

The WITNESS

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JANUARY 25, 1945

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JOBS ARE OFTEN
VERY DANGEROUS

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CHURCH AND LABOR NUMBER

SERVICES In Leading Churches

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Weekdays: 7:30, 8 (also 9:15 Holy Days, and 10, Wednesdays), Holy Communion; 9, Morning Prayer; 5, Evening Prayer (Sung).

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Wednesday 11 A.M.—Holy Communion.

THE WITNESS

For Christ and His Church

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8 A.M.—Holy Communion.
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7 P.M.—Young People's Fellowship.
THURSDAYS
9:30 A.M.—Holy Communion.

Rector Tells of Experience In Large War Plant

*He Finds That the Union Is Indispensable
For the Proper Running of a War Industry*

By Edgar L. Tiffany

Rector of the Transfiguration, Buffalo

Buffalo, N. Y.:—From the day we entered the war I felt that I wanted to do something more about it than talk. I was over the line to apply for a chaplaincy. Surely there was something I could do. Here in Buffalo, there was a constant appeal for men to work at war production. I made up my mind what I would try to do. I put on an old suit, a blue shirt of golfing days and went down to the U. S. employment service. It was crowded with "all sorts and conditions of men." I know now for whom I pray. I found a seat on a bench and after several hours my turn came. I explained what I wanted to do in the war effort and felt what others had learned to do I could also. I was pleased that when they found I had gone to Harvard they did not hold that crimson mark against me.

I was referred to the Chevrolet-aviation engine plant No. 2 of General Motors where the Pratt-Whitney engine was being made. After a talk with the personnel department they decided I could best be used in the salvage department. The salvage group in each shift was the final inspection of parts received from production which the latter could not pass on. Salvage tolerances were in most cases slightly more liberal than production figures. From salvage, the disputable parts went to the army inspectors for final acceptance or rejection. Salvage was the link between production and the army-navy. It was exceedingly technical work to learn, involving blue-prints, micrometer readings of all kinds, various gauges, etc., and the memorizing of endless figures applicable to the various parts which came up for inspection.

The irony of the whole thing was that I who in college had taken every and any course to avoid math-

ematics now found myself involved in the most mathematical part of the whole war production effort. Knowing the work was new to me the management was most patient and helpful in every way as they were to all the employees. There were three shifts at the plant—7 A.M. to 3 P.M., then 3 P.M. to 11 P.M., and the last from 11 P.M. to 7 A.M. I had to work on the second shift—from 3 P.M. to 11 P.M.—in order to keep up my church work. I got home about midnight, was up at 8 A.M. doing the church work until 2:30 P.M.

I kept up my parish calls, organization contacts, etc. My vestry stood 100% in back of me in my desire to help in the war effort. Their only concern was as to whether I could stand the racket. I promised if I could not do so I would ask for my immediate release. Incidentally no one at the plant knew I was a clergyman but the head of the personnel department—and my immediate superiors. I did not want any "benefit of clergy" and desired to be accepted and treated the same as all the other employees. There were times at the start when I felt I might have to call it a day. On one stretch from July through September, I went ninety consecutive days without a day off. Sunday was the hard day, getting up for the early service and then returning to work immediately after Sunday dinner.

I felt I was back rowing that last half-mile in the crew—giving everything you had in a sort of mechanical, numb manner. I found the first three months were the hardest. It is a huge plant and my work enabled me to go through it daily with every opportunity for observation.

I was impressed first of all that contrary to many rumors everyone worked steadily and worked hard.

There was no loafing, no stalling, no idling. I was amazed at the technical work done by the women and girls. They all deserved medals for the way they stood by their machines in the beastly hot weather. I was impressed by the fellowship spirit all round—everyone willing to help or give a lift to his neighbor.

Before I started to work, parishioners and friends joked with me about the CIO and whether I would become a member. Let me say with all earnestness that in the months I worked at General Motors, I saw no CIO activities anyone could object



The Rev. Edgar L. Tiffany, rector of the Transfiguration, Buffalo, who writes some of his experiences in a defense plant.

to or any conflict with the management. I was not a member and I worked for several months before a committeeman of the CIO asked me if I were a member or desired to join. There was not a hint of coercion or implied force.

Speaking of committeemen, the CIO had a number of these officials on every shift. It was their business to go through the plant regularly and if a worker had any grievance they settled it or took it up with the management. Many disputes between workers were thus settled at the source. If the CIO had suggestions to make as to how things could be improved, they conferred with the management. The idea was

to have everybody concerned work together in harmony and good will.

Here is a concrete incident of a dispute that arose and was amicably settled. A foreman, newly appointed, and probably to show his authority, ordered all the stools or chairs taken away from the women in one inspection department. Inasmuch as the tables had been built to be seated at, standing for inspection work was not only very tedious, difficult, but downright painful. The women maintained that because their work was made more difficult it was slowing up production at a critical time. The CIO investigated and were convinced the women were right. After conferences with the management the chairs were replaced.

Without some kind of labor organization, it was obvious to me, the women would have been helpless to protest. A great deal of friction comes from the foremen. When a man is promoted to a foreman, he automatically ceases to be a member of the CIO or the union. He has new power and authority. Some of them may be inclined to make it tough for some of the men they worked with. There is bound to be hurt feelings, jealousies, and envies. I understand such a state of affairs sometimes exists in church affairs and activities. Now one important work the CIO did was not simply the protection of the worker against management disputes, but the protection of the worker from injustices originating with the foreman. Frankly, where thousands of different individuals and personalities are concerned I do not see how management could get along without the CIO or its equivalent. To be sure there is frequently mutual suspicion and feeling of injustice on both sides but without the CIO or similar organization the situation would be chaotic and I do not see how management could solve it alone.

One of the things the CIO was insistent upon was what is known as seniority rights of the workers. No matter how much more efficient one man may be than another he must wait until his time comes for increased pay or advancement. The man who has stood the heat and burden of the day comes first. To be sure injustice is done as a result of seniority procedure but much more injustice would be done without it. Abolish it and immediately the weaker, less able person who has worked faithfully for years would be out. It would resolve itself into a survival of the fittest along ruthless lines.

I came to the conclusion after

months of observation that people who thought every CIO official had horns protruding from his cap either were blindly prejudiced or in ignorance did not know what they were talking about. I also want to say a word of the fine job management was doing. Every worker was given every consideration possible and no one was treated as a "hand" but as a human being entitled to respect and a hearing.

I worked until February 1944 when with Lent and confirmation at hand I felt I could not keep it up much longer. I was granted my release and received my army-navy "E," of which I am very humbly proud. Maybe it was only a little but I felt I had made some personal contribution toward the war effort. It was a great experience and, although not a member, the CIO did

race," he said. "Here again, the church is called upon for pioneering."

Alexander anticipated large migrations of Negroes from the South, as an expression of their increasing restlessness over the lack of educational opportunity and the general pattern of race relations. He warned that what happens to minorities in our population will determine the success of our "American democratic dream." "The most hopeful aspect of the race problem in America," he said, is the attitude of the labor movement, particularly the CIO, to problems of minorities in our society. Some of the older unions are equally alert. In the next hundred years the labor movement will make a major contribution to the solution of the problems of the minorities in our democracy."



Members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Washing and shrinking the cloth that goes into men's clothing.

more for me than I can ever do for them and that goes for General Motors and the fine groups of men and women who represent it. And, by the way, for those who think the war is over, I just received notice last week to be prepared at any time to come back to work!

WILL ALEXANDER PRAISES UNIONS

Atlantic City:—One of the greatest opportunities of the church today lies in helping large sections of the Negro population bridge the gap between their life in rural Southern districts and the industrial centers where they will finally settle, Will W. Alexander, director of race relations for the Julius Rosenwald Fund, declared in an address to the Home Missions Council here. "We need to approach Negroes as American citizens and serve them and work with them on integrated programs that reach all citizens regardless of

BISHOP McCONNELL ASKS NEW SOCIAL OUTLOOK

Atlantic City:—A social system which produces "a few men at the top" at the expense of 100 million others violates the rights of man as a citizen of society, Bishop Francis J. McConnell of New York told the national conference on the ministry of the Church to shifting war workers. The Methodist bishop shared the platform with Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union and vice-president of the CIO, and Morse DellPlain, president of the Welsbach Engineering Co. of Philadelphia, in a discussion of full employment after the war. Bishop McConnell said that a policy of every-man-for-himself is not a statesmanlike approach to the post-war concern of eleven million servicemen. In speaking of the Church's part in achieving economic democracy, he stated that the church must justify its results in human terms.

Church and Labor Find They Have Much in Common

Experiment Started in Columbus of Informal Meetings Is Spreading to Other Localities

By John G. Ramsay

Columbus, O.:—A year ago thirty-five clergymen, interfaith and interracial, accepted an invitation to visit and observe the Ohio state CIO convention, and also to sit down and lunch with the officers and delegates of the convention. The response of the delegates was much greater than anticipated. Over two hundred attended the luncheon and over one hundred others desired to attend but had to be disappointed since there was not enough food in the hotel. It was another clear indication that there is a spiritual motivation that makes men and women of labor give unselfishly of their time and energies to build a union. It showed a longing in the hearts of organized labor to be understood and accepted in the spiritual life of the nation.

The luncheon was informal, the clergymen were introduced individually and sat scattered among the labor men so that they were rubbing shoulders with labor. The Rev. Willard Uphaus, secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, gave an inspiring and challenging address. A Catholic priest and the president of the Protestant ministerial association opened and closed the luncheon period with prayers.

There were many requests from the labor delegates from other Ohio cities for help in promoting this kind of fellowship. Many of the local clergy and labor leaders felt a need to know each other. Out of this desire developed another luncheon. Some twenty persons, representing religion and labor, had lunch together in a private dining room at the YWCA. Each person purchased his own lunch at the cafeteria, and, while eating, sat next to someone whom he did not know.

After lunch, each person was asked to introduce himself and frankly state what his convictions were about religion and labor. There was real honesty. Resentments and prejudices were brought out into the open. We were learning to know each other.

The extremes expressed were somewhat as follows: One labor leader told how his minister formulated a vigilante committee to break a union which he, then an employee in a local factory, was helping to build.

Representative of the United Steelworkers "That was twelve years ago," the leader said, "and ever since then I have considered the clergymen to be a bunch of bosses' stooges."

From the clergy, labor learned that some of them had an intellectual understanding of the aims and aspirations of the labor movement, but, as one of the clergymen said, "From what I have read in the newspapers about you men of labor I did not believe you had any high ideals; I was afraid that if I invited you to speak to my congregation you would desecrate the church."

mittee of four, alternating two from religion and two from labor. The first person named was to be the chairman of the committee and to lead the next meeting, at which time he retired from the committee and appointed a new member to take the fourth place, each of the former members stepping up and taking their respective turns as chairman. This has proved to be a very satisfactory method. No one is required to give too much time and each has the opportunity to bring out his own interest for discussion.

The programs have been varied. At one luncheon a rabbi, a priest, and a minister gave the social credos of their respective faiths. The unity of thought expressed bound together the clergy of all faiths. Labor found that these ideals as expressed by religion, were the same as the high aspirations of the labor movement.



The most active among the 150 church and labor leaders to attend the meetings described by Mr. Ramsay recently had their picture taken. They are about equally divided between church and labor, with both the CIO and the AF of L represented and with representatives of Roman, Protestant and Jewish Churches. The tallest of the men in the back row is the Rev. Richard S. Zeisler of Trinity Church, Columbus. Mr. Ramsay, responsible for these informal get-togethers, is at the right end of the line of those standing, while Mrs. Ramsay is seated at the left beside the Rev. Harold Lancaster, Methodist minister of the city.

These extremes showed a real need for fellowship and understanding. At the suggestion of one of the clergymen, a monthly luncheon date was made. Now, labor leaders do speak in the churches; some who have been out of church for years now go to church. Now the clergy do not hesitate to open union mass meetings and conventions with prayer and they know they are welcome to union meetings and conventions.

It was soon learned that it was necessary to have planned discussion programs. Instead of setting up a formal organization the need was met by appointing a rotating com-

At another meeting the ideas of the Steelworkers' Union program for a guaranteed annual wage was the topic for discussion. One of the clergy felt that this program was materialistic (polite for communistic). He proceeded to give a sermon on the theme: "Man does not live by bread alone; ye must be born again." A union lawyer with real love in his heart put the clergyman on the witness stand and began a cross examination. "How do you give this spiritual life to the unemployed father of undernourished children?" The clergyman was not used to having his congregation talk

(Continued on page 18)

If We But Will

by *J. Raymond Walsh*

*Director of Education and
Research of the CIO*

OUT of the welter of issues, real and synthetic of the presidential campaign, the war, the peace and postwar employment emerge as the transcendent anxieties of the people. The war will be won decisively—although the end may be many months away. An enduring peace may be realized—but there is no clear and certain road to it. For Americans confront a difficult task of forging a foreign policy based on the facts of life. The world, as Mr. Wallace and Mr. Willkie have passionately urged, is one. Technology has made it so. The instruments of war now range the world and subject men everywhere to aggression anywhere. National economies are so inter-twined that depression anywhere sends itself everywhere. Communication is so penetrating that ideas released in France, Russia, India or the Argentine agitate men around the globe with the speed of light or sound. Peace, like war, is indivisible. Depression like prosperity is indivisible. Social and political movements jostle against each other relentlessly in a world that has become a huge whispering gallery.

How quickly and smoothly the United States will surrender to these facts and to the further fact of its own enormous power for good and evil remains to be seen. But surrender it must and will. Isolationism in all its variance, economic, political and military—pacifism—nostalgic seclusion—nationalistic imperialism will go. One can only hope that the transition to maturity in international affairs will be made with intelligence and good will.

In a sense, our foreign policy begins at home. Our major contribution to peace will be indirect, taking the form of domestic prosperity which, if we achieve it, will help bring economic well-being to other peoples. And with economic health throughout the world, the tendency to war will be incalculably reduced everywhere.

What about domestic prosperity and jobs after the war? This question can profitably be broken into two parts: employment in the first year or two after war ends, and employment in the decade that will follow.

My own guess is that unemployment will be large in the first period. Under the most favorable circumstances, five or six million people will be involuntarily unemployed, because the physical reconversion of war plants and the necessary trans-

fers and retraining of workers will take time. I say "under the most favorable circumstances," by which I mean that wise public policies on price control, wages, taxation, social security, disposal of government-owned commodities, and use of government-owned plants will be agreed upon. And that the subtle atmosphere called "business confidence" will prevail. But no one in his right mind can assume that these will be the conditions. Rather, if the ignorant and clamorous debate on the Murray-Kilgore proposals for unemployment compensation adequate to sustain consumer spending is an indication, we shall start the postwar in disagreement and confusion. Unemployment will be correspondingly larger, markets for all goods smaller, with all the obvious risks to social stability.

It is not of this phase of postwar however that I wish to write. Rather, the next decade concerns me. Will it be a period of economic stagnation or the expanding prosperity promised us by both parties in the presidential campaign?

A few things are clear. America built a new economy during the war. Prodigious output of war material was added to an undiminished production of consumers goods. Gross production actually doubled and the national income passed \$150,000,000,000 a year, while 11,000,000 of our youngest, strongest men were in the armed services. Allowing for a retention of 2,500,000 servicemen after the war; a voluntary retirement of three to four million women, young and old people; frictional unemployment of 2,000,000 and a reduction of hours to an average of 37 a week, our output in 1946 will reach in 1940 prices \$142,000,000,000, compared with the \$97,000,000,000 in 1940, and at a rate of 3 per cent a year due to technological change and population increase. At once we shall face an unprecedented opportunity and challenge. We must increase our standard of living by an average of 50 per cent or suffer large-scale unemployment and economic defeat. Literally poverty is obsolete in this Protean country of ours. Are we up to that revolutionary challenger?

ONE fact is clear. Americans need that increase in living standards. A year ago Paul V. McNutt, who as federal security administrator ought

to know, estimated that 75 per cent of all Americans needed better diets and 40 million people were living below the diet danger line. Milo Perkins, inventor of the food stamp plan, estimated that in 1939, 20 million Americans were living on an average of five cents worth of food per meal. Men in the armed services were then receiving meals that cost the government on a mass basis three times as much. In a Gallup poll a few days after Pearl Harbor, half of the Americans interviewed said they would like more to eat.

A standard adequate diet has been worked out by dietitians. And we can grow enough of the proper food to give that standard to all Americans—indeed without adding any more land or labor to farming. The need exists. So do the means.

People must eat and, as the federal theater once put it, "A man's gotta have a place to live." The houses of many Americans, however, haunt one's dreams. There are the dwellings of the lovely New England town, Newburyport, Massachusetts, forty per cent of which were found by Harvard researchers to be in bad repairs. There are the hundreds of shacks that constitute the Negro ghettos within the shade of the capitol building in Washington, D. C. Thousands of refugees from the Civil War live in dwellings that defy description in Pig Alley, Tiger Alley, Louse Alley and a score of others. More than half the children born in these wretched houses are illegitimate. Crime and disease flourish.

The United States census bureau tells us that almost half of the 38,000,000 dwelling units in the nation need major repairs, bath, or both. At least one-third of our population is badly housed.

Authorities say that we shall need a million and a half houses each year for a decade after the war. The need, again, exists. So do the materials and the labor to meet them—if we but will.

Americans like education. Yet over half of our schools are one room where a half million youngsters receive all their education in all courses in all grades from one teacher in one room. Our average education among adults is only eight grades and a fraction—patently not enough. We should raise our sites to a high school education or its equivalent for every child in the country—the need again is clear. And the means out of which to build more schools and better schools are abundant, while young people will be available for training as teachers—if we but will.

The army draft is a shocking commentary on the nation's health. One boy out of two in the first 2,000,000 examined was physically unable to pass muster. Rejections still run over 40 per cent I believe. In an average year 225,000 women give birth to children without a doctor's aid. Of the

75,000 stillbirths each year, 30,000 need not die if ordinary medical attention is available. Three out of five counties have no hospital facilities. The story could go on. But the point is the simple one that we need a vast extension of medical facilities. We have the lumber, brick and mortar. We will have the human stuff out of which to educate nurses, dentists and doctors and leap up the ladder of national health in a decade—if we but will.

I say "if we but will." The problem is no longer one of inadequate resources or skills. It is one of engineering consent. It is an educational problem, a political problem, for to translate these possibilities into realities and thus provide jobs for all, we must undertake large public investment and generous public provision for mass consumption. It is stupid and reckless to think that private enterprise can or will do this by itself. The houses we need for example can be supplied up to a million, perhaps, by private purchase and contract. The remaining five million must be subsidized out of government funds for the simple reason that the people who need them can't afford to pay their cost. The same goes for medical care, for hospitals, for schools. And it goes for food too.

Our government must be prepared to function in this wide field, supplementing and invigorating the private economy, if we are to avoid enormous unemployment, poverty in sight of abundance and a social upheaval. It can do so by the use of well-known fiscal measures: monetary action to keep interest rather low, heavy redistributive taxation to keep income on the move, and a general guarantee that public spending will be maintained at a level high enough to sustain full employment.

It is anyone's guess whether and when Americans will summon the will to do this. The Republican orators, in particular, manifested in my opinion an alarming lack of comprehension of the problem. If they actually speak for many mil-

"Quotes"

AN OUTSTANDING and pressing duty of the Church is to convince its members of the necessity of nothing less than a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our economic life. This change can only be effected by accepting as the basis of industrial relations the principle of cooperation in service for the common good, in place of unrestricted competition for private or sectional advantage.

—Resolution of the Anglican Bishops meeting at the Lambeth Conference and later approved by the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church in the United States.

lions of our citizens we face difficult times, until through pain and suffering we learn what we must learn and do what we must do.

All over the world youth stands at the gate of death, "victims of a fate they did not organize, sacrificed at the altar of a destiny they cannot choose." No one who watches their achievement at Dunkirk, Sicily, Normandy, Stalingrad, Bataan

can help feeling a sense of profound humility before them. Theirs is a temper in which pride and courage are equally combined. Is it not clear that only as our achievement in the postwar for those who come after us seeks some genuine proportion to the sacrifices we exact from them, shall we receive acquittal at the bar of history or in the secret places of our own hearts?

Why An Annual Wage?

by Philip Murray

President, Congress of Industrial Organizations

IT TAKES an annual wage to make a sufficient wage. Adequate pay rates over short periods cannot support the worker and his family over slack periods. Insufficient wages over the course



of a year drag down the living standards of the worker and of the community in which he lives. A guaranteed annual wage is not a new idea at this time. Farmers, as a group, have received a guarantee, under federal law, of 90 per cent of parity for a period of two years following the close of the

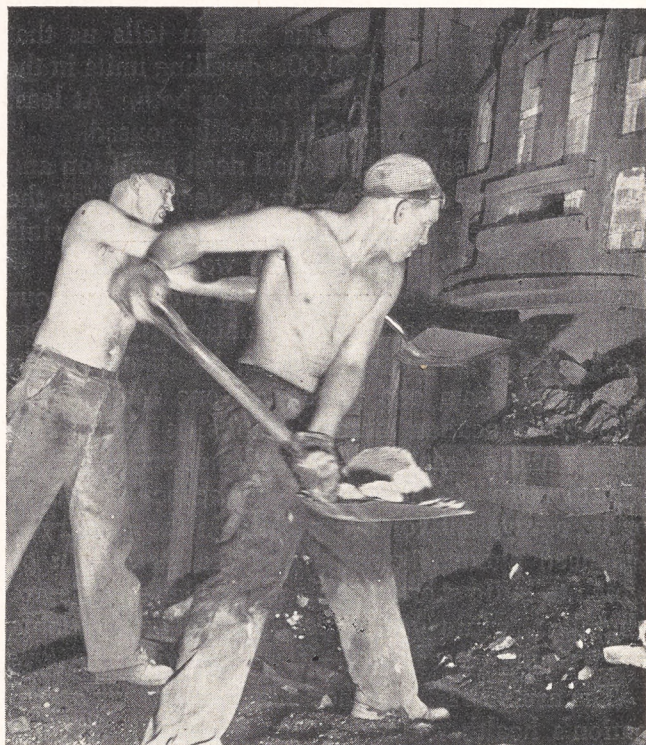
war. Industry, as a group, has also received a substantial guarantee under present tax laws.

In my report to the seventh annual convention of the CIO in November, 1944, I state: "In the interest of assuring continued mass purchasing power which is the key to any sound economy and increasing prosperity, the United Steelworkers of America requested a guaranteed annual wage. . . . The future promised by the steel industry for the post war period is one of darkest depression and widespread unemployment. As against this, the United Steelworkers of America, on the basis of government reports and the professions of government leaders as to the imperative need for full production and full employment in the postwar period, has maintained that our policies must be geared to a premise that there shall be no such depression. Further, the introduction of the guaranteed annual wage would be the strongest propelling factor in assuring the demand for peacetime goods that would guarantee full production and full employment. . . .

"We are convinced that in the interest of con-

page eight:

tinuing the war effort in a manner necessary to accomplish our determined goal of complete defeat of our enemies and to assure the kind of postwar world to which the common people aspire, there must be a successful conclusion to the demands submitted by the CIO and its affiliated unions for an appropriate revision in our national wage policy, the incorporation of guaranteed annual wage provisions in collective bargaining agreements and the improvement of other working conditions."



—Official OWI photo by Palmer

These steelworkers are completing the charge to an open-hearth furnace which has a capacity of about one hundred tons

THE WITNESS — January 25, 1945

President Roosevelt in his message to Congress last January stated as a postwar objective a new bill of rights to include the right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, farms, mines or shops of the nation—a job which would pay enough to provide adequate food, housing, clothing, education and recreation for every American.

Wendell Willkie also advocated the following labor plank for the Republican platform: "Labor also has aspirations which are not only just but indispensable to the health of a society marked by wide economic fluctuations. For instance, an annual wage to those who work in plants with long seasonal or periodic shut-downs seems fair and necessary."

The Kilgore Bill, supported by the CIO, would provide legislation to cushion the results of reconversion cut-backs and lay-offs. It would give temporary relief to twenty million workers now dependent on war production jobs for their livelihood. Airplanes and ships are two of the industries to be most affected by the change-over to peacetime employment. Steel, automobiles and aluminum will also undergo serious reconversion problems affecting the swollen ranks of manpower now engaged in their production.

Trade unionists will stand firm in their demands for job security and steady pay. Immediate measures must provide jobs for those laid off through the cancellation of war contracts. Long-range measures must be initiated to keep our nation in a healthy state of prosperity in years to come. The guaranteed annual wage will form a foundation for this goal.

The demands of the United Steelworkers of America are a test case in this evolutionary process. What will benefit the workers in one industry can be shown to benefit those in other production areas. The Hormel Packing Company, for one, has already demonstrated the practicality of the guaranteed wage on a local scale.

When the industrial worker is prosperous he is able to buy the output of factory, farm and shop, and to provide himself and his family with the services of the professions and of the service trades. He is the basis of our whole economy. As a consumer, his wages furnish our greatest market, the domestic one. This market has been allowed to lag in the past, due to the insecurity and meagre wages of the mass of wage earners. Improper diet and shoddy housing have marred the living level of the richest country in the world.

There has been no legitimate equality of sacrifice during the war years. While profits have

soared and the cost of living has risen greatly, wages have remained frozen to an unrealistic level imposed by the "Little Steel" formula. Increased hours and overtime pay have made it possible for war workers to buy essential goods, but when hours are brought back to normal, base pay rates as they now exist will not allow an adequate budget for the majority of workers in industry. Continued price control plus a guaranteed annual wage are the answer to this future threat.

The American people have watched planes, tanks, ships and guns roll off assembly lines at an incredible rate. They now know that cars, refrigerators, prefabricated homes and washing machines can roll off at an equal rate, and they need these things. Once their income is established at a point which enables them to purchase them, consumer goods will be plentiful and our nation will achieve the comforts to which the dignity of labor entitles it.

Why I Joined Labor

By

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON
*Public Relations Representative
of the CIO*

THE WITNESS has suggested that this article explain why, as a Church woman, I am in the labor movement. The answer is simple. My father and mother taught me that religion includes both one's relationship to God and to man. They made their own the cause of the oppressed and the destitute. They acted on their beliefs. Father was an Episcopal minister as was Mother's father. I grew up in a deeply religious atmosphere permeated with positive acts not only to help individuals, but to work at correcting causes. With that heritage I could not keep religion and social action in separate compartments. In that long past, and while I was still in my teens, the sixty-hour week for girls in Richmond's tobacco factories, and the seven day-week for young men in steel plants bit deep into my conscience.



Later on when a few of us socially minded women went to the legislature to press for laws to com-

pel safe-guarding of machinery, workmen's compensation, protection of children, shorter hours for women—we found only one body of men in Virginia supporting these and other social measures. These men were in the state federation of labor. I learned then to turn to labor unions for help in progressive legislation. Learned too that labor's greatest security lay in strong organization.

In the five years, 1932-37, as secretary of the National Consumers' League, working for state and federal wage and hours laws, social security and the remedial measures introduced under the Roosevelt administration, it became more and more apparent that workers must organize to protect themselves and to effectively press for social legislation.

While I was with the League and in frequent contact with well known labor leaders the CIO came into being. From the first its principles and program thrilled me. Here at long last was a labor movement that demanded opportunity and security for *all* workers—that represented industrial democracy on the broadest scale ever achieved in America.

The CIO called for organization of all workers without discrimination because of race or nationality or creed. It demanded equal pay for equal work whether performed by a white or Negro man, or a woman. It called for plant-wide organization, including every skill and no skills. The very structure of industrial unions called for democracy. Skilled tool makers had to remember the rights of common labor in the plant. The mass of unskilled or semi-skilled workers realized their interdependence with the skilled workers. Unless the interests of all were looked to, industrial unions would fall apart.

The industrial union movement worked. In a few years standards of living were raised for millions of working people and their families. Even among the formerly most exploited and submerged groups of workers organization came and brought new hope and opportunity. As Philip Murray said in a message to the Churches, the CIO "philosophy runs simply to this fundamental need: to improve the status of the family life, thereby, of necessity, improving the status of this nation." This philosophy was put into dynamic action.

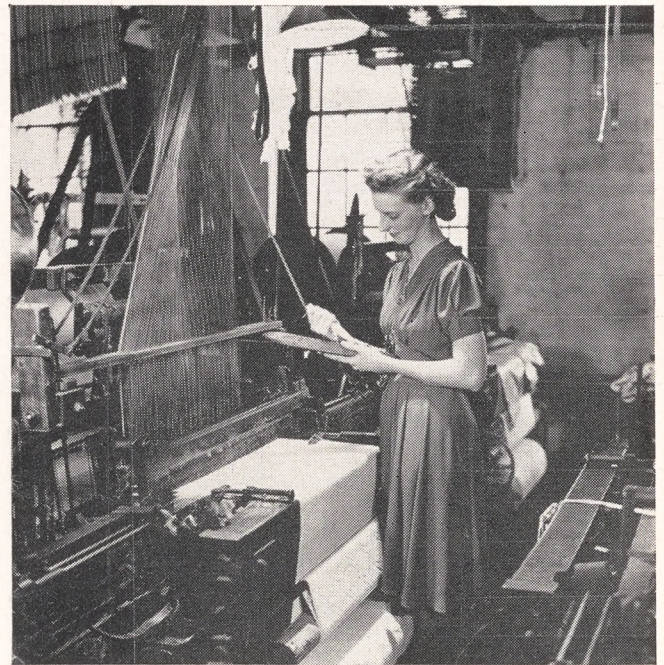
THE CIO was not satisfied to limit its activities to union security, good wages and working conditions. It looked beyond collective bargaining to the society of which working people and their families are part. As the CIO has grown in numbers and power its leadership has thought

more and more in terms of social progress—what is good for *all* the people.

These social concerns of the CIO have been shown in support of federal legislation for the benefit of farmers, for the farm security administration and for low interest loans to small farmers, for conservation of soil, forests, water, and other natural resources, for aid to education, extension of social security benefits to new groups of people, for low cost housing for both city and country people. The CIO has supported every measure for prosecution of the war, and consistently urged adequate provisions for returning servicemen.

No organization in America has shown a more intense and practical interest in this country's responsibility in helping secure a just and lasting peace, or made more insistent and practical suggestions for full employment in the postwar period.

Small wonder that the CIO has attracted so many professional people of strong social sym-



A textile worker changes her shuttle in a towel factory

pathies, and that college professors, ministers, social workers and government executives are now working for it and its unions. These people might well use the words of Steven Nance of Georgia, who directed the CIO's textile and garment organizing campaign in the south until death took him in 1938. One of Steve's friends, possessed of more prejudice than information concerning the CIO, asked him why he had gone with it. Steve replied, "Because I wanted to do the most good to the greatest number of people in the shortest time."

Get Together

By

ELLIS VAN RIPER

*Vestryman of Calvary, New York, and
Officer of the Transport Workers Union*

E. STANLEY JONES in his recent book *Christ of the American Road* goes to some length to describe his difficulties during one of his preaching missions to contact the leaders of organized labor through the local churches or churchmen. He found out as he inquired further that there was a wide gulf between them and that no attempt was being made to bring them closer together. He found after meeting some of the leaders of labor however that there were many men of deep spiritual convictions among them and the gap was an artificial one that did not represent a wide separation of views or objectives.

It certainly is true that many churchmen are misinformed when it comes to the question of organized labor. In far too many cases it has become a hysterical matter and reason no longer is the ruling factor in making any decisions. Many within the Church have been piously saying that when Christ was in the wilderness that he emphatically rejected the material solution to the problems of his people but such was not the case. He did say that "man shall not live by bread *alone*." Many of these same churchmen seem to have censored out of their Bibles the challenging story of the judgment where Christ separates the sheep and the goats on the basis of their deeds in meeting the needs of their fellowmen. These are the same churchmen who are completely taken in by the false claim that labor is a "communist" and revolutionary force and that if one gives support to it they will be in effect supporting anti-Christ.

Likewise there are many labor leaders and in the rank and file who sincerely believe that the Church is virtually a closed shop for reaction and big business. As a result of this feeling they have studiously avoided any form of contact with it. It should be needless to say that there is some justification for this feeling on the part of both groups and also that it is exaggerated far beyond its true proportions.

Most labor unions have embarked on a campaign to make their membership aware of the issues before the people for the postwar world. They are using the usual means at their command: discussion groups, literature and radio and pictures.

At the same time in many churches discussion groups are now using the findings of the Malvern

and Delaware conferences as a basis for discussions on the post war world. Curiously, it seems to me, somehow we have come to live in compartments. For if you take the trouble to read the findings of these Church conferences and compare them with the program and objectives of the CIO you will be struck by their similarity . . . even in most cases identical wording. Those who care to make this study can secure the Malvern Manifesto and the Delaware report from the CLID, 155 Washington Street, New York 6, and the report of the CIO post war planning committee by writing the national office at 718 Jackson Place N. W., Washington 6. I am sure that if you will read these documents carefully you will discover that the Churches are frequently more radical than labor; and on practically all points in the program the Church and labor have the same common objectives. Why then the gulf between them?

It is of course due to lack of contact and hence of understanding. The need is for a systematic laying of a foundation for fellowship. It would be hard to find a parish today that did not have at least one member of a union. There are many Christians today who need to grow in their experience of Christ and to translate this personal experience into social action. It should be done in every parish through discussion groups. And in doing so we will do well to remember that the plans will be only as good as those who make them. If within those who plan there is lacking that redemptive spirit of Christ little will be accomplished.

The Church and labor are the two institutions that touch the masses. They should be cooperative not competitive. The Church must see the labor movement as a vehicle for social expression of its ideals. The labor movement must see an ally in the Church and be ready to receive its moral and spiritual corrective. We are approaching a people's world and the Church and labor are people's institutions. Division will only postpone the better world ahead.

"Quotes"

NO MERE establishment of an old economic order will suffice. Christ demands a new order in which there shall be a more equitable distribution of material wealth, more certain assurance of security for the unemployed and aged, and, above all, an order which shall substitute the motive of service for the motive of gain.

—Pastoral of the Bishops of the Episcopal Church, 1933.

Our Abstract Virtues

By

KERMIT EBY

*Assistant Director of Research
and Education of the CIO*

THE Bible teaches us to love one another. Jesus of Nazareth lived a life demonstrating love for his fellowmen. Millions of sermons have been preached from the Bible's texts and Jesus' life. No one quarrels with the practice. In fact nothing is more soothing than a minister's regular admonitions on brotherly love. Nor is there any danger to the minister's position if he deals with purely abstract concepts.

Love in the abstract is quite pleasant. It is love in the specific which complicates matters. Let the minister suggest we associate with our social inferiors, that the church is more than a middle-class club, and he soon is dubbed an irresponsible radical.

For a long time I have been bothered about the ease with which we love Negroes in Africa and discriminate against them in the United States. I have never understood why we have no Negroes in the Church communing with the whites; nor why a Negro soul becomes valuable in direct proportion to his distance. Love in the abstract is so beautiful that I hate to disturb the solace it brings. And yet I doubt if we can save our individual or collective souls until we secure the same rights for Negroes — jobs, equal pay, civil rights — as we demand for ourselves.

Justice is another soothing word. The trouble is again our unwillingness to apply it to specific situations. Abstractions in the area of justice are meaningless. Let the minister suggest to his congregation that Brother C — who is paying starvation wages to his workers, has already had his fate sealed. Or let him speak at a union meeting with the same enthusiasm reserved for Rotary luncheons or when he is waited upon by the trustees. (Ministers of my acquaintance have refused to "bless" a union convention for fear of reprisals.)

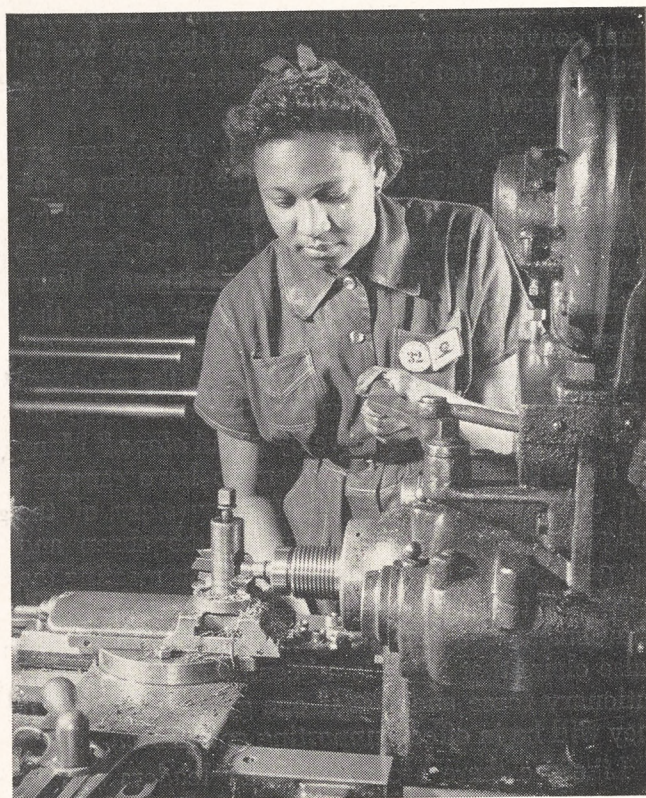
Justice demands specific things. It demands an annual living wage for all those able and willing to work, irrespective of race, creed, sex or color; it demands the utilization of our tremendous productive capacity for the production of peace time goods and services. It demands peace and a total society governed by law not force. These and many others are the criteria for our modern world

page twelve

and the minister who shrinks from proclaiming the truth makes justice a mockery.

Jesus taught us to bring good tidings to the poor. And to bring them good tidings we must go where they are. Today the poor mistrust us (ministers) so much they consider the Church representative of the exploiting classes. Need I say more!

Charity is another over-worked word. Faith, hope and charity, but the greatest of these is charity. Much emphasis is placed on charity at Christmas time. Christmas baskets are considered by some a solution to our economic problems. During the depression and today we have community funds and government relief — commercialized



—Official OWI photo by Liberman
Anna C. Marchand is one of the thousands of young workers who are now on jobs in war plants. She is undersizing bushings in the aircraft factory of a large eastern navy yard

charity. Certainly if we can systematize our relief we can systematize our production.

The supreme test of our economy will come when the war ends; when we face unemployment, breadlines and competition for jobs. Now is the time to prepare for the challenges of tomorrow. This edition of THE WITNESS is an indication of the church's awareness of the tasks ahead. Awareness must be followed by decision. The hungry are not appeased by promises nor the naked by unused surpluses.

THE WITNESS — January 25, 1945

Churchmen Meet in Cleveland To Plan for Peace

*Dulles Tells Church Conference We Should
Proclaim Goals and Support Them in Europe*

Edited by W. B. Spofford

Cleveland:—The people of Greece, Spain, Belgium, Poland were absent participants in the conference of the commission for a just and durable peace, meeting here January 16-19. Chairman John Foster Dulles, adviser for Governor Dewey on foreign affairs, called upon the government to adopt and proclaim a foreign policy whereby we would actively participate in Europe's problems, and was critical of the "aloofness" of Washington in the Polish and Greek situations. He termed this a "major setback" and a threat to the effectiveness of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. He was seconded in this by Prof. William E. Hocking of Harvard who advocated "prompt and affirmative" action to give meaning to the Proposals so that cooperation between the United Nations may be substituted for the power politics which he stated is being played in Europe. Meanwhile others, more sympathetic with the administration, expressed the conviction that misunderstanding that may now exist between England, the United States and the Soviet Union would undoubtedly be cleared up at the forthcoming conference between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, and charged that those who "rock the boat" by creating distrust of our allies were actually playing into the hands of our enemies who hope to be saved from

inevitable defeat by driving a wedge between the big three nations.

More than 500 delegates, representing all of the Protestant Churches, attended the conference, the first full meeting of the commission to be held since the Delaware conference in 1942. There are 29 men and women present representing the Episcopal Church.

Four "principles of conduct" were urged by Mr. Dulles to bring collaboration "out of the realm of theory into that of reality," as follows:

Our government should adopt and publicly proclaim its long-range goals. These should stem from our Christian tradition and be such as to inspire and unify us.

Our government should not merely talk about ideals. It must get down in to the arena and fearlessly and skilfully battle for them.

Our government must, however, battle for its ideals under conditions such that "no particular setback need be accepted as definite."

Our electorate demanding the foregoing of its government must judge its government accordingly. It should not judge it merely by the immediate results attained. It must rather judge it by its announced long-term objectives, by whether it works competently to achieve them and by whether it brings into actual functioning pro-

cedures of peaceful change so that the world may evolve away from present harsh necessities.

Professor Hocking recommended united Church support of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals on the ground that if they were rejected no world order of any kind would be possible for a long time.

He urged the conference to call on the government to advocate a program of international agreement on ultimate autonomy for colonial areas and peoples, and an international bill of rights or some other set of principles to safeguard religious and intellectual freedom.

For the peace settlement with Germany, Dr. Hocking recommended that only those responsible for crimes should be punished; that Germany should not be dismembered into separate states, and that the anti-Nazi forces inside Germany should be strengthened. In the Far East he advocated a fully independent China; Philippine independence; a place for Japan in "the comity of nations" and recognition of her economic needs; recognition of Russia's importance in the Far East, and modification of American immigration laws to end discrimination against Orientals.

The Rev. Walter Horton, professor of Christian theology at the Oberlin graduate school of theology, urged the Churches set up a permanent organization to deal with peace problems. He said they should not isolate themselves from world politics but should mobilize their members on moral issues.

There was much lively debate throughout the conference between Dumbarton Oaks supporters and those whose strategy was to have the Proposals given only conditional en-

Members of the National Maritime Union who have the job of delivering the goods relax at the Seamen's Church Institute in Los Angeles. Superintendent Robert B. Gooden, Jr., son of Bishop Gooden, is standing at the right.



dorsement since they were aware that they could not have them disapproved. The final result was unconditional support of the proposals.

Chief spokesmen for the pacifists were Charles Clayton Morrison of Chicago, A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation who argued well but was always thrown back in spite of fairly good support and E. Stanley Jones, former missionary to India. Those urging that the Proposals should be given unconditional support kept a positive attitude throughout the debate and were represented by excellent speakers. Episcopalian John J. Parker, judge of the circuit court of appeals, stated that "if we wait for the attainment of perfectionist plans it would bring the defeat of all our dreams. Our choice is not between Dumbarton Oaks and perfection but between Dumbarton Oaks or nothing." Another Episcopalian, Charles P. Taft, likewise warned the delegates against indulging in perfectionist statements. Meanwhile Mr. Dulles expressed the opinion that "there isn't going to be any peace conference" and that the question before the Churches is "whether we want our government to sit in on the peace conference that is going on today and every day. What we should get out of our minds completely is the idea that there is going to be a peace conference at some future day when representatives of the nations will gather in some mirrored hall like Versailles with a blank sheet of paper before them upon which to write the peace." He stated further that the U. S. government "has in effect withdrawn from the peace conference" and he placed the responsibility upon the people of the country who have not demanded that their government should take its place in the "peace conference" that in reality is now going on.

One of the tense moments during the conference was when Dr. Morrison was arguing for conditional endorsement of the Proposals, with the president of the Federal Council, Bishop Oxnam, presiding. At the conclusion of Morrison's address, Bishop Oxnam accused the speaker of claiming that certain matters were omitted from the Proposals which were in fact written into them in precise language, and he charged the Chicago editor with standing for "devilish purposes." The use of the word "devilish" cause the whole crowd to stir audibly but Bishop Oxnam went on in unruffled fashion.

The complete findings of the con-

ference had not been released when this number of THE WITNESS went to press. There will therefore be a further report next week. But it can be said that this most important of Church conferences did give unconditional support to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

Social Security

New York:—Extension of the government's present social security program to millions not covered by its provisions, including 700,000 to 1,000,000 lay employees of churches, educational and charitable institutions, was urged here by the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches. The committee endorsed the extension of old age and survivors insurance to agricultural workers, domestic servants, employees of non-profit organizations, and the self-employed, and called for inclusion of the churches in a Federal social security plan offering protection to their lay workers. "We believe that such a program can be operated without impairing in any way the rights and freedoms of the churches," the committee's resolution stated.

It was pointed out that selective service experience has revealed that the standard of health in America is not adequate, and that a government study indicated 92 per cent of the population needed some assistance in meeting the cost of medical care. The committee recommended a "sound plan of public insurance." It urged "that the churches be unequivocal in giving guidance to the nation in the program of broad social welfare which social security legislation represents."

Temple Memorial

Baltimore:—A memorial service for Archbishop Temple was held at St. Paul's last Sunday, January 21,

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with the sermon by the Rev. Charles W. Lowry of Washington as the preacher. He studied under the late Archbishop and was closely associated with him during his stay in England. Dr. Lowry is to be one of the contributors to the Archbishop Temple number of THE WITNESS which will be our next issue. Others to contribute are Dean David Robert of Union Seminary; the Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher, the Rev. Richard Emrich and the Rev. Massey H. Shepherd of the Episcopal Theological School; Dean Willard Sperry of Harvard and Mrs. Reinhold Niebuhr of Barnard College. This number will be followed by the series on God and Our World which will be used in many parishes for Lenten studies. Those wishing extra copies of the Temple number must send their orders at once to THE WITNESS, 135 Liberty St., New York 6.

Attacks Vatican

Moscow (by wireless):—Replying to the *London Catholic Times'* defense of the Pope's Christmas address, Pravda said, "The *Catholic Times* sees an alleged genuine democracy in the Vatican because 'it does not direct special accusation against a specific power' — in this case, Hitlerite Germany. The journal

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HATE ?**

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Raymond Swing:

"Here is a calm, reasonable refutation of the evidence usually marshalled against the Jews. The cure for anti-Semitism is chiefly the responsibility of non-Jews. The man who instinctively detests race prejudice can here find the factual basis for his position. The man of bigotry, if he can be induced to read it, will have a hard time thereafter even to state his views."

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says the Soviet should be thankful the Pope prefers the work of conciliation rather than condemnation. So the *Catholic Times'* so-called genuine democracy is expressed in reconciliation with fascism."

Joint Council

London (by wireless): — When Bishop Geoffrey Fisher becomes Archbishop of Canterbury, he will retain his chairmanship of the Joint Christian Council, composed of Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Free Churchmen cooperating on social and religious matters.

Dumbarton Oaks

New York:—Approval of the security proposals made at Dumbarton Oaks was announced here by the United Christian Council for Democracy, composed of six official denominational social action groups. The council urged several specific modifications, amendments, and additions in the final charter. The state department was called upon for "prompt action in opening the proposals, with all suggestions for their amending and completion, to full discussion by the United Nations, convened in early conference if that be at all practicable." The social action groups urged that the

organization be established immediately. The Church League for Industrial Democracy represents the Episcopal Church on the Council.

Daring Escape

Chungking (by wireless):—T. Z. Koo, a secretary of the world student Christian federation, has just arrived in Chungking after a daring escape from the Japanese at Shanghai. Koo was scheduled to leave Hongkong by air for America on Dec. 8, 1941, but Pearl Harbor the day before grounded his plane. He hid in Hongkong for three months and then smuggled himself aboard a ship sailing for Shanghai in a Japanese convoy. His identity was discovered just before the ship docked and during the next two years and more he was kept under strict surveillance by the Japanese and was frequently questioned by military authorities. Finally, the Japanese relaxed their vigil, and Koo was able to leave Shanghai.

Most of the student leader's trip through the interior of China was made on foot, often across Japanese lines and guerilla territory, and he had many narrow escapes. By way of Central Honan, he reached Sian, then Chengtu, and at last Chungking after a journey of more than

four months. Living with friends here, Koo is spending his time preaching while he awaits passage to America to resume his duties with the federation. His family is still in Shanghai.

Exchange Clergy

London (by wireless): — Postwar plans of the Church of England include a tentative proposal to appoint special canons for service abroad, with exchange clergymen from the Continent, the British colonies, and the United States taking over places in England. It is hoped that each diocese will be able to arrange one such exchange.

Social Relations

Washington: — Rev. J. Brooke Mosley, former rector of St. Barnabas Church, Cincinnati, recently accepted the position of director of the department of Christian social relations of the diocese of Washington. The diocese aims to improve its social relations work and social responsibilities with full time direction for its department, which includes the supervision of city missions in addition to its other functions. Mosley is a native of Philadelphia and a graduate of Temple University. He received his theological degree from Episcopal Theological School

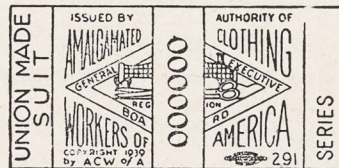
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The nation's clothing workers deserve your support in their fight to keep the sweatshop out of America. You can do your part by demanding that every article of men's clothing you purchase bears the union label of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America—your guarantee of clothing manufactured under fair labor standards, by skilled union craftsmen.

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in 1940, and is an alumnus of both summer and winter sessions of the Graduate School of Applied Religion.

Another Bishop?

Albany:—Bishop Oldham called a special meeting of the Diocesan convention, "for counsel and advice relative to the desirability of episcopal assistance," Jan. 23, at the cathedral in Albany.

Bishop's Son Honored

New York:—Commander John Stewart Mosher, USNR, son of the late Bishop Gouverneur Mosher of the Philippines, has been awarded the Legion of Merit medal for "exceptionally meritorious service in organizing and directing the work of a section of the Amphibious Force."

Attacks Vatican

Moscow (by wireless):—Izvestia, official Soviet newspaper, has charged the Vatican with supporting Polish reactionaries in London who are vainly trying to influence Allied opinion against the Soviet Union. "The Vatican organ, Osservatore Romano," Izvestia said, "is very sorry to hear the proposal for the return to Poland of a number of

pieces of territory now included in Germany. The Vatican, in its 'mercy' to Germany goes so far as not to risk offending Germany, even in the interest of its Polish emigre flock. Doubtless, Hitler is pleased by the Vatican's fervor, but it displeases the peoples fighting for life and liberty. From the beginning, Vatican policy has been contrary to the basic interests of freedom-loving peoples."

Paintings Exhibit

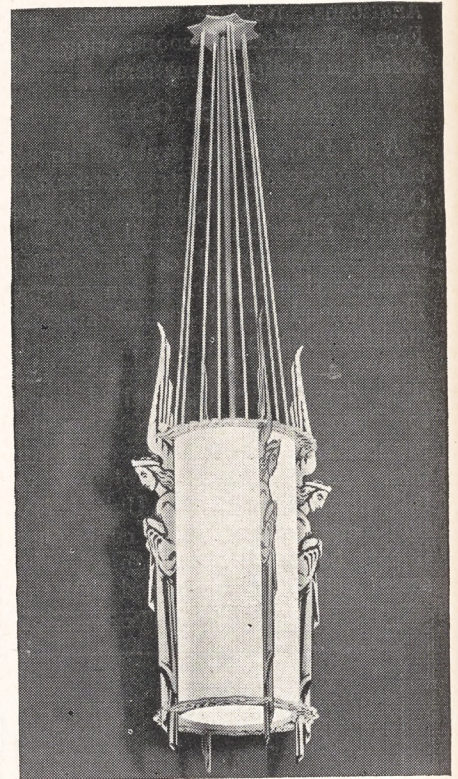
New York:—Church paintings by the young French artist, Bernard Lamotte, will be exhibited in the ecclesiastical department of Black, Starr and Gorham on Feb. 19, and will continue for two weeks. The canvasses were commissioned for the DeBeers collection. Mr. Lamotte travelled some 17,000 miles from Connecticut to California, painting "portraits of churches" in the background of life and color of the surrounding communities.

Successful Canvass

Larchmont, N. Y.:—St. John's Church has had the most successful budget campaign of its history. For the year 1944, which has been a normal year, there were 381 subscriptions totaling \$16,623 but for 1945

there are 480 subscriptions totaling \$24,064 with a few more still coming in. This represents a 25% increase in the number of subscriptions and a 44% increase in the total subscribed income.

Some of the increase is no doubt due to the deeper interest in things spiritual which every parish has felt together with the obvious fact that



Plastics in Church Lighting

Rambusch Lantern No. 11-G-165, first made for St. Francis of Assisi Church, New York City, has proved so popular that mass production methods are being installed. Costs are down to one-half and shipping costs are down even more. This lantern marks a new development in the science of church interior illumination in that it departs from the use of metal framework and adopts a more practical and serviceable material. The new lantern frames are made from a ligno-cellulose product which is durable, non-corrosive, easy to transport, assemble and install. The new diffusing material is plastic. It is shipped in flat sheets and bent into cylindrical form during assembly.

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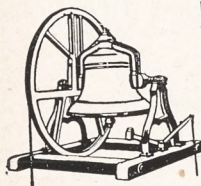
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CHURCH AND LABOR

(Continued from page 5)

back and was at a loss for a reply. Then the union lawyer in another set of questions brought out the fact that missionaries who are sent into foreign fields are interested in giving health and the material things of life to those whom they are endeavoring to give a spiritual message. Another clergyman presented this idea of an annual wage in a sermon to his congregation and permitted a union to publish it in a union paper which reached 800,000 union workers and 200,000 union members in the armed service.

Some months later a rabbi was chairman of the program. His committee planned a dinner meeting which was held in the dining room of a large Protestant church. There were 149 persons present, representing all faiths, colors, and both the CIO and AFL unions. Two clergymen spoke on the theme, "The Church looks at Labor," and two labor leaders of the AFL and one from the CIO spoke on the topic, "Labor looks at the Church."

This is a growing experience and labor and religion are looking forward to the future together. One of the leading clergymen writes, "We are willing and anxious to listen to the problems of both management and labor. While it is true that industrialists have usually been more active members of church than labor leaders, it is likewise true that the purposes of organized labor come closer to the social creeds of the churches than the announced objectives of organized industry. We believe we have a mission to take the way and the spirit of the Hebrew-Christian religion into industrial relations. We hope within the year to have industrialists sitting at the same table with ministers and labor leaders. We have found the labor leaders of Columbus to be men whom we respected and liked. Much of our misunderstanding of them and much of their misunderstanding of us has been wiped away."

This experience is moving out now into other localities and has found a ready response from the leaders of both religion and labor. Requests are now coming from many cities and towns for help in starting fellowship luncheons.

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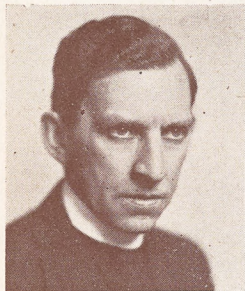
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Talking It Over

By
W. B. SPOFFORD

OUR Church, like practically all others, has for years been issuing forthright pronouncements on "the right of employees to organize and to bargain collectively." General Conventions also have repeatedly urged a better understanding on the part of Church people of the aims and objectives of organized labor. It is in the spirit of these pronouncements that the editors of THE WITNESS asked a number of leaders of labor to contribute to this Church and Labor number.



As I read over these articles and as I meet with labor people I am struck with a marked difference between them and Church people. They want action. You will find it called for in all these articles—the translation of the Christian principles, in which they believe no less than ourselves, into deeds. Church people, in contrast, are inclined to think they have done something brave when they meet comfortably in conference and issue a manifesto setting forth what someone else ought to do. This was brought home to me some years back in a conversation with a couple of bishops on the way to a General Convention. I had just been mixed up in a nasty strike in a mining community. There were beatings, guns, starvation. There was also a complete denial of free speech. So I had been asked—as a parson and therefore presumably less vulnerable—to go into the valley and address a meeting. The bishops debated whether or not I was right in going. There was no question about the justice of the workers' cause; there certainly was no question about their right, as Americans, to hold meetings. Yet one of the bishops was able to sum up the duty of a churchman under such circumstances very simply: "You should assure the workers that you believe in the justice of their cause. Particularly you should tell them that you stand for the right of free speech. But you should make it clear that the Church is above such struggles and tell them that while they were in the mining community to test their rights, that you would be at the altar of the parish church (twenty-five miles away) praying for their success."

YOU will be interested in knowing something about those who have contributed to this number. First, all of them are prominent in the CIO so we want to say, before someone raises the objection, that several leaders of the A.F. of L. were

asked to contribute but said they had more pressing things to do.

The Rev. Edgar L. Tiffany is the rector of the Transfiguration in Buffalo. He tells of his experience as a worker in a war plant.

John G. Ramsay, now a representative of the United Steelworkers Union, is a Presbyterian layman who was for many years active in the church in Bethlehem, Pa. He is a devout Christian whose chief task today is setting up conferences similar to the one he describes on page five.

Dr. J. Raymond Walsh, now director of education and research for the CIO, was formerly on the faculty at Harvard, Dartmouth and Hobart. He is an Episcopalian.

Philip Murray, the president of the CIO, is a Roman Catholic.

Lucy Randolph Mason, public relations representative of the CIO, was formerly the director of the Consumers League. She also is an Episcopalian, is a member of the CLID and served for a number of years on the executive committee of the social service department of the Federal Council of Churches.

Ellis Van Riper is a vestryman of Calvary Church in New York and is the chief shop steward of the Transport Workers Union.

Kermit Eby, formerly a high school principal and teacher, is a graduate of the University of Chicago. He spent a half year in the Orient as a member of the Quakers good will mission. On his return he became the executive secretary of the teachers union in Chicago and is now the assistant director of education and research of the CIO. He is a frequent contributor to magazines on religious subjects.

We are very happy to present their articles and hope that they may make for a clearer understanding of the aims of organized labor on the part of Church people.

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Ours is an organization dedicated to the advancement of men and women who toil for a living. One of the fundamentals adopted at the beginning of the Rubber Workers was a doctrine of brotherly love. A high percentage of our men and women belong to churches of all denominations. Our objectives are constructive and unselfish. It is our intention to cooperate at all times with all groups for the best interests of all Americans.

S. H. DALRYMPLE, *President,*

UNITED RUBBER WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO.