic Worker, especially from the 1960s on, have adopted a decision-making process that incorporates much of the Quaker consensus model with an emphasis on geographic context and tradition similar to indigenous decision-making that help clarify the concept of a consensus social movement and account for their persistence.

Consensus and Political and Social Movements

Western political (and business) models have tried to incorporate consensus decision-making. Lijphart (1998) dissects the difference between consensus democracies (including Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Italy and Portugal) and majority democracies (U.S., UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) and found no real differences on a number of different measures. However, the interesting conclusion reveals that "the structure of consensus democracy may be the *product* of a consensual culture or its *causal agent*" (Lijphart 1998: 107).

Furthermore, Habermasian political analyses maintain consensus as a key political tool (Downey 2006; Dahlberg 2005; Whitworth 2003). For Habermas and similar theorists, "the telos (ultimate purpose) of all rational communication is to reach an understanding or consensus" (Habermas 1984: 11)" (Whitworth 2003:

126). Consensus is a key for coming into a real democracy whereby actual consensus movements would yield a change in personal awareness, educational events, peaceful conflict resolution, a lack of enemies (or better, a recognition of common unity) and an elimination of dichotomous political separation. There is also an emphasis away from the formalized organizations seemingly necessitated by social movement literature, away from hierarchical organizations toward a decentralized society driven by moral imperatives of care for one another that an emphasis on power and politics. Downey (2006) also offers a new vision of consensus movements by offering an historical analysis of post-WWII intergroup decision-making.

CONSENSUS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Klandermans (1988) offers a unique and yet worn description of social movements having a set ideology and in this case consensus refers to a formalized movement that seeks consensus by appropriating other social actors in the form of organizations or individuals into that ideology. Lofland's (1989) initial work on consensus movements revolved around the City Twinning movement. While describing the City Twinning movement as an anti-establishment and apolitical way to oppose nuclear proliferation, Lofland really sets up a straw man in his description of the City Twinning movement as a consensus group. While he lists characterizations of consensus movements including ideology, emotional motifs, core ac-

tivists and an enthusiastic public response he simply describes a contentious social movement that went about their political aims using a different technique. Lofland (1989) admits as much by claiming

> Indeed I argue that *consensus movements are disguised or timid politics* (as politics are classically understood) a way of safely posturing as social movements without the problems of real conflict that genuine—that is, conflict movements—engender. Consensus movements are subterfuge conflict movements; they are derailed dissent and the disguised rebellions of timid rebels. (P. 165, emphasis in original).

These are non-negotiated consensuses; they are moral decisions much like human rights, the Geneva conventions and similar arguments. Who is not for human rights? Lofland, therefore, does not offer any theoretical power in his conception of consensus movements. Lofland essentially describes something new (consensus movement) simply to dismiss it as something old (contentious social movement). Unfortunately, Lofland's disciplinary status gave credence to the idea of consensus movements and the concept proliferated (Downey 2006; McCarthy and Wolfson 1992; Michaelson 1994; Schwartz et al. 1992).

McCarthy and Wolfson (1992) utilize Lofland's (1989) definition that also requires a geographic bounding. They both fail to theorize how a consensus movement can be non-conflictual and conflictual at the same time. The assumption is that social movements must be conflict oriented rather than positively oriented. In other words, a movement must be against something and that change is only negatively (anti-, against-) oriented rather than hopeful or positively oriented. The approach is "This is what's wrong," as opposed to a more utopian, "this is what could

be" orientation. Similarly, Klandermans (1988) consensus movement misses the dynamism and adaptiveness inherent in consensus decision-making from a Western and indigenous model. Just as Piven and Cloward (1977) describe the emphasis of formalized organizations in the movement literature, Klandermans' (1988) description suffers the same assumption.

While Michaelson (1994) offers a better demonstration of a consensus movement in Wangari Maathai's Green Belt Movement, he still relies on the definitions of Lofland (1989) and McCarthy and Wolfson (1992). However, he is clear to recognize the ambiguity, not just of consensus movements, but movements as a whole. He claims that the overwhelming majority of social movement literature is dominated by movements of the combative or conflictual type as opposed to the change-oriented consensus movement. Thus, Michaelson's recognition declaims a homogenous social movement literature and begins to open cracks to allow others that do not adhere to the tripartite assumptions of social movement theorists revolving around resources, opportunities and identities. To this end, I want to recapture the theoretical power of "consensus" as processual and adaptive, primarily due to its focus on the primacy of the dignity of the person, embodied in the Catholic Worker's emphasis on personalism and in other movements' concern over real human rights, not to be confused with legalistic wrangling (see Stivers 2008). The following sections will describe consensus models from the Quakers' models

and indigenous knowledge decision-making that influences and describe the Catholic Worker "model."

QUAKER AND INDIGENOUS DECISION-MAKING

Quaker Consensus

The best example of consensus decision-making comes from the Society of Friends also known as the Quakers. The decision-making process evolves out of their religious rituals, but also the practical application of those rituals to their society oriented business meeting plans. Quaker consensus is based on compassion for the ideas and physical presence of those involved in the meeting (Bacon 1969; Brinton 1950; Hare 1973; Hoffman 1968). As Bacon (1969) describes at length:

> Throughout this loose structure, decisions are made not by voting but by the group as a whole reaching a common conclusion. After discussion—in a monthly meeting for example—a clerk states what he feels to be the sense of the meeting, but if a single Friend feels he cannot unite himself with the group, no decision is made. In the same fashion, a quarterly meeting will not make a decision without the support of all its member groups. The process is slow, but the miracle is that decisions are finally made. (P. 8)

The Quaker aim is unity of thought which can often take an extremely long time. Yet, by taking time to make decisions that are informed by, not just a majority, but often all involved, the decision more appropriately reflects the needs of a given community. This often means waiting for dissenting (that are in the minority) members to reflect for a long time or wait while those in the majority reflect and

come to a different conclusion regarding a certain topic. Hoffman (1968) refers to this as the civilizing dialogue that:

> It incorporates a perception of the relationship of the members to each other and to the issue. In every group (of persons, whether or not Friends) there are some whose views are more weighty than others in respect to any particular issue. The extra weight or trust or respect given to a member may derive from his special knowledge, or his age, or his familiarity with the processes of the meeting; or perhaps the meeting recognizes that for this moment, for reasons not visible, this person has 'had an opening,' a 'movement of the spirit,' an unusual inspiration that enhances his authority. (Hoffman 1968: 10)

Thus, the Quakers recognize the importance of elders or wisdom; that not all opinions weigh equally in decision-making. "It must be remembered, however, that minorities are sometimes right" (Brinton 1950: 33).

Slavery provides the primary example of the Quaker consensus process involves. William Lloyd Garrison, the renown abolitionist and Quaker, became convinced of the moral imperative to eliminate human slavery and slowly began to meet with groups of Friends across the country until the Quakers became known for their abolitionist stance. This evolved into the nonviolent position that we attribute to the Quakers. Here "Non-violence means more than non-killing; it means respect, even reverence. It means caring enough about each member of society to renounce *any* action that will violate him, even if the violation is only to his spirit" (Hoffman 1968: 12). Thus, the Quaker idea of consensus bases itself in care and recognition of the dignity of the person. Not just nonviolence in issues of war, peace and slavery, but a reverence for the ideas of everyone in the human

community such that the minority (politically, human rights, etc.) is not and will not be oppressed physically, emotionally or psychologically.

As Taylor (1996) argues, the world, whether through globalization, increased media connectivity or political maneuvering, has become dominated by a global hegemon or system of ideology that allows people to believe in their own freedom and cede control over individual destiny to the ruling ideas of the ruling class. Unfortunately, the consequences of such a belief (demonstrated by other names and other people like Scott (1998) and Ellul (1969)) are legion. Primary among them is the disintegration of community knowledge or group decision-making processes that involve community members in the direction of their own geopolitical reality. Some of the best examples of consensus emerge from the more anthropological discussions of indigenous decision-making whereby person and community are intertwined and what affects the person effects the community and vice verse.

Indigenous Knowledge

The inclusion of indigenous knowledge to the decision-making process reveals a centuries-long tension between colonizers and the colonized. Really, when any two cultural bodies come into contact with one another, the initial assumption is one of conflict rather than cooperation. Anthropology illuminates this struggle well (Birkes 1999; Cleveland and Soleri 2007; Harris et al. 2001; Hunn et al. 2003; Sillitoe 2007a, 2007b). Indigenous knowledge can encompass scientific, geographic, biological, mathematical or any knowledge that is inherently

embedded in a place or community. Often, the history of colonizing nations whether external (e.g., British rule of India) or internal (e.g., U.S. dominion over Native American tribes) is one of not only physical, but knowledge-based coercion and superiority. While the twentieth century and beyond have yielded amazing technological (in its broadest sense) and political harvests, political actors and powers have often been slow to acknowledge the weaknesses of the colonizing approach to decision-making yielding catastrophic disasters such as the failed states of Africa, immense poverty in much of the U.S. and elsewhere as well as the privileging of corporate interests (political and business) over an appreciation of the person. Here we are confronted with the major contradiction of the capitalistic hegemon or technological society—business and the state are created in the hope of achieving a common good and at the same time, by abandoning the centrality of the human person, the common good becomes an impossibility.

In recent years, it has become politically beneficial to invite and include indigenous knowledge systems to the proverbial (and sometimes) literal table for negotiation. This includes a revised approach to tribal matters for the Commanche (Harris et al. 2001) and a recognition of the simple fact that indigenous knowledge emerges from different assumptions (Hunn et al. 2003; Sillitoe 2007a, 2007b). This divide is also characterized by some sociologists of science and technology as the expert-lay divide (Wynne 1996) and often represented in clashes between agricultural experts and farmers (Cleveland and Soleri 2007).

The combination of a Quaker consensus model and a recognition of local knowledge based decision-making contrasts the typical path to change in modern communities. The Catholic Worker offer an interesting insight into a consensus based organization with longevity and amazing stability. By demonstrating, first, how the Catholic Worker do not fit neatly into previous social movement categorizations and typologies, we can examine what a new idea of a consensus movement looks like utilizing Quaker and indigenous models of decision-making as well as illustrate how consensus can possibly help explain the Catholic Worker's persistence.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS LITERATURE AND THE CATHOLIC WORKER

Although the social movement literature traverses far and wide, for expediency's sake, I will utilize McAdam, McCarthy and Zald's (2005) *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings* to frame (no pun intended) the discussion on whether the Catholic Worker is a social movement. The point I want to make is that the Catholic Worker defy easy classification. We can think of this as a negative proof exercise. By showing how the mainstream social movement literature fail to encapsulate the Catholic Worker, then they must be something else. That something else is a redefined consensus social movement based on the Quaker idea of consensus and indigenous decision-making.

To that end, I will discuss separately (although there are inherent overlaps): political opportunities, mobilizing structures and framing processes. McAdam et al. (2005) utilize a larger political process model to shape the overall description of social movements while incorporating resource mobilization theory most prominently in the mobilizing structures categorization. Furthermore, I will then incorporate literature that does not neatly fit the mainstream social movement literature and conclude with a discussion on the necessity of consensus in the social movement literature.

Political Opportunity

Political opportunities refer to the openings or fissures in the polity or civil society that provide pathways or opportunities for movements to emerge, form or mobilize. Major events such as wars, economic depressions, natural disasters and political changes can spark such movement emergence. After Hurricane Katrina, an online movement of bloggers tracked the political and social chaos that the mainstream media were unable to capture. By demonstrating the inability of the extant political and cultural structure to handle disaster, marginal groups and individuals emerged in support of and in protest of that same system that demonstrated such fragility.

It is in response to these kinds of fissures that promote hegemony or unification in movement. The Catholic Worker, in response to the Great Depression, spoke out through the newspaper and actively followed up their words with soup

lines and the houses of hospitality. Despite limited funds, the Catholic Worker demonstrated the "system's illegitimacy" by housing, clothing and feeding those the state could not or would not admit to their rolls. Although a master frame was not necessarily "available," I would argue the the combination of the Catholic social teaching, personalism and the works of mercy represents the creation of a "master frame" or a Catholic Worker theory (Piehl 1982; Coy 2001; McKanan 2008).

Mobilizing Structures

Mobilizing structures include "tactical repertoires," social movement organization (SMO) forms, family units, friendship networks, voluntary associations, work units and elements of state structure that all contribute to various forms of organization (McCarthy 2005). McCarthy (2005) further emphasizes that movements organize differently based on a host of factors. These factors range from access to elites, access to material resources and type of grievance. According to McCarthy and Zald (1977), given that grievances are constant, those political opportunities mentioned above allow movements to finally mobilize resources hitherto unavailable to them including money, communication networks and elite allies. Jenkins (1983) emphasizes the difference that the political opportunity represents is delineating between what resources the movement had available before the opportunity and after.

This mobilization of resources provides new opportunities to organize in addition to the political openings for discourse. Given the new support of outsiders or

constituents (regardless of their commitment levels as long as they offer resources), movements organize often into formalized social movement organizations (SMO). The heart of RMT lies in the theorization of SMO combining to form social movement industries (SMI) while producing social movement careers for those who work in different capacities for similar SMOs within an SMI. Despite token mentions of decentralized or federated organizational structures (McAdam et al. 2005; Jenkins 1983), the emphasis in RMT remains on hierarchical organizational models similar to the lobbyist system in Washington, DC designed to influence the polity. "Formalized organizations divert energies from mass defiance and provide political elites with a forum for propagating symbolic reassurances and thereby demobilizing mass defiance" (Jenkins 1983:544 from Piven and Cloward 1977).

Despite the limitations of resource mobilization theory, the idea of mobilizing structures remains intriguing because it provides analytic tools that help delineate between movements and *types* of movements. The Catholic Worker, although mobilizing in the wake of the Great Depression, is difficult to dismiss as an SMO or even part of an SMI. Although some members of the Catholic Worker have remained affiliated with the Catholic Worker in some capacity most of their lives, it could hardly be called a social movement career; if anything, it more resembles the identity movements. Further, the Catholic Worker are anything but a centralized, well-oiled SMO trying to lobby the mainstream political culture for minor changes. In the spirit of Piven and Cloward (1977), the Catholic Worker remain, as they al-

ways have been, decentralized, probably to a fault. This decentralization helps diminish the threat of institutionalization and bureaucratization.

This has most assuredly hurt the bottom line as evidenced by the multiple entanglements with the IRS. One run in involved the return of interest to the Catholic Worker (refused based on the harm caused by usury) and another on the Catholic Worker's refusal of tax exempt status to prevent ties to the state (Piehl 1982). Although not all Catholic Worker Houses refuse tax exempt status, many do (McKanan 2008). This is just one example of the houses' autonomy representative of their decentralized organization. Despite houses arranged, opened and operated without a collective headquarters, it is not a federated organization as described by (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Although often soliciting help from longer term Catholic Workers, houses are run locally without official support or guidance from any entity or person.

As Jenkins (1983) argues in part, these decentralized movements are better for grassroots movements and

> movement organizations can preserve their decentralized communal structures by adopting restrictions on size, using mutual criticisms to restrain core activists, remaining economically marginal, relying strictly on internal financing, and attempting to reduce knowledge differentials among participants. (P. 542).

For the Catholic Worker, there has never been an explicit restriction on size. However, mutual criticism has been employed most notably following Dorothy Day's death by a few years when the New York house "reprimanded" the Milwaukee

house for allowing women to say Mass despite its contradiction to Church teaching and what Dorothy would approve as truly Catholic Worker-like (Thorn et al. 2001).

The most important aspect of Jenkins' remarks though is about "knowledge differentials." As one of Maurin's keys to the Three Points, roundtable discussions, bringing the intellectual and the worker together for a clarification of thought, promote equality and unity rather than a hierarchy of knowledge which often lead to the hierarchy of organization. Thus, by flattening the knowledge differential, the Catholic Worker could remain decentralized, yet effective.

The Catholic Workers' numbers, though, are affected by changes in the political, social and cultural landscape as again the downturn in readership, houses and farms during World War II demonstrates. The pacifist stance in the face of the Nazis and the bombing of Pearl Harbor was unacceptable to most and, thus, the Catholic Worker lost many of its so-called constituents (Miller 1973). However, those same stances brought new constituents' support in the sixties and later and provided the impetus for new houses, readers and resources (McKanan 2008).

One important aspect of resource mobilization involves constituents. Santoro and McGuire (1997) offer that institutional activists, those that are supportive of certain movements, but located within an institutional setting can often play a pivotal role in pushing the agenda of the movement. Although, no one person has ever explicitly advocated the aims of the Catholic Worker in the corridors of Washington or Wall Street, former Catholic Worker editor and author of *The Other*

America, Michael Harrington, did bring his experiences in the Catholic Worker to bear on the War on Poverty (Piehl 1982).

Social movement community. Buechler's concept of the social movement community, although retaining major aspects of the resource mobilization emphasis on formal organization and SMOs, offers a major insight regarding the initial "recruitment" of participants. Rather than reverting to tactics to increase the rolls and bank accounts, social movement communities rely heavily on "informal networks of politicized individuals with fluid boundaries, flexible leadership structures, and malleable divisions of labor" (McCarthy 2005: 143). The Catholic Worker initially and continue to resemble a social movement community in many ways. The initial publication of 2,500 copies represented a $57 investment by Dorothy Day from a previous magazine writing job while the labor invested included Dorothy's brother and sister, Peter and some friends. From that modest group grew the Catholic Worker assembled from friends, acquaintances, former Communists, atheists, former religious all without set job descriptions or specific direction ranging from cook to editor to night watchmen.

Persistence and social movements. The literature on social movement maintenance and persistence centers around the development and linkages of networks. Suzanne Staggenborg (1998) illustrates how a women's movement organization weathered the conservative political climate of the 1980s through linkages with local and national networks of similar organizations. Thus, by connecting with simi-

lar networks, often including individuals with multiple memberships or affiliations, movements can ride out the (lack of) political opportunity storm, to rise again.

Lindsay (2008) argues that the influx of influential elites into the evangelical movement in addition to those same elites' connection to broad ranging social networks provided stability, growth and persistence to the evangelical movement as a whole. Diani and Rambaldo (2007) also contend that networks, environmental organizations in this case, provide stability and persistence for the environmental movement as a whole. Medvetz (2006) illustrates the material and symbolic cohesive power of a weekly meeting for the conservative political movement. The material power of such a meeting allows the inner circle of the conservatives to physically meet, see one another, discuss important issues and come to resolution. The symbolic power of cohesion rest on conservatives ability to then provide boundaries—this is conservative, this is not. It also provides a symbol of cohesion to those outside the meeting and then reinforces participants self-image. Thus, a weekly meeting provides cohesion and, thus, persistence for the conservative political movement in the U.S.. Contrary to cohesion, Klatch (2004) illustrates how personal animosity, embedded in emotions, led to the dissolution of the Students for a Democratic Society in the late 1960s. Their focus on a narrow agenda, as progressive as it was, also fell victim to personal ideologies that split the group in two and then dissolved. Thus, the literature on persistence agree that networks of interaction and relationships provide a stabilizing force to movements that inspire positive

feelings involving support and consolation that in turn reinforce the stability. These networks are often strengthened through processes similar to consensus that involve unified ideology or frames and personal interactions.

Nepstad (2004) draws on her work with the Ploughshares Movement to argue that high-risk activism like nuclear protest requires a strong community of like minded activists to persist. The emphasis on community as a created asset rather than an acquired one also expands the somewhat limiting resource mobilization literature. Furthermore, we can extend that importance of community to activism, not necessarily high risk, but just as marginal. The Catholic Worker survive on minimal resources, refuse state assistance in most instances, and continue to actively resist the many powers of the state. By creating communities in the Hospitality houses and throughout a social network, the Catholic Worker persist (McKanan 2008).

The decentralized nature of the Catholic Worker combined with the informal networks provided a lasting framework for the Catholic Worker to operate. What truly made/makes the Catholic Worker possible is the set of aims and means or framing that keeps thought and action consistent.

Framing Processes

As mentioned, previously, the framing mechanisms of the Catholic Worker have presented obstacles and openings for affecting social change. For McAdam (2005), framing refers "to the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to

fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action" (p. 6). Thus, framing refers to the philosophical, political and cultural rationale behind the mobilization of a movement—a justification for the actions. For Snow and Benford (Snow and Benford 1992: 137-8), "collective action frames enable activists to articulate and align a vast array of events and experiences so that they hang together in a relatively unified and meaningful fashion."

If we look at the war in Iraq as an example, the frame presented upon approaching the war was that of "weapons of mass destruction" illustrating a clear and present danger to U.S. security. War was justified based on the frames offered. When those frames were found to be false, new frames invoking 9/11 were garnered by the Bush administration. In similar ways, social movements often tweak their frames while adjusting to the political context (McAdam 2005; Zald et al. 2005; Zdravomyslova 2005). Furthermore, frames often take the form of presenting the contradictions of a given context and help illuminate the injustices that a given movement is trying to overcome. These "injustice frames" "redefine accepted social conditions as unjust and assign responsibility for that injustice to individuals and institutions other than its victims. In the process of such redefinition, events and experiences that were once culturally unrelated get linked together" (Tesh 2000: 123). Here again we see how the Catholic Worker's pacifistic stance can at once be polarizing and uniting given certain contexts.

The Catholic Worker combined with the writings of Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin form the theory of the Catholic Worker most explicitly laid out in the "Aims and Means of the Catholic Worker" (*CW*, 2005, May; Holben 1997; Piehl 1982). Arguing against McCarthy et al.'s (2005) contention that formal organizations are better equipped to produce adequate frames necessary for mobilization and retention, the Catholic Worker demonstrate, through Day's journalistic strengths and Maurin's emphasis on clarification of thought, that although the framing and (often passive) mobilization developed simultaneously, one never superseded the other. The framing evolved with further research, historical events and conflicts while the methods and actions rarely varied away from the framing. This continuity in thought and action separates the Catholic Worker from many other movements that fade, dissolve, grow bureaucratically, or end co-opted or continue in a compromised manner.

Furthermore, by drawing on the concrete teachings of the Catholic Church in regards to labor rights, the dignity of work and other social justice related issues in combination with European influenced ideas about just economic structures, decentralized organizational methods and a distrust of the state and authority, the Catholic Worker provided a dynamic and enigmatic frame that attracted the very European and immigrant Church as well as disillusioned radicals. By drawing on diverse, yet parallel work, the Catholic Worker provided a frame that appealed (and continues to appeal) to a diverse group seeking just social change. However,

unlike the chameleon-like transformations of some movements seeking grant dollars, the Catholic Worker, as demonstrated in the constancy of their Aims and Means, hold a "hard" line in regards to their frame.

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

New Social Movements literature emphasizes middle class participation and the intersection of interests, values and consciousness while also focused on meaning and identity (McAdam 2005; Rose 1997; Scott 1990). Using Offe (1985) and Rose (1997) we can compare Traditional or Older Social Movements and "New" Social Movements and then determine where the Catholic Worker fits. Although Offe (1985) explicitly excludes religious-oriented means as non-binding for the wider community, the Catholic Worker's inspiration to many on the Left legitimize their efforts primarily because of the consistency in thought and action. Traditional movements mobilize as classes with selective interests based on individualistic notions of equality in material progress utilizing formalized structures of organization using tactics of persuasion, interest groups politics and confrontational tactics, sometimes resorting to violence.

Labor remains the best and most prolific example of traditional movements. New social movements on the other hand "promote goals that cut across class lines such as gender, race and locality" (Rose 1997: 468), emphasize personal autonomy (i.e. the sacredness of the lifeworld), self-determination and the ability to organize

in informal, egalitarian structures and utilize protest politics. Those who make up labor movements and new social movements also differs. While labor organizations charge dues to their "members," new social movements draw from different constituencies and those in the movement may not directly benefit from a movement's success. For example, the majority of those involved in pushing the limited Land Mine ban in the 1990s were not actually living in war torn countries or villages, but, based on a secular humanistic view of the value of human life, pressured governments and the United Nations to pass such a ban. The best examples of the new social movements continue to be the environmental (Tesh, 2000) and the international justice/anti-globalization movement where the emphasis encourages human rights where those involved are often not directly in harms way.

There remain exceptions. During the 1999 protest in Seattle, one of the enduring images was of longshoremen and radical anarchists peacefully protesting the World Trade Organization together. The organizing politics of new social movements can involve traditional movement members without charging dues or taking membership rolls to management to justify change. The rationale rests on a different assumption. Their concern is not for material gain, but lifestyle gain such as access or protection from harm or, more aptly, protection from modernization.

Although the emphasis on new social movements tries to create labor as a singular and unified historical actor, Calhoun (1993) cautions from such overstatements. By drawing on late 18th and early 19th century movements composed of

similar characteristics of NSMs, Calhoun illustrates the necessity to take a longer historical look at movements as well as keeping movements in context. NSMs resemble one another as a result of their historical period creating a movement field of similarity. Combined with the bleaching of the labor movement (Calhoun could argue, "movements" may be more appropriate here), NSM theorists discount a large amount of information at the expense of seeming novel.

The important thing to take away from Calhoun remains that the emphases on identity, autonomy, non-class or middle class, values, decentralization, consistency in ends and means, unconventional means or multiple commitments are not "new" ideas. Calhoun's argument illustrates that, although the Catholic Worker exhibit attributes of NSM theory, it does not necessarily make them unique. However, their combination of NSM attributes and their religious basis do create an anomaly for NSM theorists and social movement theorists in general. As with labor, religious movements were excluded or stripped of their religious attributes in order to confine them to a political or economic social actor, thus making them more amenable to a secular humanist academia (p. 387-8).

The Catholic Worker demonstrates qualities of both traditional and new social movements as well as remaining an enigma given its combination of traditionally liberal, social justice orientations and conservative, Catholic leanings. Many have discussed this paradox, especially in relationship to the Left, the New Left and Catholic liberal traditions (Boehrer 2001a; Coy 1988; McKanan 2008; Piehl 1982).

However, it goes beyond merely the liberal/conservative dichotomy as the work on NSMs illustrates (Calhoun 1993; Offe 1985; Rose 1997). The Catholic Worker, with a sympathy for the worker, avoided outright economic and political battles, preferring a defense of their Catholicism and pointing the way for other Catholics at first. By extending Catholic teaching to the social and cultural especially in terms of the poor in the middle of the Depression demonstrated aspects of the immigrant Church the largely Protestant country was not accustomed.

Furthermore, by often resisting technological change, state financial help, and nonviolent protest the Catholic Worker refused to be like other movements in their social movement field (Calhoun 1993). The social networks developed via the decentralized organization emphasized community, context and a cross-class approach (Calhoun 1993; Nepstad 2004). Furthermore, those networks have never been catalogued or charged dues to "belong to the Catholic Worker." Although Calhoun dismisses the unity of the labor movement as a figment of social movement theorists' imaginations, labor definitely had some different goals in terms of ensuring certain gains via pay raises, vacation, and other material goods related to the production process. "NSM theorists argue that the production process has imposed new levels of control beyond the spheres of production into consumption, services, and social relations" (Rose 1997: 467). If we look at the writings of Day and Maurin, they anticipate such arguments, as well as Habermas' concerns over the control of the lifeworld (Calhoun 1993: 390), when they refer to the burgeoning

control of bureaucracy and industrialization and militarization as the "machine." Furthermore, Ellul's *technique* and Mumford and Simmel's (1950) concerns over the increasing burden of the city resonate in the Catholic Worker theory. We can also recall Ken Kesey's (1962) "combine" in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest.*

THE CATHOLIC WORKER AND CONSENSUS

Traits of a Consensus Social Movement

Drawing from the Quaker and indigenous knowledge concepts of decision-making we can draw up what a consensus social movement might look like. First, the Quakers and indigenous models privilege process over results. Whether the issue of slavery for the Quakers or an emphasis on local issues for the Commanche, Quaker and indigenous models focus on what goes into the decision-making, not explicitly working for a particular outcome. Second, there is a focus on respect for individuals and opinions. This is explicitly the hope for the Quaker meeting whereby respect for the person is held in the deepest regard. For Quaker and indigenous decision-making, the community and the common good are held in the highest respect. Therefore, disrespect for any person is disrespectful of the whole. Third, there is an emphasis on the local and the community for these two models of decision-making. Garrison had to travel around the country to local meetings of the Quakers to discuss slavery in their particular situation whereas the issue of indigenous (local, embedded) knowledge comes into play in multiple situations.

So if what we mean by a consensus movement is a movement with a focus on process and outcomes, respect for the person and locally based knowledge, then it is time to illustrate how the Catholic Worker operate as a consensus movement and how that contributes to their longevity. The Catholic Worker utilize three primary strategies that address these conditions of a consensus social movement. First, by continually examining what it means to be a Catholic Worker or what the Catholic Worker stand for, known as their annually published Aims and Means, the Catholic Worker embody a consensus oriented dialogue of process, means and ends. Second, the Catholic Worker rely heavily on the French philosophical system of personalism and nonviolent anarchism that emphasizes personal responsibility for people and events. Third, the decentralized organization of the Catholic Worker allow for local issues and local knowledge to be dealt with in a process that privileges the embedded, indigenous culture, politics and community.

For Larry Holben (Holben 1997, see especially pp. 67-70), the Catholic Worker's dedication to non-hierarchical decision-making has gone through two phases. The first is decision-making that is "spontaneous, task-specific, non-compulsory leadership" embodied by Dorothy during her lifetime. While Dorothy would appoint "managers" of the farms and houses, this was most often to try and minimize the dependence on Dorothy of newcomers and the insecure. Consensus is the second type of decision-making employed by the Catholic Worker, often not even explicitly. Holben (1997) emphasizes how difficult "authentic consensus" can

be:

> The demanding requirements of authentic consensus are, of course, completely contrary to our modern Wester focus on the end result, on productivity and efficiency. Such a vision of human interaction presumes that no person is so unimportant that he can be ignored or trampled over. No one can be treated as a means to an end in and of herself. The ultimate goal—whether we call it the revolution of the Kingdom of God—must be able to be enfleshed *now*, in this moment, between us, or we can never claim its viability for some future utopia. (P. 70)

While throughout the 75 plus years of the Catholic Worker there has never existed a board of directors or a set of bylaws, Dorothy had a prominent role in decision-making that was rarely challenged. While she did not relish the role, she begrudgingly accepted it (Ellsberg 2008). However, the idea of the Catholic Worker and how houses and farms have been run has often implicitly depended upon consensus even if formal adoption of Quaker-like methods did not emerge until the Vietnam War-era. Through collaboration with the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Worker houses and farms typically employ some form of consensus decision-making (Holben 1997).

Aims and means and the works of mercy. The Aims and Means of the Catholic Worker are published each May to reiterate to readers and Workers alike, the foundational ideas, hopes for a changed society and the process to work towards such change (*CW*, 2005, May). Since the 1930s, this written declaration has changed, been debated, attacked and honored. It is not static, nor is it binding in any way. The Catholic Worker strive for a society in which finances are more equitably distributed, work is respected along with an inherent change in how

human life is valued. To that end, the Catholic Worker advocate personalism (discussed next), a decentralized society (discussed following personalism) to be achieved through nonviolence, the works of mercy, manual labor and voluntary poverty.

The conclusion of this statement reads: "We must be prepared to accept seeming failure with these aims, for sacrifice and suffering are part of the Christian life. Success, as the world determines it, is not the final criterion for judgments." Thus, success and failure are not prioritized, but the process of living out the works of mercy in pursuit of a society in which it is "easier to be good" are an end in and of themselves. The works of mercy emerge from the New Testament in the Gospel of Matthew whereby Jesus instructs on those who may and may not enter the Kingdom of Heaven. He emphasizes that feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, visiting the prisoner, sheltering the homeless and visiting the sick are Christian duties. The works of mercy anticipate and are reinforced by a valuation of all human life.

Personalism. Personalism is a belief "in taking upon ourselves responsibility for changing conditions to the extent that we are able. By establishing houses of hospitality we take care of as many of those in need as we can by ourselves rather than turning them over to the impersonal *charity* of the state" (Cleaver et al. 1993: 6). Furthermore, personalism advocates direct personal aid to those in need that helps to work in the direction of positive social change and open resistance to the

oppressive social structure (Coy 2001; Holben 1997; McKanan 2008). Holben (1997) argues, "Personalism dares assert that every human life has significance beyond itself and that every person can meaningfully participate in and have an effect upon history" (p. 30).

Personalism also resembles the political theory of nonviolent anarchism. It is the anarchism inspired by Tolstoy, Proudhon and Kropotkin especially that inspired Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin in their vision of the Catholic Worker (Boehrer 2001a; Segers 1978). It is in this expression of communitarian anarchism, with resistance to the state and the value of human freedom at the center, that propelled Day and Maurin toward the anarchic, decentralized structure that has endured since 1933. It is through a purposeful expression of Christian anarchism that the Catholic Worker offer alternatives to a broken society while maintaining a true expression of means towards a similar end (Boehrer 2003). Through this anarchistic orientation, the Catholic Worker resists the state while similarly addressing their values for their ends in the Gospels and a belief in Jesus. Although anarchism in most forms resists authority, the Catholic Worker's adherence to the Catholic Church represent an interesting departure from anarchist thought that also represents the major reason for the ignorance of the Catholic Worker in most anarchist histories (Woodcock 1967). Dorothy saw no conflict again based on the epistemological grounds that the Catholic Worker stand differ drastically from those of most movements and anarchism. Most importantly the overlaps in the Catholic

Church and anarchism's views on work, the dignity of the human person and the primacy of conscience overrode any conflicts that may have arisen.

The strain of Christian Anarchy mentioned above can best be summed up by one of the Catholic Worker leaders that emerged. Aamon Hennacy offered that:

> A Christian-anarchist is . . . one who turns the other cheek, overturns the tables of the moneylenders, and who does not need a cop to tell him how to behave. A Christian-anarchist does not depend on bullets or ballots to achieve his ideal; he achieves that ideal daily by the One Man Revolution with which he faces a decadent, confused and dying world. (Marshall 1993: 83)

For Jacques Ellul (1988), all true anarchism is nonviolent, thus lending itself easily to Christianity. Furthermore, although an anarchic society on its on may be difficult to impossible to achieve given the limits of militarism and imperialism, but that does not preclude the possibility of creating new social models, as proposed by the Catholic Worker.

Decentralization. Finally, the decentralized organization of the Catholic Worker provides a way to address local needs and indigenous knowledge. The aims of the Catholic Worker, based strongly on pacifistic anarchism or personalism (many see them as interchangeable), translated into specific material structures as an organization and their opposition to the economic system of capitalism. Primary to this aim is voluntary poverty that limits the overhead necessary to "maintain" organization. According to Mary Segers (1978):

> It is decentralized and anti-organizational; every house is autonomous and the Catholic Worker does not attempt to perpetuate itself as an institution or organization. Through the years members have come and gone, and writers and readers and workers are held together by common agreement on the

> importance and relevance of the Christian gospels to contemporary social issues. Beyond that, they are free to differ and disagree and to apply the Gospels as each person sees fit. (P. 226)

The Catholic Worker has no party lines or agendas to keep (Coles 1973; Coy 2001). Dorothy Day once described the 'organization' of the Catholic Worker (1983): "We don't have any in the usual sense of the word. Certainly we are not a cooperative, not a settlement house, not a mission. . . . it is a 'revolutionary headquarters'" (p. xiv).

A personalist philosophy emphasizes personal responsibility in order to respond to the local needs of a given context or geographic area. This applies to individuals and to the houses. When a house wrote to Day for guidance she responded, "we can't give you any advice—you will have to work it out yourself" (Betten 1971: 250). The Catholic Worker operates "casually, informally and noncommercially" (Coles 1973: 37). Despite this unification in thought (and some action), the Catholic Worker remains diverse and varied in its execution of the mission of personalism (Betten 1970). Although the New York houses, located in the Bowery section of lower Manhattan, remain the traditional hub philosophically, the multiple houses across the country have different foci. "Like the communes, the houses were also autonomous, but tended to follow the pattern laid out by Dorothy Day's New York House. This provided general unified direction, but allowed each group the incentive to creatively deal with the problems of its own area" (Betten 1970: 720).

One approach to decentralization within the Catholic Worker has been the utilization of land trusts since the early 1970s. Originally, the Catholic Worker farms in West Virginia and California were the only Catholic Worker establishes entrusted (*CW*, 1977, Sept.). Since then other Catholic Worker houses have followed the model that cuts down on tax burdens as well as provides ownership stability to groups that are inherently financially unstable. The land trusts also provide a vehicle towards consensus decision-making among trustees which can include an infinite number of people (http://claim.goldrush.com/~eartha/ea0fps.htm Accessed 1 February 2009). As Dorothy stated in 1976 (*CW,* Sept.: 2), "Land trusts, credit unions, cooperatives, decentralization, a redistribution of land—this is the living peace movement today."

According to historian Mel Piehl (1982), "The Catholic Worker was[/is] a decentralized anarchist movement . . . Although the movement has maintained its basic identity and ideological viewpoint with remarkable consistency through the years, there was also . . . considerable internal diversity and conflict" (pp. x-xi). For example, many of the houses in California focus on issues facing migrant workers, while the house in Raleigh, NC focuses primarily on housing friends and family of death row inmates. The Temenos Catholic Worker in San Francisco works with the sex workers and drug addicts in the neighborhood by providing clean needles and condoms. Other houses focus more on the nonviolent resistance component of the Catholic Worker tradition (see especially the Dublin Catholic Worker 2005 who

are also aligned with the Ploughshares Movement) (Coy 2001). Spickard (2005) illustrates the importance of hose masses to the Los Angeles Catholic Worker similar to Medvetz (2006) and Klatch (2004) on the need for community boundaries for maintenance.

Along with the differentiation between houses, there is differentiation in the houses alignment with the Church, other movements, other religions, etc. Unity Acres farm in New York once tried to write the equivalent of a by-law or mission statement and any house that did not adhere would be excluded and have to sacrifice the title "Catholic Worker." However,

> it runs directly afoul of the genius of the radically decentralized Catholic Worker movement: the fact that nobody ever had to get permission from anybody else to open up a Catholic Worker houses. By the same token, no one has the authority to close down someone else's house or to deny him or her the use of the Catholic Worker name. There simply is no structural basis for decision-making of this sort, to say nothing of actual enforcement of mechanisms. (Coy 2001: 81)

As Boehrer (2001a) contends, "With its combination of personal responsibility, decentralism, voluntary poverty and Catholic identity, the [Catholic Worker] movement has achieved 'a singular status in world anarchism.' [Anarchist author David] DeLeon writes, 'If it did not exist I would have thought it impossible'" (p. 65 from DeLeon 1978: 151).

The categories of aims and means, personalism and decentralization mesh together in practice, but also, together, illustrate the strengths of Catholic Worker consensus dedicated to creating a new social order. The same strengths that have

allowed and encouraged the Catholic Worker to stick to their pacifist stance works toward providing stability and persistence as a consensus movement (Coy 2001).

CONCLUSIONS

Through consistent pursuit of particular aims with a focus on their means including personalism and decentralization, the Catholic Worker focus on process, the value of individual persons and local knowledge. The Catholic Worker, therefore, embody a new kind of consensus social movement that moves beyond a definitional conception of consensus that is rooted in an understanding of Quaker and indigenous decision-making processes. Furthermore, with an emphasis on process rather than outcomes, we can also comprehend how a consensus process as compared to a majority rules process helps explain movement persistence. By focusing on a decentralized network with the same aims and yet rooted in the local the Catholic Worker solidify their chances of maintenance and persistence (Diani and Rambaldo 2007; Klatch 2004; Lindsay 2008; McKanan 2008; Medvetz 2006; Staggenborg 1998).

A theoretically informed concept of consensus social movements is an important contribution for now it allows the social movement literature to appropriately address movements of social change that shy away from contentious political solutions and focus on positive messages of change. The Catholic Worker are simply one example. The anti-globalization movement though is full of

multiple movements focused on positive changes not necessarily just being against globalization (Hawken 2007). Similar to peace studies, where peace scholars have to introduce a new vocabulary not dependent upon war analogies, the social movement literature has an opportunity to embrace a vocabulary of positive, not only contentious, change.

ENDNOTES

[10] Robert's Rules of Order is shorthand for the guidelines of parliamentary procedure adopted by almost any deliberative group that utilizes majority rule decision-making.

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