

University of Dayton

eCommons

Social Justice Pamphlets

Catholic Organizations and Publications

9-21-1939

Negro Workers in Free America

Francis J. Gilligan

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.udayton.edu/imri_stokes_socialjustice



Part of the [Catholic Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Gilligan, Francis J., "Negro Workers in Free America" (1939). *Social Justice Pamphlets*. 2.
https://ecommons.udayton.edu/imri_stokes_socialjustice/2

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the Catholic Organizations and Publications at eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Social Justice Pamphlets by an authorized administrator of eCommons. For more information, please contact frice1@udayton.edu, mschlangen1@udayton.edu.

NEGRO WORKERS IN FREE AMERICA



SOCIAL ACTION SERIES NO. 17

By

REV. FRANCIS J. GILLIGAN, S.T.D.

The pamphlets in the *Social Action Series*, of which this is the **seventeenth** number, are edited by the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. They represent an effort to present to the general public, and especially to Catholics, a discussion of current economic facts, institutions and proposals in the United States in their relation to Catholic social teaching, particularly as expounded in Pope Pius XI's Encyclical "Forty Years After—Reconstructing the Social Order" (*Quadragesimo Anno*). In the spirit of that Encyclical they are urged upon and recommended to individuals, study clubs, discussion groups and school classes.

COPYRIGHT, 1939, BY THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF ST. PAUL THE APOSTLE
IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED IN THE U. S. A.
BY THE PAULIST PRESS, NEW YORK, N. Y.

NEGRO WORKERS IN FREE AMERICA

By

REV. FRANCIS J. GILLIGAN, S.T.D.



Social Action Series

No. 17

Published for

THE SOCIAL ACTION DEPARTMENT

N. C. W. C.

by

THE PAULIST PRESS

401 WEST 59TH STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y.

FOREWORD

The facts Dr. Gilligan gives regarding the Negro worker are enlightening and deplorable. But since in his own terms, Catholic social teaching is never content with merely deploring evil conditions, he fixes the responsibility for remedying them and defines the obligations of all groups concerned. Dr. Gilligan's study is an important contribution to Catholic social literature.

SOCIAL ACTION DEPARTMENT
NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE



Imprimatur:

✠ JOANNES GREGORIUS MURRAY,
Archiepiscopus Sancti Pauli.

Die 21a Septembris 1939.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED IN THE U. S. A.
BY THE PAULIST PRESS, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Negro Workers in Free America

THE ruthless suppression of minority groups abroad during the past decade has shocked many Americans. We have contrasted our privilege to dwell within a free nation and voiced moral indignation at these practices. Some Europeans, however, suggest that we might first look to the mote in our own eye. The American Negroes acquiesce in that judgment. They number almost twelve million and they constitute one-tenth of the population. They dwell in free America. Yet they are subject to such drastic restrictions that even the super-patriots in the United States speak of "the American Race Problem." This pamphlet will examine that mote in our own eye; or more accurately, one surface of that mote—the status of the Negro worker in the city.

Through more than three centuries, most of the Negroes in America labored on the land. They cultivated in turn the large crops of tobacco, rice, indigo, sugar-cane and cotton. Even today more than one-half of the Negroes in the United States dwell in rural areas. Of that number the overwhelming majority are tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Their economic status is desperate. They incur debts which they never can pay, they enter into contracts, while enjoying no chance of honest contractual rights. They buy on credit from stores controlled by the owners of the land. Their grave condition is indicated by a study recently made of the Negro sharecroppers in Arkansas, published in April, 1939, in *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*, which asserts that the yearly cash income of the average Negro family amounted only to \$296, and the whole economic income, including fuel, food and rent, averaged about \$425 for a family of four persons. The plight of these families is not entirely racial. They have been caught in the toils of a sharecropper economy which weighs almost as heavily upon many white families in the South.¹

However, since the year 1914, there has been a pronounced

¹ See "Our Rural Proletariat," by Rev. Edgar Schmiedeler, O.S.B., Social Action Series. The Paulist Press. 5 cents.

tendency on the part of the Negroes to move towards the cities. Between the years of 1914 and 1919 more than a million Negroes left the farms. Detroit, for example, in 1910 had a colored population of 5,741, while in 1920 its colored population had risen to 40,838, an increase of over 700%; and during the same period the colored population of Chicago increased from 44,103 to 109,458. In Norfolk, Houston, Baltimore, Jacksonville and Atlanta, the Negro population increased more than 20%. Of these Negroes who settled in urban areas, some 70,000 have been able to establish their own businesses. The most outstanding success has been achieved in the field of insurance, one company having at the present time 200,000 policyholders and paying to its clients and beneficiaries nearly a million dollars annually. Unfortunately, though, most Negroes in the cities are dependent upon a pay envelope for a livelihood. The condition of these Negro workers in the city constitutes the basis of this discussion.

I

WHERE DOES THE NEGRO WORK?

The opinion has been advanced that the Negroes would have been decidedly better off if they had remained on the land. The prudent farming of good soil by the owners offers decided advantages over city living. Food and shelter are certain, and the owner enjoys a greater sense of dignity. This proposition is above debate. But such a condition was not the lot of the Negro farmer. During the last twenty-five years, many white families, weary of the hard labor, the primitive living conditions and the lack of the recreational and educational opportunities, migrated towards the cities. The nation had never tried seriously to convince them of the nobility of their vocation on the land. Modern types of advertisements had trained them to thirst after urban comforts. Their shift towards the city was viewed indulgently. So might be that of the rural Negroes, burdened with even greater hardships. Nevertheless, whether the Negro in becoming urbanized acted wisely or unwisely, he cannot now go back. He is in the city. And in the city, if he is to possess food,

clothing and shelter, he must have a job. Where does he work?

The Vanishing Jobs

Jobs as Pullman porters and waiters in dining cars are "Negro jobs." Formerly, there were other occupations regarded as Negro jobs, such as waiting on table, carrying baggage in railroad stations, laying asphalt in the streets, and barbering in southern cities. Besides these jobs, colored men found employment in varying types of unskilled work. The colored women were maids, housekeepers, laundresses in the home and untrained nurses. In 1926, one-half of the Negroes in gainful occupations in the cities were engaged in domestic or personal service. Then the depression came. White men and white women were deprived of employment. Preferring to work at any task rather than to starve, they invaded fields occupied by the Negroes and appropriated their jobs. The unemployed skilled white workers dropped down to the unskilled work performed by the Negroes. They even invaded jobs which were once regarded as too menial for any white man. For example, on the Southern Railroad, the firing force before the War was 80% black, while now, the colored firemen constitute but 10% of the force on the central division. On the Seaboard Airline, the ratio has fallen from 90% to 50%. Another illustration is the attempt of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad to substitute white girls for colored waiters in dining cars. And it cannot be stressed too strongly that prior to the depression, many Negro workers were engaged in domestic or personal service. When the depression came, the white group sought to economize where they could do the work themselves, such as in the kitchen or laundry. For the Negroes, those jobs vanished.

The extensiveness of the Negro's loss of employment during depression years is revealed in the figures of persons on relief. In 1933, 17% of Negroes were on relief as against 9% of the white population. In 1935, there were on relief 3,030,000 Negroes, or 25% of the total Negro population, as compared with 17,000,000 whites, or 15% of the total remaining population. In cities the situation was even worse, since 39% of the Negroes were on relief, as compared with

14% of the white population. Even these figures do not show the full amount of unemployment, since it is generally admitted and proven by official figures that in those sections where Negroes live in greatest numbers they are not admitted to public relief as readily as whites, even when they show greater need. In 1939, the New York State Temporary Commission on the Colored Urban Population stated: "The number of Negroes registered as totally unemployed equals approximately 40% of all Negro gainful workers, while for other groups, the corresponding percentage was slightly over 15%. And when partly unemployed workers are combined with the totally unemployed, approximately 50% of the Negro labor force was reported, while for all the others the percentage was but 21%."

Work for White Persons Only

If the reader will look at the occupations at which white men find employment, he will search long before finding a colored worker. Rarely does one see a Negro working as a carpenter or bricklayer; seldom will one find a Negro employed as a compositor, linotyper or typesetter; one rarely encounters a Negro acting as a telegraph operator or as a linesman. In the retail stores a customer would walk many a weary aisle before he could find a Negro clerk, and it could be wagered that the average depositor has never found a Negro clerk opposite him at the bank. There are always exceptions, and the social pattern varies slightly from city to city. But if the reader scrutinizes the jobs through which white men draw wage checks, he must concede that most jobs for men in the United States are for white workers only.

The handicap of the colored woman is even greater. How many colored typists or stenographers do you see? In regard to the office employees of the large insurance companies, the New York State Commission on the Condition of the Colored Urban Population wrote in 1939: "When it is appreciated that the four principal mutual life insurance companies in the State employ in the aggregate within the state and chiefly in clerical capacities almost as many employees as does the State of New York, the nature of that obligation becomes even more evident. It is a matter of common knowledge which our inves-

tigation has sufficiently substantiated that Negro clerks are virtually unknown in bank and insurance companies." You will look in vain for a colored girl at the switchboard of a telephone office. Similar findings would result from an investigation of hospitals and libraries. A few colored girls find employment as social workers and teachers. But for most colored girls, regardless of mental gifts and educational achievements, the only jobs available are those of maids and domestics.

Jim Crowism in the Pay Envelope

Even when a job has been secured, the economic liabilities of the Negroes are not ended. The pay envelope which is handed to them usually contains less than that given to the white workers. Even during the depression, white men and white women have been reluctant to seek employment in domestic service, since the hours are long and the pay not commensurate with that in other occupations. In the South, a good domestic is fortunate if she earns above \$5.00 a week, and it is not unusual that she receives as low as \$3.00. In the North, the rates of pay are somewhat higher, but it should be noted that in many cases these women are not single girls but married women who attempt to support a family because the barrier of the color line keeps a husband away from a job. Negro men for the same type of work not infrequently receive lower wages than those given to the whites. According to a Memorandum from the National Urban League to the President in 1937, in Trenton, N. J. 0.2% of the Negro population and 14% of the white group have incomes of more than \$2,000 a year, and 54% of the Negroes and 26% of the whites had incomes ranging from \$449 to nothing a year. In Birmingham, Ala., 80% of the Negro population and 24% of the white population have incomes ranging from \$449 to nothing a year.

There has been a tendency in some localities for the color line to break and Negroes have been admitted to jobs which were formerly barred to them. During the World War, the Negroes gained entrance into the automobile plants and other large scale production factories. In the slaughter house and

meat packing industries, some Negroes were introduced in the year 1896 as strike breakers and during the World War their percentage in the plants increased, and they still retain some jobs there. Even during the depression, a few jobs formerly sacred to the whites were opened. On the Eighth Avenue Subway in New York, there are now 30 colored conductors and more than 15 colored motormen. Yet these few jobs, grasped when the color line broke momentarily, do not balance in any way those lost to the white workers.

II

WHO STANDS BETWEEN THE NEGRO AND A JOB?

Negroes are not the only persons suffering. Today many white persons are out of work. Unfortunately that is too true, but recognition must also be given to the fact that a decided majority of the white group are gainfully and substantially employed. If a job is open, a white man enjoys a fair chance of securing it. The Negro seeking the job carries a heavy handicap, his chance of securing the job is decidedly less. Racial prejudice has barred the gates to many types of jobs. Now, this racial prejudice is not a blind mechanical force. It is an element which has existence only in human personalities and works exclusively through human personalities. It is not race prejudice, but human individuals motivated by race prejudice who bar the gates against the Negro. Properly, then, the question should be raised: Who keeps the gate? Who stands between the Negro and the job?

The White Employer

In the cities, most wage earners find employment at industrial and commercial property, much of which is owned corporately. The owners or the managers are usually thought of as private individuals managing their own property or that of others for private profit. In some measure that is true. But the employer or manager of corporate property also occupies a social position. He opens the gate to employment.

To a considerable extent he determines whether the Negro will find employment in the cities.

In almost every large city there can be found an employer who, being deeply convinced about the basic equality of all men, has tried resolutely to give work to Negro applicants. To them the nation is indebted for a sterling example of moral heroism. Regrettably, however, most employers have followed a policy of locking the gate of employment against the Negro. This was true long before the workers were organized into unions. This statement is applicable not only to the employers engaged in more competitive businesses such as the operation of large retail stores or of manufacturing plants, but also to corporations which enjoy partial monopolies such as telephone companies and the power companies and the large transport companies. It is substantially true to say that most American employers have kept the gate to employment closed against the Negro except where he might be used as a porter or where he might be used as strike breaker in times of industrial strife. As regards retail stores, the report of the Commission of New York, quoted above, states of a typical New York department store: "This store, which employs between 10,000 and 19,000 workers at different times during the year, has a staff of 175 Negro men. All of these Negroes are elevator operators or kitchen workers." Public utilities, insurance companies, and banks, were found to have definite policies, according to the same source, limiting or barring the employment of Negroes. The world's largest insurance company, located in New York City, writing more insurance among Negroes than all Negro insurance companies combined, reported the employment of not one Negro among its 20,000-odd employees. The State's largest public utility, employing a larger personnel than all the State's departments combined, included "perhaps a dozen Negroes on its payrolls." Similar conditions existed throughout the State.

The White Worker

In the past there have been instances in which an employer was willing to open the gate to colored workers, but the white workers kept it closed. Decades before any considerable num-

ber of workers were organized into unions white workers threatened to walk out when the boss engaged a Negro to work at a job similar to their own. These workers reflected the attitude of the community, and in some cases their prejudice was aggravated by the effort of employers to use Negroes as strike breakers. When the white workers were organized into unions, they retained their prejudices, and consequently today many trade unions pursue discriminatory policies. Repeatedly, the American Federation of Labor has expressed adherence to a policy of non-discrimination and occasionally directly under its wing Negroes have been organized into federal unions. There are, however, at least 18 international unions, members of the Federation, which definitely exclude Negroes by constitutional provision, such as the Switchmen's Union of North America and the International Association of Machinists. Several large railroad unions which are not affiliated with the A. F. of L., such as the Order of Railroad Conductors and the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, also exclude Negroes from membership.

There are, however, other A. F. of L. unions which list a substantial number of Negroes amongst their members, such as the Musicians' Union, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, the Journeymen Barbers, the Longshoremen, and the Tunnel Workers. In addition to the device of constitutional provision, there are other methods to exclude or to discriminate against the colored. Some unions, for example, maintain hiring halls from which workers are sent in response to employers' requests. It has been alleged that in New York City, in a union of garage workers in which 50% of the membership were Negroes, the white hiring officials constantly discriminate against Negroes, sending them out on employers' calls only when no whites are immediately available. It is difficult to find words which will express adequate condemnation for those union officials and members who by constitutional provision, ritual or other subterfuge exclude Negroes from membership. Their appeal to the public for support is moral, based upon the sacredness of the individual. They, in practice, violate the principle as flagrantly as any calloused capitalist.

In fairness to the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, it should be observed that in some communities the central labor bodies have vigorously defended the economic interests of the Negro. In St. Paul, Minnesota, for example, two of the leading hotels recently announced that in response to the request of customers they were to discharge all colored workers and replace them with white persons. In part the policy was carried out. A petition was made by friends of the colored workers to the trade unions. These acted promptly and declared that they would remove every white unionist from the hotels rather than to permit a Negro to be displaced because of race prejudice. The Negroes are still working in those hotels. In the same community several other unions, including the milk drivers and the building trades, have manifested a highly co-operative spirit. Much of this change in attitude can be attributed to the educational work done by the central labor body.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations is reputed to have a much better record in regard to racial equality and fairness. The original members, such as the United Mine Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, have always accepted Negroes and received them on the same basis as the whites; and the newer unions, such as the Automobile Workers, and Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, have continued that policy. However, the persons who composed the report of the New Jersey Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population discovered in that State a fair number of instances in which Negroes were not received into locals affiliated with the C. I. O.

The Government

Since the depression the Federal Government has become a large employer. Probably no corporation now opens the gate to as many jobs as does Uncle Sam. What is the attitude of the Federal Government as an employer towards the Negroes?

A fairly good number of Negroes are employed in post offices either as clerks or carriers; also, they are employed as elevator operators and messengers.

In the better positions, however, a less satisfactory condi-

tion prevails. In "The Negro and Economic Reconstruction," Mr. Hill writes: "Despite the fact that good grades were made by Negroes in recent examinations given by the Civil Service Commission, there probably is no full-time paid employee of the Social Security Board at national headquarters above the status of messenger and only a handful in some 336 Regional and Field offices save for a group of less than 200 housed in Baltimore." Insistent complaints have been made and lately the Federal Government has been at some pains to protect Negroes against specific instances of discrimination. Recently, Negroes were appointed as advisers in the United States Departments of Commerce, Labor and the Interior. Negro assistants were appointed in the Resettlement Administration. But other important departments, such as the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, the Federal Housing Authority, and the National Reemployment Service, failed to make such appointments.

In regard to work relief, the Negro in the South fared badly. "While 35% of the whites had work relief, only 18% of the Negroes had work relief and the white families received an average of \$13 a month relief and the Negroes received an average of \$7 a month." The Housing Division of the Works Progress Administration made an earnest effort to protect Negroes against discrimination by specifying minimum quotas for Negro workers in every city where a low cost housing project is erected. Efforts also were made to protect Negroes from prejudiced contractors. But, except for the Housing Division, little was achieved. The National Urban League stated that "The Triborough Bridge Project in New York City, the post office construction in New York City, all public construction in St. Louis, Missouri, the Boulder Dam Project, are only a few projects financed directly by PWA or through grants in aid in which Negroes have been openly or secretly denied employment."

The various state governments might also be classed as "big employers." In New York State, for example, approximately 43,000 persons were in State service in 1938. Of that number about 41% were selected by competitive methods. In that matter, it is hard to prove that Negroes were discrimi-

nated against. But in their system the appointing office is permitted to select one of the first three names on the list. By this device Negroes believe that often they have been kept from good positions. In regard to the other positions filled at the discretion of the appointing officer, the Negroes are certain that they have been locked out. On this point, conclusive evidence was laid before the New York State Commission that discriminations have been practiced in the Albany force of the Division of Public Buildings, where Negroes, though employed as cleaners in a grade carrying the minimum rate of compensation, have been excluded from employment in the next highest grade.

In New Jersey, 48 State departments responded to a recent questionnaire submitted by the Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population regarding the employment of Negroes. Out of a total of 5,588 employees reported, only 192, or 3.4%, were Negroes. This percentage is slightly more than half of the proportion of Negroes in the State who constitute 5.1% of the total. And of the Negroes employed, 115 were engaged at manual jobs.

As to workers employed by smaller governmental units, such as cities, the practice varies. In New York City, possibly because of political strength, there are Negro policemen, firemen, public health nurses, teachers, clerks, ticket agents and trainmen on the city operated subway. In many other cities scattered across the country, very few Negroes are employed by the municipalities.

Of governmental department heads and executives—federal, state, or municipal—who repeatedly refused to give employment to competent Negroes, no condemnatory judgment can be too severe. To them democracy is a shibboleth and not a course of action. They are hypocrites, the blind leading the blind. As a practical method of correcting this situation, a suggestion made by the National Urban League in 1937 is both sober and restrained. "The appointment of Negroes to key positions in the federal agencies and departments concerned with national recovery is already shown to be justified as a statesmanlike procedure. It has also been shown that too often, however, these assistants are without

proper administrative powers and the effectiveness of their posts is thereby lessened. We urge, therefore, that departmental heads be requested to increase the number of Negro assistants and to extend the area of their authority so that the Federal Government may be aided in putting correctional action behind the policies laid down."

III

WHAT MOTIVATES THE GATEKEEPERS?

There are then three types of individuals who act as gatekeepers to the road leading to gainful employment, the white employer, the white worker and the governmental official. They have succeeded partially in barring the gate against the Negro. They discriminate against the colored worker. It is proper in this place, then, to examine the attitude of those persons and to try to discover the forces which motivate them in their prejudicial attitudes.

The Incident of Slavery

Motives to any specific course of action are invariably complicated, yet undoubtedly in this case the dominant motive stems from the incident of slavery. In the early sixteenth century, when the white and black races were brought into close contact, the white race had already achieved a high civilization. Such a situation did not necessarily imply the possession by the white group of greater natural intelligence, since by the same process of reasoning the races of Southern Europe would be superior to the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon groups. Having been blessed, not only with a high civilization, but especially with Christian belief, the white race might properly have been expected to share their own culture and social experience with the less fortunate race. Instead, goaded by lust for wealth, they swept over the coast of Africa seeking slaves. They burnt villages, disrupted social institutions, and destroyed the primitive arts. They killed the aged, ravished women, and enslaved the youth. These youth they carried to the Americas, where the shortage of man power was acute, and sold them as slaves. On the new continent, having given the Negro the status of a slave, they thought of him

as a slave by nature; but lightly they erased from their minds all memory of their own savage slave trading.

In the institution of slavery, as it existed in the United States, the Negro was fairly well clothed and sheltered. But by a persistent campaign he was kept mentally naked, the dependency of slavery upon ignorance having been clearly recognized. Only a few were permitted to learn the crafts, and familiarity with the arts of reading and writing was denied more absolutely than the ownership of a gun or sword. In most of the Slave States, by statute, any white person found guilty of teaching a Negro to read was punishable by imprisonment and fine. They stifled in the Negro potential habits of industry and foresightedness, since only a small fraction were ever liberated, and the same food and clothing was given all, regardless of talent or exertion.

After the Civil War some few individuals went South and opened schools to give to the Negro the enlightenment long denied him. During the same period the civil officials of the Federal Government tried at times, but only feebly, to enact prudent legislation which would protect the Negro in his new freedom. Within a decade, however, the pendulum swung backwards and interest in the Negro wilted, except among a heroic few. He was abandoned to his former masters. For the next half of a century incredibly little public money was spent for the education of colored children. Denied friendly guidance, the Negro lived on rented land, borrowing seed and provisions from the owner at the beginning of the year and at its close finding himself more deeply in debt.

These years of Reconstruction, however, were not entirely lost years for the Negro in the United States. By heroic efforts, some gained title to land and achieved economic independence. Some gained great skill in the industrial arts. Many, working against incredible odds, learnt to read and to write, and a surprising number acquired such insight into the nation's culture that they were able to enrich it. Probably within a half of a century, no other race, laboring under equally oppressive conditions, achieved an equal progress.

Unfortunately, it was while this struggle was on, that the notions of ignorance and inferiority were being welded to the

concept of a Negro. Within this tradition, in some measure, every white American is reared. He thinks himself superior to the Negro, and he feels himself humiliated any time the Negro is raised to his level either economically or civilly. The tradition has such strength, that even men and women who recognize the fallacy of such mental processes fear to run against this tide of social pressure. A historical incident, woven into the national tradition, motivates the racial attitudes of most white persons and explains the hesitancy of the white worker to labor at the side of a Negro.

Skill and Intelligence

Many employers, in their refusal to engage Negroes, are also influenced by a belief that the Negro is inferior both in skill and intelligence. In most instances this is a preconceived notion. There is available much evidence to the contrary, which unfortunately cannot all be cited here because of lack of space. The Commission established in Chicago after the disastrous race riots to study the prospect of interracial co-operation devoted much attention to the problems of economic adjustments. In their report they stated: "Comparing the efficiency of the Negro worker and the white worker, 71 employers interviewed considered the Negro equally efficient, and 22 employers considered the Negro less." During 1925 the National Urban League also interviewed a large number of firms employing Negro labor. Their studies were favorable. The Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company of East Pittsburgh found "the Negro, when carefully selected, and properly placed, to be a dependable workman."

The studies referred to do not prove that every Negro is equal to any white worker. They do, however, conclusively show the utter falsity of the opinion entertained by many white employers that any colored worker would be less competent than any white worker and less punctual. The employer does not assume that all white applicants are necessarily competent. He uses devices for grading and determining qualifications. As regards the colored applicant, the same methods should be employed. He should be judged on his personal qualities, not solely on the color of his skin. At least, if the

employer is intellectually honest, he should desist from asserting that Negroes cannot be employed because of their relative incompetency.

For the practical purpose of correcting this warped tendency of the white mind, much space in papers and periodicals might be given to the presentation of the achievements of Negroes. In any of the standard books treating of the American Negro there can be found a formidable catalogue. The curious reader is referred to recent numbers of the periodicals: *Opportunity*, *a Journal of Negro Life*, and *The Crisis*, especially an article in the June number for 1939 entitled "Contributions of Negro Scientists."

IV

NEGRO WORKERS AND CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING

Obviously, the practice of denying equal economic opportunities to the Negro conflicts with the Christian belief in the unity of the human race and in the capacity of all men to be accepted as spiritual sons of the Eternal Father. It runs contrary to the doctrine that all men are potential members of the Mystical Body of Christ. Necessarily, every Christian must judge the situation as deplorable.

In the Catholic tradition, however, a social condition is not merely designated as deplorable. Rather, an effort is made to define with precision the moral responsibility of each person who has direct contact with the situation. Bad social situations are not the resultant merely of blind mechanical forces. They are caused by men. If the situation is to be corrected, the personal responsibility of each individual must be formulated. For every Catholic brought into close contact or relationship with such a condition, there are minimum moral obligations which are binding in conscience. In addition, there are other acts of personal self-sacrifice, and of personal service to others, which are free but which must be borne if the individual would imitate closely the life of Christ. Divorce is branded as a social evil. Yet, in addition, the Catholic who has contracted a valid marriage is told that no

matter how great the injustice or the conjugal misunderstanding, another marriage may not be contracted. Likewise, the moral obligations of the Catholic lawyer and judge are precisely defined. Not content with general condemnation of employers who pay too low wages, the late Pope has authoritatively asserted that the employer has an obligation in commutative justice to pay a wage sufficient to support the worker's family in frugal comfort.

Regarding, also, the discriminations against the Negro in the economic field, it is not sufficient, then, if we are to be faithful to the Catholic tradition, to characterize the practice as evil. An effort must be made to determine at least the minimum obligations binding in conscience which Christian moral principles place upon the governmental official, the white employer, or the white employee. And in order that the precise duties of those gatekeepers be adequately understood, attention must be first directed to the moral status of the colored worker and the question be asked: "What rights does he possess? What inviolable moral claims can he present when he applies for a job?"

The Moral Prerogatives of the Negro Worker

In Catholic meetings many earnest words have been spoken about the ruthless violations of natural rights. Now, according to the Catholic position, the fountain head in which those natural rights have their source is the end of man. Each individual was created to glorify God subjectively by adoration and objectively by a good life spent in the proportionate development of all his faculties. Because of that obligation to glorify God, the Eternal Creator has bestowed upon each individual inviolable moral powers as means thereto. Those powers are natural rights.

Applying that fundamental doctrine, we must concede that the natural rights of the Negro are identical in number and sacredness with the rights of white persons. Natural rights are rooted, not upon membership in one nation or upon membership in the white race, but upon the sacredness which the individual enjoys because of his eternal destiny. The Negro must be considered human first, and racial afterwards.

In any discussion about rights, allowances must be made for the differences and inequalities existent among men. Yet there is a minimum of goods which all men, both white and black, need and upon which they have a claim. That minimum includes the right to life and the right to liberty. The right to life involves, in return for honest labor, the claim to remuneration sufficient to maintain the worker and his family in health and comfort. It involves the right to reasonable opportunities for recreation and education. To the enjoyment of all those rights every Negro has a claim. To deny him less is to degrade him, to treat him as less than a man.

In theory, the majority of Americans would concede to the Negro the basic rights enumerated above. Yet, in practice, many white persons insist that the Negro must ever be content to occupy a menial position, at least in the common national life. Only in the colored ghetto, they say, may the Negro work at all trades and occupy executive positions. Actually, as we have seen, every attempt to enter the common national life on a status other than that of a servant is vigorously resisted. For that attitude, have the Catholic moralists a judgment?

Catholic moralists teach that, in addition to the minimum, men have rights to other goods and privileges, such as that of seeking employment in a variety of business, that of seeking promotion, that of seeking higher wages, that of being free from unreasonable restrictions when pursuing other legitimate advantages. The bases and measures of the right to more advantages than the minimum are the peculiar needs, capacities and abilities of the individual. Catholic moralists vindicate such rights because the arbitrary denial of all opportunity and progress renders men bitter and destroys the contentment necessary to reasonable human living. In harmony with this, Americans generally regard as evil any system in which advantages above the minimum and positions of trust in the economic and civil life are distributed solely upon the basis of nationality or family associations.

On these principles it would seem that the Negro has a claim to advantages and positions above the minimum in our industrial and commercial life proportionate to his ability and

efforts, and that any attempt to interfere with the Negro's pursuit of a job solely because of his color is a violation of a natural right. The only serious objections which may be raised against this assertion must be founded upon one of two assumptions: either all Negroes are inferior to whites or the colored ghetto offers complete economic and cultural opportunities.

The matter of the first objection was treated in preceding paragraphs. As to adequacy of the ghetto, it is just as impossible to isolate one section of a city as it is to separate a living hand from a living body. The commercial and industrial life of the city flows back and forth through every section of the city. We would denounce as a violation of natural rights any practice denying employment to Catholics in stores except those patronized by Catholics. Our sense of justice in that regard suggests the unmorality of the ghetto policy as advocated for the Negro.

The Obligation of the Governmental Official

In this decade, as we have seen, governmental units, federal, state, county and municipal, have become "big employers" of labor. Negroes are seeking jobs from the government. What is the obligation of the government, or rather, what is the obligation of the governmental official towards the Negro worker applicant?

The function of the government, according to Papal teaching, is not merely to protect property and preserve order. Rather it must concern itself, as far as practicable, about promoting the public well-being and the common good. It must concern itself about protecting the infirm and the needy, for as Pope Leo XIII asserted: "the richer class have many ways of shielding themselves and stand less in need of protection by the state, whereas the mass of the poor have no resources of their own to fall upon and must chiefly depend upon their defense by the state. And for this reason wage-earners, since they mostly belong to the poor class, should be especially cared for and protected by the government." This is an obligation in legal and distributive justice.

Clearly, in the United States Negro workers are to be

classified as needy and infirm. The state has a grave obligation to assist them and to make the individuals and families economically independent. Especially the state, according to Catholic principles, must enact whatever practical legislation may be necessary to give them protection against discriminatory practices. Moreover, if the state must manifest special concern for the protection of Negro workers, it has even a graver obligation to provide them with their proportionate share of jobs when a grave economic depression forces the governmental units to become employers.

In terms of personal obligations this duty rests upon the official in the federal, state and municipal offices who selects the personnel. That official has a grave obligation to make serious effort to employ at least a number of Negroes proportionate to their part of the population; and in theory they should receive more. The official is under obligation in legal and distributive justice to give promotion to the higher positions to the competent colored applicant. The only factors which could excuse the official would be the loss of his own employment or serious public disorder. Otherwise, he acts immorally, sinfully. The governmental official should give an example to the private employer and, naturally, his moral obligation is heavier.

The Duty of the Private Employer

According to the persistent teaching of the theologians and the Popes, property has a twofold aspect, individual and social, according as it regards individuals or concerns the common good. Their unanimous contention has always been that the right to own "private property has been given to man by nature or rather by the Creator Himself, not only in order that individuals may be able to provide for their own needs and those of their families, but also that by means of it the goods which the Creator has destined for the human race may truly serve this purpose." Moreover, this twofold social aspect applies not only to property but also to labor, for Pope Pius XI has written: "The obvious truth is that in labor, especially hired labor, as in ownership, there is a social as well as a personal or individual aspect to be considered. For unless human

society forms a truly social and organic body; unless labor be protected in the social and juridical order; unless the various forms of human endeavor dependent one upon the other are united in mutual harmony and mutual support; unless, above all, brains, capital and labor combine together for common effort, man's toil cannot produce due fruit."

More precisely, the employer may not say absolutely that he will hire and fire whom he pleases. For the ownership of large portions of industrial or commercial property gives the employer a social status. It provides the door through which the urban worker has access to the material things which God placed here for his support. For the urban worker, employment on the premises of such property and the subsequent wage check is the ticket for food and clothing. The employer has a social position, he opens the gate to material things, he distributes the national wealth. It is largely on the grounds of that social status with its accompanying obligations that some theologians have placed upon the employer the obligation to pay a living family wage. Pope Pius XI, recognizing this dependency of the urban worker upon the pay envelope, stressed the question of wages: "But how can he by living sparingly ever save money except from his wages who has nothing but his labor by which to obtain food and the necessities of life?"

Clearly, then, if the Negro worker in the city is to obtain food, clothing and the other necessities of life, he must have access to jobs. He has a right in strict justice to fair consideration when he applies for a job, and the employer because of his position and the social quality of property has an obligation to give proportionate employment to Negro applicants. If persistently over a substantial period of time any employer rejects arbitrarily all Negro applicants, then he violates social justice, he acts sinfully. The obligation increases in gravity in proportion to the total number of workers employed, and the relative position of authority which the individual employer occupies in the corporation. The obligation ceases, however, if an earnest attempt has been made to employ colored workers and the unrest among white workers becomes actually so intense that the efficiency of the plant is

diminished. These facts, however, should be established, not merely assumed. The record of the past indicates that in many instances this fear of unrest was subjective.

The Duty of the White Worker

As we have seen, there have been instances in the past in which the employer had engaged a Negro, and the white workers walked out. The white workers who act in that manner, and especially the individuals who stir the others to protest, commit a sin of injustice, they act as immorally as the workers who maliciously destroy property. The competent Negro worker has a natural right to seek employment, and in the pursuit of the employment he has the right to be free from unfair restraint and hindrances; and any effective objection to the employer based solely on color constitutes an unfair restraint and, other things being equal, a sin both against commutative justice and social justice.

The same judgment is applicable to union officials, especially of those organizations which have closed-shop contracts with employers, who refuse membership to competent and honest Negro workers. Every member of those international unions which bar Negroes by constitutional provision has some obligation, varying with his influence within the union, to work for the repeal of such provisions.

The Contribution of the Consumer

In the Middle Ages the theologians emphasized vigorously the moral obligation of the consumer in commercial transactions. In conscience, the consumer was obliged to pay a just price for his merchandise. The simplicity of the economic organization of medieval life probably permitted the consumer to determine quickly and practically the just price. Possibly, today, the complexity of economic life would make it impractical for the average consumer alone to determine the just price; yet the principle is still valid even though conditions make the determination of prices difficult. Certainly, the consumer has at some time some obligation towards the economic situation. The retailer and the manufacturer who are paying a living wage to their workers, while their competitors do

not, enjoy some claim in social justice or charity for support.

As regards the Negro worker, this obligation of the consumer might be more readily defined, since it is easier to determine the number of Negroes employed than the production costs. It does seem to us that the patron of a hotel or store sins against social justice whenever he withdraws patronage solely because the employees are colored. To any consumer there must be left a wide range for tastes and whims. Yet, in this instance, the situation is serious. The jobs for Negroes are vanishing and the consumer, by catering to his whims, places the Negro in a precarious position.

Apart from all question of strict obligation, the status of consumer offers many Americans a large field in which they might assist Negroes. Manufacturers and merchants are sensitive to the wishes of customers. They react very promptly to organized pressure. If repeatedly for a month twenty Catholic women notified the manager of a department store that they deplored the absence of colored sales-girls, very shortly the colored girls would appear on the clerk's side of the counter.

These paragraphs do not express all the activity which reasonably may be expected of a Catholic. Rather they express merely the strict obligations which cannot be ignored without the commission of sin. They express the minimum, which every Catholic must bear. To the extent that a person wishes to grow like Christ and be worthy of the name Catholic, he will do much more. He will assume the initiative in the struggle to open jobs for Negroes. The only limitations on his activity will be those of diminishing physical energy and time.

V

THE NEGRO WORKER OF TOMORROW

Will the employment opportunities for the colored increase or decrease? If the answer is based exclusively upon the trends of the last decade the response will be very distressing. Very few new jobs, as we have seen, are being opened to the Negro, and employments which formerly were regarded as "Negro jobs" are being appropriated by white workers. The trend would indicate that in the world of tomorrow very few colored persons will be gainfully employed. Yet, such a

judgment should not be accepted by thoughtful persons. It is entitled to less recognition than a hurried guess. In it no allowance is made for social or economic changes which might alter extensively the national employment scene, such as war and new inventions.

A Dependable Transformer

Yet, such factors are unpredictable and uncertain. They may and they may not open the door of employment. There does exist, however, at this very time a dependable and potent force which could open many doors of employment to the Negro. That force is Christianity. Christ, the Son of God, once walked among men, taught them and established His Church. Today He still lives among men. Millions of Americans have accepted His teaching, and believe in His Divinity. They have accepted the commandments as interpreted by the Church as the moral law imposed upon them by the Eternal Creator. Those Americans profess a faith which, in the past, working through the individual has effected substantial changes in social conditions.

Due to the influence of Christianity, slavery disappeared from the ancient civilizations, women were raised from the degraded position in which pagans had placed them, each human life acquired in the attitude of men a new sacredness. In subsequent ages, however, a considerable portion of a nation's population strove to follow Christ's teaching grave social injustices were corrected. Today, if Americans would utilize the grace of Christ and earnestly strive to fulfill His teaching, many of our greater social evils would be mitigated and the Negro would receive more equitable treatment.

In an earlier chapter an effort was made to determine with some precision the moral obligations of the employer, the employee, and the governmental official towards the Negro. To some readers those statements will appear as excessively cautious, timid, even compromising. Scoffingly they will contrast them to the uncompromising and burning spirit which should accompany a Christian revival. Truly, those statements do not express the full flowering of Christian living. But they are indispensable.

In the Gospel it is recorded that a young man asked Christ: "What good shall I do that I may have life everlasting?" Christ answered: "Keep the commandments." In response, the young man said: "All these have I kept from my youth, what is yet wanting to me?" The Master replied: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast and give to the poor . . . and come follow Me." Following that distinction made by Christ, the Church has ever distinguished between actions obligatory under pain of sin and other actions which, though free, the Christian was exhorted to perform. That distinction runs through all sound moral discussions.

Today there are some Christians who ask what they must do to be perfect. Many others, however, usually are interested merely in what they must do to be saved. The statements about the obligation of the employer and the employee represent an effort to answer that question in the interracial field. If those obligations, restricted though they be, were accepted and fulfilled by most Americans, the status of the colored worker would be substantially improved.

Actually, however, in the United States most Christians do not even acknowledge those obligations. They see no connection between their profession of Christianity and their discriminatory treatment of the Negro. Critics brand them as hypocrites. Yet they are not. They are blind. Being children of a fallen race, their mental powers are restricted. Frequently they lack the power to apply moral principles to concrete social situations. Indeed, from that weakness of the mind no person is exempt. Even those interested in interracial improvement probably manifest glaring inconsistencies in other matters. Down through the ages the Church has ever been forced to deal with that weakness, and the remedy used was explicit and concrete instruction. And today, if Christians are to be made aware of their interracial duties and saved from the befogging influence of prevalent customs, explicit instruction must be given.

The Roots of the New Social Order

The past does not lack achievement. Some of the improved conditions during the past fifty years have been the

result of a vigorous fight which Christians have made for the recognition of the natural rights of the Negro. At various times bishops and priests have raised a strong voice in their defense. For the last decade systematic attempts have been made to make the Christian realize that his attitude towards the colored worker must be changed.

It is our intention to indicate here some of these constructive educational activities conducted amongst Catholics. They are important, since they are the roots from which will grow more Christian attitudes and actions. Our treatment is limited to discussing Catholic activities, but other denominations have organized effective campaigns to make their members more interracially conscious. Also, it is hoped that it has been made clear throughout this pamphlet that the treatment is restricted to the consideration of the Negro as a worker. No formal attempt has been made to discuss the more primary task of bringing the truths and sacraments of Christ to the colored in the United States.

For more than fifteen years the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, an organization auxiliary to the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Social Action Department, has conducted across the nation large meetings in which, under the auspices of the Church, employers and employees discuss their mutual problems and the doctrine of the Catholic Church is expounded. Those meetings have been very effective educational agencies for the spread of Catholic social teaching. One conference a year is devoted to the examination, in the light of Catholic moral principles, of the problems of the colored worker. During the same period there has been circulated amongst Catholics an ably edited monthly magazine entitled *The Interracial Review*. In that publication much space has been given to the defense of the Negro's rights in industry and commerce. That publication and the Press Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference have distributed to the Catholic newspapers across the country much data about the colored worker. Those agencies and others have appealed to the Catholic educational conferences, Catholic conferences of social workers, and Catholic youth meetings for discussion of interracial problems. These types

of education have been promoted by many eminent Catholics, but they have been advanced especially by the untiring devotion of Father John LaFarge, S.J., one of the editors of *America*, who has devoted to the cause without reservation his extraordinary mental gifts and excellence of judgment.

Pursuing her great fundamental aim of saving the souls of all men, the Church has sent priests as missionaries among the colored in the United States. The energies of those priests have been directed largely to the primary tasks of preaching the truths of Christianity and of ministering the sacraments. Yet they have also been actively solicitous for the material conditions of their people and their constructive influences in this regard have not been adequately appreciated. In their associations with priests assigned to white groups they have talked constantly about the cruel injustices suffered by colored men and colored women seeking employment. The recital of those injustices were necessarily reflected in the sermons given by the other priests to white groups. The fruit has been not only a changing attitude on the part of the laity, but even at times the offer of jobs. Typical of that form of action is the earnest work carried on by Father Charles Keefe of St. Peter Claver's parish in St. Paul, where he has found jobs for an impressive number of his parishioners.

Another development, extremely promising, is the recent introduction of chapters on interracial questions in textbooks used in Catholic elementary schools and Catholic colleges. The textbook used in Catholic schools enjoys a strategic value. By many students it is accepted as having almost an official status. Hence, the incorporation of those chapters gives assurance that in the classes in social sciences and the classes in religion, very explicit instruction will be given on interracial contacts as a field in which Catholic moral principles must be applied.

The Field for Action

There is seldom any indication that the individual personally is expected to act with regard to the condition of the Negro. Latent throughout is the assumption that this social injustice will be corrected by a sudden uniform change on the

entire national front or by an act of Congress. That assumption is erroneous. The correction of the injustice will come only when courageous individuals assume the initiative in their own communities. The progress will be slow, a job will be given to a Negro in one plant, a position in an office to another. The field for action by a Catholic is not some visionary national forum, but his own place of employment, his own town, his own neighborhood.

In some cities small associations of Catholics by themselves may be able to secure jobs for Negroes. More commonly, Catholics when they act, either formally as members of Catholic societies or as individual citizens, must co-operate with agencies already established in the field. There is one agency especially with which Catholics should be familiar—the National Urban League. It was established for the purpose of helping the Negro to make a better economic adjustment in the urban areas. The primary objective of any local branch office is to find jobs for the Negroes unemployed and to adjust difficulties incidental to conflicts in places of employment. Invariably the local executive secretary will be highly co-operative, anxious to supply data about local conditions and to offer suggestions as to practical activities.

Indicative of the local secretary's work are the tasks performed by Mr. Clarence Mitchell, the executive secretary in the capital city of Minnesota. When the hotels of the community were contemplating dismissing the colored waiters, alleging inefficiency, Mr. Mitchell organized a very efficient school for waiters and removed much of the basis for the contemplated policy. When white workers tried to appropriate the work of laying asphalt paving, work which traditionally belonged to the colored group, he protested so vigorously that the white workers withdrew. When a milk company engaged a colored driver as an experiment, the secretary rode the milk truck, helping the driver to secure customers. He has held almost unending conferences with employers, urging them to break the color line and to give some jobs to the colored unemployed. As a consequence some Negroes are now working at jobs which formerly were for whites only. His harvest

would have been greater if organizations of white persons had rallied to his support.

There is also the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has trustworthy material and will co-operate readily. In some cities there are excellent interracial committees. Let the Catholic test all such organizations and co-operate with those that are good.

It is in the neighborhood and community in which he or she resides that the Catholic must prove by action that Christianity is the potent force which can correct the grave injustice of discrimination against the Negro in the economic field; that Christianity is Fire on the Earth. If each Catholic, having prayed for Divine grace, will shoulder the personal obligations which he has as employer or employee or governmental official, then there will be many more Negroes equitably employed in the world of tomorrow.

Suggested Readings

- John LaFarge, *Interracial Justice*. America Press, 1937.
- John Gillard, *The Catholic Church and the American Negro*. St. Joseph's Society Press. 1930.
- Charles Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization*. Henry Holt Co. 1930.
- T. Arnold Hill, *The Negro and Economic Reconstruction*. Associates in Negro Folk Education. 1937.
- Alma Herbst, *The Negro in the Slaughtering and Meat-Packing Industry*. Houghton Mifflin. 1932.
- Clayton and Mitchell, *Black Workers and the New Unions*. University of North Carolina Press. 1939.
- Report of the New Jersey State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population*. State of New Jersey. 1939.
- Second Report of the New York State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Colored Urban Population*. State of New York. 1939.
- National Urban League, *Opportunity, Journal of Negro Life*. Published monthly.

N. C. W. C. STUDY CLUB OUTLINE

I. WHERE DOES THE NEGRO WORK?

1. What is the condition of the rural Negro?
2. Why has the colored urban population grown and how do the city Negroes make their living?
3. What jobs were commonly regarded as "Negro Jobs" and why have the Negroes been losing these to white persons?
4. Compare the extent of Negro unemployment with white unemployment?
5. List occupations in which Negroes are seldom found; also occupations where the color line has been recently broken.

II. WHO STANDS BETWEEN THE NEGRO AND A JOB?

1. What is the difference between the Negro unemployed and the white unemployed?
2. Why does the employer or manager of corporate property occupy a social position and how does the Negro job-seeker depend on him?
3. How do white workers prevent the employment of Negro workers?
4. What is the policy of the A. F. L. and the C. I. O. with regard to Negro membership? What is one to think of union color discrimination?
5. To what extent are Negroes discriminated against in employment by the Federal Government? By States? by cities?
6. What judgment must be passed on government officials who practice discrimination?
7. How does the incident of slavery help form racial attitudes?
8. Show why the inference that the Negro is inferior both in skill and intelligence is false. How can this belief be corrected?

III. NEGRO WORKERS AND CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING

1. Why is Catholic social teaching not content with merely deploring economic discrimination against the Negro?
2. Discuss natural rights and the extent to which these are granted to the Negro.

3. What claim has the Negro to advantages and positions above the minimum?
4. Why are Negroes to be classed as "needy and infirm" and what is the obligation of government officials regarding their employment?
5. What is the twofold social aspect of property and labor, and how does this affect the obligation of the employer with regard to the Negro worker?
6. What is the duty of the white worker? Of the consumer?

IV. THE NEGRO WORKER OF TOMORROW

1. Show how Christianity has influenced reform in past ages and can now open the door to employment of Negroes.
2. What is the difference between strict obligation and the counsels of perfection in the inter-racial field?
3. Discuss activities of Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, *Inter-Racial Review* and of priests in behalf of Economic Justice for the Negro.
4. What can the individual do here and now?

Catholic Action for Social Justice *

HOW shall we know well the right moral principles and spread them?

We shall all be unified in our religious program and our work under the Bishops (48).

We shall join a Catholic lay organization working with and under the Church (31).

We shall get it to start, or we shall join, a program of training (31).

We shall take part in study clubs and industrial conferences and the like (8).

We shall spread books, newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets (8).

We shall get the help of a priest trained in this matter (46).

We shall start work among youth (47).

We shall attend lay retreats (47).

We shall be apostles to our own associates—workers to workers, employers to employers, and so on (46).

We shall ground all our ideas in the Encyclicals of the Popes (48).

We shall take on the social charity of brotherhood in God and in Christ (44).

We shall lead good Catholic lives (44).

We shall know the crisis facing us which has, with the grace of God, put the destiny of mankind in our hands (47).

We shall have hope, because the Christian spirit of the people is strong, ignorance and environment can be overcome, and even the most abandoned have in them the sparks of "a natural Christian soul" (45); and because already much has been done to make known and apply the social teaching of the Church (7-13; 45-6).

* Numbers refer to page numbers of Pope Pius XI's Encyclical "Reconstructing the Social Order" (N. C. W. C. edition).

For further information and assistance, write:

**National Catholic Welfare Conference,
Social Action Department**

1312 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D. C.

An exceptional book value—

Five Great Encyclicals

**LABOR — EDUCATION — MARRIAGE
THE SOCIAL ORDER — COMMUNISM**

**With Discussion Club Outlines by
REV. GERALD C. TREACY, S.J.**

Here is a new 25c book

- . . . to carry any study club through many sessions**
- . . . to be used in every high school**
- . . . to be read by all to understand better the great papal documents of recent years**

The five encyclicals most popularly discussed today: "Rerum Novarum—On the Condition of the Working Classes," by Pope Leo XIII, and the four by Pope Pius XI, "Quadragesimo Anno—On Reconstructing the Social Order," "Divini Illius Magistri—On the Christian Education of Youth," "Casti Connubii—On Christian Marriage," "Divini Redemptoris—On Atheistic Communism," are here published in a single book with individual Discussion Club Outlines comprised of summaries of the encyclicals with questions divided into lessons.

Paper binding, 25 cents the copy, \$20.00 the 100

Cloth binding, \$1.00 the copy

(Postage extra)

THE PAULIST PRESS

401 West 59th Street

New York 19, N. Y.