

CATHOLIC PEACEMAKING IN TWENTIETH CENTURY

AMERICAN HISTORY: A LOOK BACK

Charles F. Howlett

Molloy College

A Brief Description of the Peace History Field

What is peace history? It is defined as the historical study of non-violence efforts for peace and justice. Peace history has become widely recognized and accepted as a subfield of the discipline of history, and as part of a larger multidisciplinary approach known as Peace Studies. Peace historians generally see themselves as engaged scholars, involved in the study of peace and war and in efforts to eliminate or at least restrict armaments, conscription, nuclear proliferation, colonialism, racism, sexism, and, of course, war. The work of peace historians presents alternatives to the policies they oppose.

The discipline's basic focus has been historical analysis of peace and anti-war movements and individuals, international relations, and the causes of war and peace. The origins of the study of modern peace history were the result of two important developments in professional scholarship. One was the rapid expansion toward increased specialization overtaking the historical profession associated with significant social forces like the civil rights and feminist movements that impacted American life and the country's historical receptiveness. The other was the mid-1950s peace research movement that applied social scientific techniques in an effort to resolve the problem of global warfare.

Although Cold War consensus mitigated the professional historians' reception to peace history during its initial stages things picked up quickly in the early 1960s. After 1965, in particular, inspired by peace consciousness on campus, the efforts of reputable historians within professional organizations, a growing number of mature historians disillusioned with the war in Vietnam, and newer scholars receiving their doctorates and influenced by New Left ideology began legitimizing the field of peace history as a professional endeavor. Peace history proliferated rapidly from the Vietnam War to the 1980s. Along with this development was the creation of an organization composed of historians interested in the study of peace.

The broad notion of peace as not only the absence of war but also the presence of justice defines the history of the movement. Social and economic equality resonates throughout the story of peace activism. Once again, there are numerous examples highlighting this very point. John Woolman and the Quakers spoke out against war, encouraged friendly relations with the original inhabitants of the land, and called for an end to the pernicious institution of slavery. In antebellum America William Lloyd Garrison and his non-r stance society, pacifists in the American Peace Society, daughters of a South Carolina plantation owner Sarah and Angelina Grimke', and other peacemakers tied their crusade for abolitionism with equal rights for women. After the Civil War Alfred Love and his Universal Peace Union criticized the subjugation and conquest of Native Americans in the west as well as supported the efforts of the Knights of Labor. In the Progressive Era the peace movement's leading lady, Jane Addams, helped establish the settlement house program to assist poor immigrants in their transition to urban-industrial life in America. During World War I critics of capitalism like Eugene Debs and Emma Goldman argued that wars perpetuate social and economic oppression. The interwar years witnessed the birth of new peace organizations such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women's

International League for Peace and Freedom, and the War Resisters League, which along with their proponents Muste, Jane Addams, Norman Thomas, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Kirby Page, Emily Greene Balch, and John Nevin Sayre, led the way in the areas of civil rights, unionization, equal rights for women, and better living conditions in the cities. Peace as justice took on added importance during World War II in defending the rights of Conscientious Objectors, the civil rights struggles of the 1940s to 1960s, the 1960s and 1970s feminist movement, and environmental awareness and anti-nuclear plant campaigns of the 1970s and 1980s.

Emergence of Catholic Peace Making: Day and the Catholic Worker Movement

It was not until the period between the world wars when an emerging Catholic peace movement first appeared. Peace activists among U.S. Catholics adopted an evangelical pacifism which culminated in the Catholic Worker Movement. It was founded on Manhattan's lower East Side in 1933 by Catholic convert and journalist Dorothy Day and the French pacifist Peter Maurin. Born into a lower middle class family in Brooklyn, New York, in the late 1890's, Day grew up in New York, Oakland, California, and Chicago. In 1914, she entered the University of Illinois, where she found comfort in the ideas of the Socialist Party. She did not graduate, but instead returned to New York City where she resided in the immigrant quarter of the Lower East Side. There she began working as a reporter for socialist newspapers and journals, while becoming involved in the suffrage movement. Largely influenced by the ideas and actions of America's first female Nobel Peace Prize recipient Jane Addams (Addams shared the 1931 prize with Columbia University president Nicholas Murray Butler reflecting the traditional narrow-mindedness of organizations and male dominance at that time), Day grew ever more involved in social justice causes after World War I. Reeling from the super-patriotism caused by World War I and marked by the Red Scare of 1919-1920, passage of the restrictive National Origins Act of

1924, and the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan in the early 1920s that singled out Catholics as a threat to the traditional values of White Anglo-Saxon Protestant America, Day's commitment to peace and justice gradually took shape during this decade: one marked by the perils of prosperity and blatant intolerance.

The onset of the Great Depression in 1929 shook the nation's social and economic foundations from top to bottom. It proved to be an important turning point in Day's life. Prior to the depression Day's interest in pacifism began to take on a noticeably religious tone. Yet she was still struggling with trying to balance her growing interest in religion with that of her accepted socialist politics. Throughout the twenties she continued to read the works of Dostoevsky, particularly The Brothers Karamazov, while also seeking quiet meditations in St. Joseph's Church on Sixth Avenue in New York City. In 1932, Day met Maurin, who championed the notion of Catholic populism, voluntary poverty, and small cooperative communities void of political regulations. She now found the religious basis to her pacifism and on May 1, 1933, she was baptized a Roman Catholic and soon established The Catholic Worker. The newspaper began selling for "a penny a copy" in New York City's Union Square. Along with the newspaper also came the movement with the same name. During this transformational process the Gospel of Jesus replaced the socialism of her college days.

The Catholic Worker Movement expanded the definition of peace work by feeding the hungry, nursing the sick, and aiding the homeless and destitute. It fostered and promoted the seeds of the necessity and legitimacy of protest among Catholics. More than anything it was unabashedly Catholic. Faith was at the core of the movement and was unapologetically religious in makeup. The Catholic Worker established its first "house of hospitality" in 1933, a shelter providing direct relief to the unemployed. It became a movement composed of lay people who established

farming communes and hospitality houses in both rural and urban areas. Relying on her journalistic skills, Day traveled about the nation lecturing and reporting on the organizing drives in America's growing industrial sectors. Maurin, likewise, did his part by lecturing on the evils of industrial capitalism – arguing that war could only be eliminated by a total transformation of society into a free association of communities established on the acceptance of voluntary poverty – and writing free verse “Easy Essays” for the organization's monthly paper, The Catholic Worker.

With its official organ, The Catholic Worker, the movement was involved in supporting organizing drives in the mass production industries and a back to the land movement based on subsistence farming. It was not until 1935 that the Movement adopted an explicitly pacifist position when it renounced war in principle as well as in practice. Throughout the thirties, Catholic Worker pacifism became more articulate as it argued against the necessity of violence in the labor movement while urging Catholic Conscientious Objection against all war. The Catholic Worker movement was not well received by a majority of America's Roman Catholics. But it persisted and poverty and pacifism became integral to its social philosophy. The attempt to make the life-giving love of Christ real and to turn the other cheek is most tellingly expressed in the words of Dorothy Day: “....St. Peter disobeyed the law of men and stated that he had to obey God rather than man. Wars today involve total destruction...killing of the innocent....When one is drafted for such war,...when one pays income tax, eighty percent of which goes to support such war, or works where armaments are made, one is participating in this war. We are all involved in war these days. War means hatred and fear. Love casts out fear.” In her view, a social order which depends on profits and which does not consider the nature of human beings' needs, as to living space, food and work, is a bad one and totally inadequate in the modern world.

During World War II Day took issue with the Church's position on "just war." According to her, she was not able to find in the Gospel readings any extenuating conditions that would justify any war. During the war she and her movement served as a vehicle of support for Catholics who upheld the position of conscientious objection. Catholic Conscientious Objectors grew during the course of the war and received comfort from Day's referencing the Sermon on the Mount and other Gospel messages as the philosophical alternative to state-sponsored conscription.

By the 1950s as acts of civil disobedience replaced the more traditional methods of the peace movement – conciliation and compromise or peaceful non-resistance – Day and the Catholic Worker Movement protested in public civil defense drills. Moving from philosophical justifications in opposition to war to active participation in protest movements signified a new trend within Catholic peace circles. Knowingly breaking the law by peaceful demonstration and not resisting going to jail became a trademark of a growing radical Catholic protest movement. For many Catholics this was an awkward moment in their lives, especially following the McCarthy witch hunts of the late 1940s and early 1950s. **(Of great interest is the paradox that Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, a staunch anti-Communist and critic of radicalism, and Day have been recommended for sainthood in the Catholic Church).** Breaking with the more traditional tenets of Catholic conservatism which were cloaked in patriotic platitudes, it was most unusual to follow such a course of action. To dissent publicly on matters of state ran contrary to past practices. In the nineteenth century and following on the heels of World War I and then World War II American Catholic bishops promoted patriotism and encouraged displays of public loyalty in order to demonstrate to a predominantly Protestant nation that immigrant Catholics were truly deserving of the title, citizen. The Catholic Worker Movement was a voice in the wilderness of social protest within the institutional church; it was on the fringe of American

Catholicism without any support from the church itself. Yet its voice became louder and that of Catholic radicalism during the Vietnam War.

Vietnam and the Berrigans

Two very important developments took place during this period that led to changing attitudes among American Catholics. First, the institutional Church underwent dramatic and profound changes resulting from the Second Vatican Council in 1962. Accompanying new styles of worship and changes in the mass, Church leaders “clarified the role of the laity, altered the relationship between the institutional Church and secular state, and more fully embraced the rights of individual conscience.” Equally important, confronted by the reality of a nuclear holocaust Catholics throughout the world were encouraged to work for world peace and to promote human rights in developing nations. Second, by the middle of the twentieth century the changing demographics of American Catholics – now “members of middle-class, mainstream America” – empowered them with a degree of respectability and acceptance not known to their immigrant ancestors. It also gave them a feeling of security when it came to public dissent. Throughout much of United States history American Catholic bishops warned their parishioners to separate their secular feelings from their religious beliefs so as not to upset the anti-Catholic perceptions of the Protestant majority: in the nineteenth century it was the Know-Nothing Party and Masons and in the early twentieth century it was the Ku Klux Klan. With the social upheavals of the 1960s, marked by the Civil Rights movement, anti-Vietnam War protests, and the second revolution in women’s rights, the demographic and institutional changes taking place since World War II challenged “their understanding of their roles as Catholics and as Catholic Americans.”

Nowhere was this more apparent than the Vietnam War when many young American Catholic men were being drafted into the military. The momentum for Catholic protest militancy actually started after the Bay of Pigs incident in 1962 when Day gave her public blessings and subsequent support to the formation of an American PAX group chaired by James Forrest and Howard Everngman. With the draft and increasing objection to the Vietnam War this group would play an important role in aiding and supporting objectors and eventually became better known as the Catholic Peace Fellowship discussed below.

Apart from peacefully protesting the legitimacy and morality of the war in Southeast Asia, Catholic peace activists adopted a far more militant form of civil disobedience: the destruction of draft board files. The Catholic left sparked a long series of draft board raids that began in 1967 and did not terminate until 1972. From coast to coast, similar raids occurred in Boston, New York, Milwaukee, Chicago, Los Angeles, Evanston, Illinois, and San Jose, California. Linking corporate activity to the war, activists also raided corporation offices and factories following much the same style as action against draft boards. In 1967 in Washington, D.C., a group of nine Catholics raided the offices of Dow Chemical Company and exposed official documents tying Dow directly to the manufacture of napalm used in the war. Some months later, another group, calling itself The Beaver 55, scrambled computer tapes at Dow's Midland, Michigan, research center.

The inspiration for these raids had come from the establishment of the Catholic Peace Fellowship (CPF) in the summer of 1964. The organization was founded by Daniel and Philip Berrigan and three former Catholic Worker editors, Thomas Cornell, James Forest, and Martin J. Corbin. Its sponsors included Dorothy Day, John Deely of Commonweal, Gordon Zahn, Thomas Merton, and Msgr. Paul Hanley Furfey. Formed in the spirit of Vatican II, CPF became the only

Catholic peace group that was institutionally connected to non-Catholics—namely, the primarily Protestant, ecumenical Fellowship of Reconciliation. The American FOR was founded during World War I and became the most noted religious-pacifist organization in twentieth century America. Among its most noted members were ministers A.J. Muste, John Nevin Sayre, theologian Reinhold Niebuhr (he left in 1934), Martin Luther King, Jr., perhaps the true inspiration for the modern civil rights movement Bayard Rustin, and the Reverend William Sloane Coffin. The FOR represented the “modern” American peace movement’s emphasis on peace and justice; in other words, in order to achieve peace social justice at home had to be secured. As the Catholic extension of the FOR, CPF emphasized the pacifist traditions of the Catholic Church, participated in direct, non-violent anti-war protests, organized study conferences, and counseled conscientious objectors.

CPF’s success in attempting to disrupt the draft and show the connection between the war and corporate America was in large part due to the efforts of Daniel and Philip Berrigan. They were the first Roman Catholic priests to receive federal prison sentences for their anti-war activities. Daniel was ordained as a Jesuit and Philip was a former Josephite. Influenced by Martin Luther King Jr., and Day’s Catholic Worker Movement, the Berrigans increasingly turned to active non-violence in response to the escalation of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. In the summer of 1965, much to the chagrin of the hawkish Francis Cardinal Spellman, Daniel helped to found the interdenominational Clergy and Laity Concerned about Vietnam.

Philip would soon follow in his older brother’s footsteps. On October 27, 1967, he and three associates carried out a planned raid upon an inner city draft board in Baltimore. The “Baltimore Four,” as they were dubbed, entered the office and grabbed a number of records and poured containers of duck blood on Selective Service files. Shortly after accompanying the historian and

activist Howard Zinn to Hanoi, North Vietnam, Daniel joined his brother and seven others in destroying Selective Service files in Catonsville, Maryland. After alerting the media about their raid, on May 17, 1968, the “Catonsville Nine” entered the draft board and seized some 1-A files. They escaped to an adjacent parking lot, placed the documents in trash containers they had brought, and burned the files using homemade napalm while reciting the Lord’s Prayer. The police then rushed in and arrested them. Their actions gained national attention.

Scheduled to report to federal authorities on April 9, 1970, the brothers chose to go underground. Daniel had been sentenced to three years in jail; Philip had been given three and one-half years, to run concurrently with the six years he had already begun serving for his first draft board incident. After only twelve days Philip, along with a companion from the Baltimore Four, was picked up by authorities. Daniel was later arrested on Block Island (off Rhode Island), having avoided capture for several months. The Berrigans were paroled in 1972.

Throughout these years, the Catholic Left, inspired by the Berrigans’ actions, resorted to other targets. An anonymous group raided the Media, Pennsylvania, office of the FBI, expropriating documents that proved the FBI was conducting covert and illegal surveillance of groups and individuals working for social change. Other groups dismantled bomb casings at a York, Pennsylvania, manufacturer, and at Hickam Air Force Base in Hawaii poured blood on secret documents concerning electronic warfare, which was reducing the government’s need for conscripts to continue the war.

Participants in the various raids based their rationale on several events in both religious and secular history. They cited the clearing of moneychangers from the Temple by Jesus and the Boston Tea Party preceding the American Revolution. They held that nothing short of civil disobedience and direct interference with the war machine would be effective. Their most

commonly used phrase was, "...some property has no right to exist," as draft records, computer tapes, surveillance files, industrial war research, and secret files used to further the war and stop the peace effort became fair game for destruction. In the words of one pacifist priest, "It was saner to burn papers rather than children."

Generally, the action communities resisted openly by destroying property and waiting for arrest. Many were willing to follow in the words of Day: ". . . I wish to place myself beside A.J. Muste to show solidarity of purpose with these young men and to point out that we, too, are breaking the law, committing civil disobedience." In many cases, activists invited members of the news media to view the event, so that the group would receive as much publicity as possible. Protestors then used the trials that followed as forums to discuss the war, raise the question of property rights, focus public attention on Vietnam, and challenge the Judiciary to take legal responsibility where the Executive and Legislative would not. Those who went to jail considered incarceration as an essential part of their resistance.

In time this style of disobedience was replaced by more covert activity. Anonymous groups carried out raids taking responsibility at a later date or, in certain instances, not at all. Covert action was just another step in their resistance. Rather than go to jail willingly, they preferred to make the government work for arrest and conviction, thereby demonstrating "that personal and public inconvenience works both ways." If it was an inconvenience to be drafted, it was also an inconvenience to be prevented from implementing such policy. These hit-and-run raids were experiments with "styles of resistance that held the line at destroying property rather than people." While the issue of property destruction did raise many eyebrows within pacifist circles, the question of property rights versus human rights was brought to the attention of millions of

Americans in a very dramatic way. Militant acts of civil disobedience during the Vietnam War added a new chapter to American Catholics struggle for peace and justice.

Nuclear Weapons Protests and Central America

Church-based activism was characteristic of an important strain of the post-Vietnam War peace movement, namely a grassroots anti-nuclear weapons movement mixing religion and politics. In Let Your Life Speak, political scientist Robert D. Holsworth examined the origins of what he terms the “personalist” approach to politics—one emphasizing the responsibility of the individual, the close relationship between personal and political life, and the significance of local community action. Using as his case study the role of anti-nuclear activists in Richmond, Virginia, Holsworth detailed the development of communal action as an approach to political reform in America. As part of the broader context of social reform movements, anti-nuclear activism had its roots in local communities throughout the nation. The wellspring for this action was from religious leaders and church groups whose membership possessed a deep and abiding respect for human life and social justice. The movement for halting the construction of nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons proliferation, Holsworth insisted, can only be understood in terms of the activists’ individual ideas about citizenship, in their efforts to rebuild local communities based on peace and justice, and in the choices that are made. The new direction the 1980’s peace movement took was following how activists internalized their approach to political change—one often guided by religious and moral values.

Considerably, much of the peace and social justice activism in the years after the Vietnam War was defined by its local and grassroots affiliation rather than a dependency on national organizations and media attention. These new efforts also went beyond religious tendencies, although the primary influence still remained the churches. Groups such as the Movement for a

New Society, the Atlantic Life Community, and the Community for Creative Non-violence were dependent on community-based organizing. Direction and organizing was done on the local level and members clung to their grassroots tendencies, namely working for a larger goal within their very own communities. Whether it was protesting nuclear power plants or campaigning against the arms race the organizing, distribution of literature, and mobilization began in the backyards and not the national headquarters in urban centers. Deeply involved in such activities were Catholic radicals from the Vietnam era.

Still very much active in the peace movement after their release from prison, Daniel and Philip Berrigan participated in a series of “Plowshares” (following the biblical injunction to “beat swords into plowshares”) actions to bear witness against the arms race. Plowshares, a peace action group, was formed by the Berrigans on September 9, 1980. With a group of Catholic activists, they broke into a General Electric plant in Pennsylvania and smashed computer keyboards and missile nosecones with hammers and waited there until arrested. Elizabeth McAlister, wife of former priest Philip Berrigan, illegally entered Griffiss Air Force Base in upstate New York, on Thanksgiving Day in 1983. With other protestors they entered the hanger where a B-52 was being outfitted with cruise missiles. Some of the protestors hammered on the bomb bay doors, others poured their own blood on the fuselage, another group spray painted the phrases “320 Hiroshimas,” “Thou Shalt Not Kill” and “If I Had A Hammer” on the bomber, and some taped photos of their children and a “people’s indictment of the air base on the plane’s wings. These “ultra-resisters” were carrying out non-violent acts as part of their own doctrine of individual responsibility.

Another particular example of Catholic peace and justice activism was the formation of resistance movements challenging President Ronald Reagan’s policies in Central America. The

Solidarity Movement, for instance, aimed at promoting religious and humanitarian awareness of the repressive regimes in Central America. Led by many in the Catholic Church, Solidarity gave rise to a number of coordinated groups employing tactics of non-violent civil disobedience to protest U.S. intervention in the Caribbean. The flow of refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala in the 1980s gave rise to the Sanctuary Movement backed by Solidarity. Several hundred churches, synagogues, and communities created community-based legal services to assist refugees seeking political asylum in the United States. The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador was reminiscent of Harriet Tubman's 19th Century Underground Railroad as CISPES transported hundreds of refugees to a safe haven in order to prevent their arrest and deportation. Hundreds of church and community-based organizations established networks from Arizona to Boston.

Catholic peace activists inspired by these actions also helped form Witness for Peace in 1983. This organization placed volunteers trained in nonviolence in besieged towns like Jalapa, Nicaragua where they assisted the victims of war in the battle between the Contras and the Sandinistas. While there they rebuilt damaged schools and clinics and planted crops in burned-out fields. They also returned to the United States with documented stories of rape and murder committed by the Contras who were secretly receiving military aid from the Reagan administration. Relying on "liberation theology," Catholic peace activists encouraged the Church in the U.S. and Latin America to address the issue of repression and to bring to justice the executions of Archbishop Oscar Romero and four nuns. Catholic peace activists used the gospel call for social justice through nonviolence to encourage their church to make governments more accountable for their actions.

Conclusion

What is particularly revealing is that American Catholics were exposed to a variety of social and political protests directed at the war machine beginning with the Catholic Worker Movement in the 1930s and concluding with the anti-nuclear weapons movement and actions in Central America during the 1980s. The civil disobedience and justice efforts of the Catholic Worker Movement eventually set the tone and direction Catholic peace activists took during the Vietnam War and afterwards. Radical Catholic action in the name of peace and justice was illustrated by young Catholic men burning draft cards and destroying draft file registration centers. These types of action persisted into the 1980s with the Plowshares action to damage and destroy nuclear weapons and the facilities developing weapons of mass destruction and the call to action in Central America under the doctrine of “liberation theology.” In many ways these actions were in stark contrast to the more traditional role of American Catholicism based on patriotism and attempts to keep religious and secular matters apart. Those Catholics more inclined to radical activism looked to the bible and church teachings to support their struggle for peace and justice and took comfort in the Second Vatican Council. Perhaps the best lesson we can learn regarding Catholic peace activism in Twentieth Century America is that more and more Catholics became comfortable with protest and were more willing to debate the cost of modern warfare and the morality of nuclear weapons as a measure of self defense as well as what society owes to those less fortunate or suffering from oppressive governments in other parts of the world.

Quoted material and information for this paper can be obtained from the following references:

Allitt, Patrick (1993). *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America, 1950-1985*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Au, William (1985). *The Cross, the Flag, and the Bomb: American Catholics Debate War and Peace, 1960-1983*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Cooney, Robert & Michalowski, Helen. (1987). *The Power of the People: Active Nonviolence in the United States*. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.

Cortright, David. (1993). *Peace Works: The Citizen's Role in Ending the Cold War*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Friedland, Michael B. (1998). "Lift Up Your Voice Like a Trumpet": White Clergy and the Civil Rights and Anti-war Movements, 1954-1973. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Forrest, James. (1986). *Love Is the Measure: A Biography of Dorothy Day*. New York: Paulist Press.

Gelm, Richard J. (1994). *Politics and Religious Authority: American Catholics Since the Second Vatican Council*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Gray, Francine du Plessix. (1970). *Divine Disobedience: Profiles in Catholic Radicalism*. New York: Knopf.

Howlett, Charles F. ed. (2005). *History of the American Peace Movement, 1890-2000: The Emergence of a New Scholarly Discipline*. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Howlett, Charles F. & Lieberman, Robbie (2008, forthcoming). *A History of the American Peace Movement from Colonial Times to the Present*. Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Klejment, Anne & Roberts, Nancy L., eds. (1996). *American Catholic Pacifism: The Influence of Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

McNeal, Patricia. (1978). The American Catholic Peace Movement, 1928-1972. New York: Arno Press.

_____. (1992). Harder than War: Catholic Peacemaking in Twentieth Century America. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Miller, William D. (2005). A Harsh and Dreadful Love: Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement. Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2005.

Moon, Penelope Adams. (2008). "Loyal Sons and Daughters of God? American Catholics Debate Catholic Anti-war Protest." Peace & Change 33, 1-30.

Polner Murray & O'Grady, Jim. (1997). Disarmed and Dangerous: The Radical Lives and Times of Daniel and Philip Berrigan. New York: Basic Books.

Roberts, Nancy (1984). Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Sheehan, Arthur. (1959). Peter Maurin: Gay Believer. Garden City, NY: Hanover House.

Smith, Christian. (1996). Resisting Reagan: The U.S. Central America Peace Movement. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stringfellow, William & Towne, Anthony. (1971). Suspect Tenderness: The Ethics of the Berrigan Witness. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.