



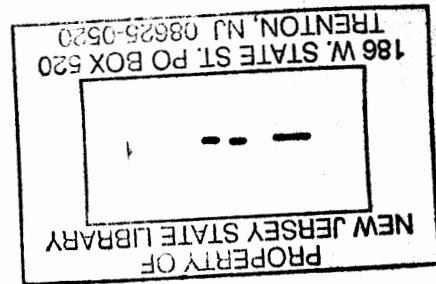
*Research*

**ANNUAL REPORT**  
of  
**The Urban Colored Population Commission**  
STATE OF NEW JERSEY  
Year Ending December 31, 1943

*cat-N.14*

*HON. T. JAMES TOMOLTY*

*[60]*



**The Negro in the First Year of the Second World War**



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To the Honorable Walter E. Edge  
And the Senate and House of Assembly  
State of New Jersey

This Commission transmits herewith its first annual report, in which are presented its findings and recommendations.

We of the Commission, under your authority and benediction, with true humility, but grave determination, have tackled the age-old problem of "man's inhumanity to man" as expressed in certain traditional maladjustments of the status of Negro citizens in New Jersey.

We maintain the position that the elected members of the State government, and its appointed officers holding administrative responsibility, should lead by precept and example the way to social reform.

The task you have assigned to us is formidable, but not unsurmountable. We have high hopes and a firm belief, that the obstacles barring the passage to our common objectives, will capitulate before a righteous appeal to the reason, sense of justice, patriotism, and the inherent human decency of the majority racial group in New Jersey.

Bearing the theme of persuasion dominant in our minds, in the first year, we have sought to educate and convert, rather than to use the full authority vested in this Commission. Without compromising the principles of the problems involved, we at all times were firm in presenting the point of view of Negro citizens of the State.

With equal frankness and determination, we have come to grips with the intra-racial problem of indoctrinating the Negro citizen with a keener appreciation of meeting the full responsibility of his new and increasing opportunities.

In closing, we commend your manifest interest and solicit your continued and courageous support. We hereby rededicate ourselves to the unfinished task remaining before us, in the service of not only the present underprivileged group, but also the entire State of New Jersey.

Respectfully yours,

State of New Jersey Welfare Commission on the  
Condition of the Urban Colored Population

William D. Galloway, Chairman  
Richard L. Martin, Vice-Chairman  
Sarah S. Washington, Secretary-  
Treasurer

THE URBAN COLORED POPULATION WELFARE COMMISSION  
of the  
STATE OF NEW JERSEY

\*\*\*\*\*

Members of the Commission

William D. Galloway, Chairman  
Rutherford  
(1941--1944)

Richard L. Martin	Mrs. Sarah S. Washington
Vice-Chairman	Secretary-Treasurer
Jersey City	Atlantic City
(1941-1947)	(1941-1945)

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Director

Gerald E. Allen  
(April, 1942-January, 1943)

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	(Dec.-Mar.)	
	1943	

LAW CREATING THE NEW JERSEY NEGRO WELFARE COMMISSION

CHAPTER 192, LAWS OF 1941

AN ACT creating a commission to examine, enforce and recommend measures to improve the economic, cultural, health and living conditions of the urban colored population of the State and making an appropriation therefor.

Be it enacted by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

1. There is hereby created a commission to examine, report upon and formulate measures to improve the economic, cultural, health and living conditions of the urban colored population of this State in order to secure the urban colored population equal opportunities with the general population thereof for self-support and the economic and cultural development to the extent, if any, that such opportunity does not now exist.

2. The Commission shall consist of three members, one to be named by the Governor for a term of five years, one to be named by the President of the Senate for a term of four years, and one to be named by the Speaker of the House of Assembly for a term of three years. Vacancies occurring for any cause shall be filled for the unexpired term only and the members of the commission shall hold office until the successors have been selected as in this act provided.

3. Such commission shall select a chairman and a vice-chairman from its own members and may employ counsel and such other assistance as may be needed and may fix their compensation within the amounts made available by appropriation therefore. Such commission may meet anywhere in the State, may take testimony, subpoena witnesses and require the production of books, records and papers and otherwise have all the powers of a legislative committee under the legislative law.

4. The members of such commission shall receive no compensation for their services but shall be entitled to their necessary traveling and hotel expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

5. The sum of sixteen thousand dollars (\$16,000), or so much thereof as may be needed, is hereby appropriated from any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, payable on the certificate of the chairman of such commission on the warrant and audit of the comptroller.

6. This act shall take effect immediately.

(Passed June 10, 1941)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In obtaining the various information needed to study conditions affecting all phases of the welfare of the Urban Colored population in New Jersey, the Administrative and Investigating Staff of the New Jersey Urban Colored Population Welfare Commission received invaluable aid and generous cooperation from many individual citizens; public officials, municipal, county, state and federal agencies; and other private and public organizations.

The Members of the Commission, in presenting the information and conclusions contained in this report, acknowledge sincere and grateful appreciation to the following, with apologies to any whose names may be omitted:

Newark Interracial Council; New Jersey Welfare Council; New Jersey Ministerial Conference; Commissioner J. J. Cinamon; Passaic Passaic Police Department; Hawthorne Rotary Club, Bergen County; Passaic Board of Education, N.A.A.C.P. of New Jersey; N.A.A.C.P. of New York; National Urban League of New York; Urban League, Newark, New Jersey

Passaic Defense Council; Works Project Administration; New York State Commission on Discrimination; Council for Democracy; New Jersey Good Will Commission; Mayor's Committee on Race Relations of Chicago, Illinois; Passaic Chamber of Commerce; Illinois Interracial Committee; Julius Rosenwald Fund; New Jersey Herald News

Farm Security Administration, Swedesboro, New Jersey; War Food Administration, Swedesboro, New Jersey; Dr. J. J. Williams, Community Memorial Hospital, Newark, New Jersey; Y.M.C.A., Colored Community Branch, Jersey City, New Jersey; Signora Gazella Plarinos, Passaic, New Jersey; S. Bernard Johnson, Newark, New Jersey

Mayor Nicholas Martini, Passaic, New Jersey; Dr. J. Earle Stuart, Department of Health, New Jersey; Dr. Glen S. Usher, Board of Venereal Diseases' Control of New Jersey; Dr. Walter Alexander, Board of Health of New Jersey; Afro-Women's Volunteer Auxiliary, Newark, New Jersey; Bureau for Intercultural Education, New York City

Dr. Warren Brown, Council for Democracy; Mrs. Edna B. Conklin, Hackensack, New Jersey; Council of Jewish Women; Mrs. A. M. Curtis, Paterson, New Jersey; Catholic Charities, Newark, New Jersey; Mr. Donald Dutcher, Clerk of Board of Free-Holders, Hackensack, New Jersey; Mr. Gross, New York Times; Dr. E. Gaylord Howell, New Brunswick, New Jersey

Mr. Peter Halsted, Administrator, Bergen County Welfare; Dr. J. O. Hill, Assemblyman, Essex County; Reginald A. Johnson, War Man Power Commission; James Marshall, President of Building Service Local; United Electric Radio, & Machine Workers of American CIO #441; William A. Smith, War Man Power Commission; Newark Board of Health, New Jersey

Newark Board of Education, Newark, New Jersey; Office of Price Administration, Newark, New Jersey; Board of Children Guardian, Essex County; United States Employment Service, Union County; Dr. William R. Ward, U.S.O.; Mr. Nathaniel Blustien, National Youth Administration; Mr. Carl Bostelm, Works Project Administration; Mrs. Maxwell M. Albach, Newark, New Jersey

Mr. Herbert A. Bergen, Director, United States Employment Service; Mr. Charles Berkeley, Executive Director, Commission on Discrimination; Rev. C. L. Tarter, Chairman of Citizen's Committee, Paterson, New Jersey; Mr. William C. Kvaraaacus, Children's Bureau, Passaic, New Jersey; Dr. M. J. Exner, Board of Health, Newark, New Jersey

Arthur J. Edwards, Commission for Social Action; Miss G. Henderson, Friendly Neighborhood House, Newark, New Jersey; Miss Dorothy Funn, Negro Labor Victory Commission of Greater New York; Dr. Harold Franklin, Medical Assistant, Bureau Venereal Disease Control; Mr. James Flemings, Fair Employment Practice Committee

Mr. Frank S. Horne, Federal Housing; Mrs. Una Janifer, Women's Auxiliary of New Jersey Medical Society; Mr. William R. Jackson, Board of Education, Newark; Mr. Harold A. Lett, Urban League, Newark; Mr. Henry Lee Mason, Racial Relations Administration, Federal Housing Authority; Charles J. Monks, Chief of Police, Passaic, New Jersey

Mr. William Maddox, Orange, New Jersey; Mrs. William Milwitsky; Mrs. Lucy K. Milburn; Mrs. R. P. Milburn; Monmouth County News; Newark Star Ledger; Mrs. E. Denny Vann, Leonia, New Jersey; Mrs. F. Keating, East Orange, New Jersey; Amsterdam News, New York City, New York; American Red Cross, Newark, New Jersey

Office Of The Comptroller Of The Treasury, State Department of Finance, State Civil Service Commission, State Treasury Department, Trenton, New Jersey; Alcohol Beverage Control, Beverage Tax Division, New Jersey Commission For The Blind, Newark, New Jersey; Charles S. Johnson, Race Relations Authority, Fisk University

## TEMPO

"Liberalism has, indeed, emphasized overmuch the individual or minority interest in minority rights. The interest is important and commands consideration. But even more important is the majority interest. It is easy enough to whip up sympathy for a Scopes, for the Scottsboro boys, for Kirk De Jonge, for the Gobitis children, but such sympathy is all too likely to be satisfied when some semblance of justice is done to the individual victim. The real task confronting us is to make clear to majorities that the interest of the whole of society is at stake in questions such as those raised by these hapless victims of legislation. The interest of all the people of Tennessee is at stake where legislation prevents the teaching of what is accepted elsewhere as scientific truth; the interest of all the people of Alabama--of the whole South, indeed--is at stake where it is possible to deny to anyone the accepted guarantees of a fair trial; the interest of the people of Oregon is at stake where participation in a public meeting to discuss public issues is a penal offense; the interest of all the children of Pennsylvania is at stake where mistaken methods are adopted to inculcate patriotism. It is a major educational task to persuade majorities of this, one which cannot be performed by the courts, which can and must be performed by the schools, the press, the church, political parties, and other democratic agencies. It is a task that has been neglected. I need not remind you of the consequences of that neglect today in Germany and Italy and the lesser nations that have felt the blight of totalitarian oppression.

We are often reminded, by those who mistrust democracy, that the regimes of Hitler and of Mussolini and of lesser tyrants rest upon majority vote. They do not rest upon the vote of free majorities, of majorities educated to their responsibilities, of majorities sensitive to the interest of minorities zealous to avail themselves of minority criticism."

"Majority Rule and Minority Rights"

by Henry Steele Commager

## FOREWORD

"What has rendered peculiarly acute any mistreatment of racial minorities--is our reiterated insistence on democratic equality of opportunity, irrespective of race, and the total nature of this war compared to the last. Far more now than then, every man, white or black, Jew or Gentile, is enlisted to fight or to work for the common cause. But how can every man believe that the cause is a common one including him as well as another, if he sees discrimination against him as a member of a race or of a religion; discrimination in the Army in which he must fight, in industry, in the civil offices of the Government? I do not believe that many will deny the discrimination, or its evil effects on our democratic ideals, except those whose prejudices, though honestly held, blind them to the tragic contradictions involved in such behavior.

"I know that there are those who contend that any discussion of these tense and difficult relationships in the midst of a war is unwise, why stir up trouble--so the argument runs--and give ammunition for propaganda and the appearance of disunity to our enemies? Why not put off an attempt at solution until the war is over? If those conditions were sporadic or local in their origin the argument would have more weight. But they are not. They involve many sections of our country, and are creating a national psychology of intolerance that makes them infinitely more difficult and serious. Moreover the appearance of national disunity on the outside, serious as it is, seems to me less evil than the actual disunity inside our ranks. It is not exact to

say that the recent outbreaks of racial violence in America have been fostered by Axis propaganda. But it is certainly true to conclude that the effect of such violence serves well the enemies' purpose. Immediately after they occurred the Detroit race riots were reported and commented on from short-wave radios in Germany and Japan; and the news soon traveled into Africa and China and India.

"But when all is said and done, I am less concerned about how the United States looks to her enemies. What I care about is what she looks like to her friends; to those who love and believe in her; to Americans in the field who fight and die for her; to Americans at home and abroad who want to be able to speak with pride and without any mental reservation when they say with Thomas Jefferson, 'This government, the best hope of man.'

"I am not seeking to fix responsibility in any group or in any class for these unhappy conditions. The blame is universal, for surely all Americans must share the responsibility for this so un-American condition in a country which is, I believe, on the whole, honestly dedicated to democratic living. And just as the blame must be shared by all alike, so it concerns us all-- government, society, the churches, whose function here is indistinguishable from the democratic concept; labor, and the employers of labor, the press and the school and college.

"Too often in the past the Negro problem has been thought of and talked about as if it were sectional, as if it existed in certain states in the South and was not a problem in the North. Whatever once was true, it is perfectly clear that the problem is now national in its scope and is not confined to any particular

part of the country. The Los Angeles disorders, the Detroit riots, the New York disorders, all of recent months, show that racial clashes since the war started do not occur only in the South and do not spring only from the ancient prejudices and hatred and fears inherited from the Civil War, and from the outnumbering of the Whites by Negroes in certain parts of the South, but are implicit in great industrial societies that have never known slavery or the inherited memories of a slave relationship.

"War unifies a country, not merely by giving expression to a common effort, but by throwing together vast masses of young men who in their training at the camps exchange ideas and the points of view of other parts of the country. A large proportion of the camps, obviously for practical reasons, has been built in the South; and the Negro officers and soldiers trained there have without doubt been treated in many cases with discrimination, rudeness and even brutality by white civilians and white police officers. The result among the Negroes is bitter disillusionment and anguish, as anyone knows who has talked to colored troops or read the letters they have sent home. The Army has been alive to the serious effect of this treatment on morale, and has made efforts to improve it. An article in the August Infantry Journal deals frankly with this form of race prejudices. Let me quote from it: 'Sometimes the prejudice against the Negroes flares up in the Army. It is not a problem, however, in a camp where it is well understood that a soldier in the United States uniform is a soldier, not a white or a Negro, Christian or Jew, rich man or poor, but a soldier, and as such is worthy of respect.'

"We must realize then that the problem of the relation of the white to the Negro, in fact the problems of most racial minorities, are national in their scope. They concern all of us, for they go to the roots of our democratic standards. I have emphasized the Negro soldier, for mistreatment or disrespect of the Negro citizen in uniform, who fights to defend our flag, is disavowal of those things for which our flag is the symbol-- a free nation under God. To this promise of American life we have two commitments which we cannot revoke, which we cannot disregard. Our national Constitution guarantees equality of treatment and opportunity to all. More recently we have assumed obligations of defending the democracy elsewhere in the world attacked by totalitarian aggression. These principles and promises must be fulfilled in the due course of the evolution our democratic life. Nor can we assume the obligations of a defense of world democracy if our example of democracy at home, in this fundamental aspect, is neither consistent nor courageous. Race intolerance is no longer a matter merely of domestic concern. For it undermines our moral authority as a nation which apparently can profess but cannot practice democracy.

"The injustices that have been done, that are being done the Negro, are obviously recognized throughout the country. But the implications of this treatment, I am certain, are not generally realized. We have too long accepted discrimination to achieve in any short time or with any determined resolution the will to change an injustice that has to some extent formed the pattern of habit. I do not mean that the need is agitation, which but tends to accentuate the bitterness; or any campaign for immediate re-

form of every evil on all sides at once. But the agitation is here already, emerging from the flame of the war which has suddenly brought the difference to which I have referred--the difference between our profession and our performance.

"I suggest that what is greatly needed is a broader and more intelligent use of the moral and educational influences of the community. Most Americans are honest in their belief in equality of opportunity. But intellectual honesty in such a field of prejudice and ancient folkways can be achieved only by the slow and steady impact of education.

"Just as the responsibility for existing conditions cannot be fixed in any one group, or in any single section of the country, so the change must come from the efforts of all stable and progressive elements of our society. The recent outbreak of anti-semitism among Boston public school children shows how great is the part educational institutions must play in the picture. One of the striking features of the Detroit riots was that there were no racial clashes in the plants where a well-disciplined union had insisted that it would not tolerate the refusal of whites to work side by side with Negroes. But in some unions discrimination against Negroes is practiced by not permitting them to vote; from some unions they are excluded, and in others prevented from rising into skilled jobs.

"The Government--national, state and local--must of course bear its share of responsibility for existing conditions."

The foregoing quotation, taken from an address by the Honorable Francis Biddle, Attorney General of the United States before the Jewish Theological Seminary of America on November 11,

1943 at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City, gives a concise summary of the Negro question and its challenge to American democracy.

The Commission on Urban Colored Population was created by the New Jersey Legislature in response to public demand that ways be found to solve the problem of affording Negroes equal opportunity for self-support and economic and cultural development. This Commission believes that this problem is not caused by anything which is natural or inherent in the Negro. The Negro is the victim rather than the cause. His plight is the result of conditions which have been imposed upon him and which he is unable to remove by his sole efforts.

The National Youth Commission, of which Mr. Oliver D. Young was Chairman, included, among its projects for research into the condition of American youth, an investigation as to what is offered Negro Youth by the U.S.A. The first statement made in a report, sent in to the Commission by the specialists assigned to the field reads:

"The four area research studies just completed by the staff of the American Youth Commission concerned with an analysis of the minority status of Negro youth by virtue of their combined handicap of racial barriers and low social position subtly reflect in their own personality--traits minor or major distortions or deficiencies which compound their problem of personality adjustments in American society.

"More specifically, the research studies have revealed: That being a Negro in most cases not only means living in the presence of severe physical limitations, but, more important for

personality development, also means living in an intimate culture whose incentives, rewards, and punishments prevent the development of that type of personality, standards, attitudes, and habits which the general community deems desirable."

The solution to this problem is clear but difficult to achieve. When the barriers to full citizenship have been torn down and equal opportunity of education, protection under the law and recognition of ability are bestowed upon him the Negro will no longer constitute a problem in the American community. But before these barriers can be removed prejudice against him must be eradicated. This cannot be accomplished by legislation alone or through the use of force. However, education and understanding can change the mental attitudes of those in whom the seeds of prejudice have taken root and grown.

The Commission calls attention to the responsibility which must be accepted by public officials, business executives and leaders of public opinion. In most instances firm action on the part of the superior will prevent the practice of discrimination. However, in too many cases, the executive condones the spread of prejudice by permitting it to operate in his own department. This gives tacit approval and encouragement to the practice.

This is shockingly illustrated by the Red Cross Blood Bank. The advance of scientific knowledge introduced a new method of providing blood for transfusions for war casualties. The public was asked to donate blood which was prepared and stored for future use. The War Department requested the American Red Cross to create the blood bank. The Red Cross is permitted to segregate and identify all blood donated by Negroes. The reason given is

that some of the wounded would object to the use of Negro blood in order to save their lives. In spite of scientific proof that there is absolutely no racial difference in blood, in spite of the fact that when a man enters the armed service he is taught from the outset to obey orders without question, in this instance a federal department permits the spread of prejudice and its attendant evils.

On the other hand, a determined and uncompromising stand by those in position of responsibility or leadership almost invariably eliminates the practice of discrimination. When Mrs. Roosevelt resigned from the Daughters of the American Revolution, because they discriminated against Marian Anderson, that organization soon changed its policy. When the American Bar Association refused to admit Francis Rivers, a Negro lawyer to membership, prominent lawyers resigned from the organization. Almost immediately the American Bar Association admitted Negroes to membership. After Governor Dewey appointed a Negro to a judgeship the political parties found enough courage to nominate him as their candidate and he was elected.

Discrimination can be wiped out in New Jersey much more quickly if the general public is made to realize that the public officials and the leaders of public opinion will not tolerate it.

The schools must teach that discrimination is as much a social evil or crime as is stealing or killing. However it is futile to teach children that segregation is wrong and at the same time practice segregation in the schools.

## INTRODUCTION

On April 1, 1931 the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies in cooperation with the Interracial Committee of New Jersey Conference of Social Work undertook a survey project, the purposes of which were:

1. "To ascertain the social and economic status of the Negro population of New Jersey through an analysis of that group's advantages and disadvantages, in the fields of education, employment, housing, business, health, law observance, dependency, delinquency, recreation and citizenship."
2. "To make available these facts for the several communities in New Jersey and for the State of New Jersey that they may be used as the basis for a constructive program in promoting the social well-being of the Negro, and in improving interracial relationships."

This survey when published revealed that "New Jersey has a larger percentage of Negroes in its population than any other state in the northern or midwestern section of the United States, including those large centers of Negro population--Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan;" that "Negro workers were employed on the lowest paid jobs;" that "Fifty-seven per cent of the employers stated that even qualified Negroes could not get better jobs in their plants;" that "throughout the state it was found that the per cent Negro in the unemployed population was invariably higher than the per cent Negro in the total population;" that "Negroes usually are, economically, the least competent group in the community, and they reside in these blighted areas located in the oldest residential sections of the city--over crowded and poverty stricken to an extreme

degree," that "A most revealing discovery was the small per cent of Negro homes having modern conveniences" that "all problems point to the tremendous responsibility of Negro physicians and registered nurses located largely in urban areas;" that "although the law requires a doctor to spend at least a year as a hospital interne before practicing there is no hospital in the state that admits a Negro interne or trains a Negro nurse;" that "social workers express concern over the lack of facilities for the care for Negro unmarried mothers and their babies", that "it is true there are a number of Negro criminals. It is also true that a number of anti-social situations are tolerated by police authorities in Negro areas. There exists therefore a double standard of justice toward which whites and Negroes alike show resentment."

During the years that followed, the condition of the Negro population became worse. In 1936, although Negroes composed 5% of the State's population, they represented 26% of the families on relief. In 1937, in 8 of the State's largest cities, the proportion of Negroes among the relief population ranged from 3 to 6 times their actual proportion of the population of those cities. It is significant to note that among the recipients of relief only 0.6% of the Negro families had been resident in the State less than one year and 8.7% of the Negro families had been resident in the State for more than one year and less than 5 years. This indicates that more than 90% of the Negro families on relief in 1937 came to New Jersey before the State had established any system of adequate relief.

Thoughtful citizens were quick to realize that the condition of the colored population in this State was creating problems which affected the welfare of the entire state, that the result-

ing evils could not be confined to the Negroes alone nor could they be corrected by the Negroes alone. These citizens recognized that it was the responsibility of the State to assist in the solution of this problem.

Accordingly, on June 17, 1938, the Legislature of the State of New Jersey under Chapter 393, Law of 1938, created a temporary commission to examine, report upon and recommend measures to improve the economic, cultural, health and living conditions of the urban colored population of the State.

The report of the Temporary Commission, submitted in 1939 showed that the average family income for Negro families had dropped from \$1052 to \$880; that 30% of the families had incomes of less than \$600 a year; that employment barriers were raised against Negroes by private employers, public appointive officers, labor unions, and public utilities; that poor housing with its attendant social evils, still prevailed among the Negroes; that hospital facilities were often denied them; that Negro internes and nurses were still denied training in the hospitals of the state; that Negro pupils were denied equal educational opportunities; that there was general discrimination against Negroes by life and casualty insurance companies.

The report of the Temporary Commission confirmed the findings of the 1931 survey and proved that the condition of the colored population warranted action on the part of the State. On June 10, 1941, under Chapter 192, Laws of 1941, the Legislature responded by creating a permanent commission to examine, report upon and formulate measures to improve the economic, cultural, health and living conditions of the urban colored population.

TABLE # 1

NUMBER, PER CENT OF TOTAL, AND INCREASE, OF  
NEGRO POPULATION OF NEW JERSEY

1790 - 1940

Census Year	Total Population	Negro Population	Per Cent in Total Population	Per Cent of Negro Increase
1940	4,160,165	226,873	5.5	8.6
1930	4,041,334	208,828	5.2	78.3
1920	3,155,900	117,132	3.7	30.5
1910	2,537,167	89,760	3.5	28.5
1900	1,883,669	69,844	3.7	46.6
1890	1,444,933	47,638	3.3	22.6
1880	1,131,116	38,853	3.4	26.7
1870	906,096	30,658	3.4	21.0
1860	672,035	25,336	3.8	5.4
1850	489,555	24,046	4.9	10.7
1840	373,306	21,715	5.8	5.6
1830	320,823	20,557	6.4	2.7
1820	277,575	20,017	7.2	7.1
1810	245,562	18,694	7.6	11.1
1800	211,149	16,824	9.0	18.6
1790	184,139	14,135	7.7	....

U. S. Bureau of Census-1940  
Adapted

TABLE #2

TOTAL AND NEGRO POPULATION BY COUNTIES OF  
NEW JERSEY

1930-1940

	TOTAL POPULATION		NEGRO POPULATION		PER CENT	
	1940	1930	1940	1930	1940	1930
N. J. State	4,160,165	4,041,334	226,973	208,828	5.5	5.2
Atlantic	124,066	124,823	19,892	19,703	16.0	15.8
Bergen	409,646	364,977	9,733	8,872	2.4	2.4
Burlington	97,013	93,541	6,937	6,672	7.2	7.2
Camden	255,727	252,312	17,933	16,813	7.0	6.7
Cape May	28,919	29,486	2,618	2,782	9.1	9.4
Cumberland	73,184	69,895	5,398	4,748	7.4	6.8
Essex	837,340	833,513	68,776	60,236	8.2	7.2
Gloucester	72,219	70,802	6,767	6,077	9.4	8.6
Hudson	662,040	600,730	13,149	11,970	2.3	2.3
Hunterdon	36,766	34,728	536	407	1.6	1.2
Mercer	197,318	187,143	13,676	11,949	7.0	6.4
Middlesex	217,077	212,208	5,788	5,895	2.7	2.8
Monmouth	161,238	147,200	14,162	13,897	8.8	9.4
Morris	128,732	110,445	3,203	3,269	2.5	3.0
Ocean	37,706	33,069	1,330	1,253	3.5	3.8
Passaic	301,353	302,129	6,766	5,518	2.2	1.8
Salem	42,274	36,834	5,013	4,763	11.9	12.9
Somerset	74,390	65,132	1,823	1,623	2.5	2.5
Sussex	29,632	27,830	121	119	0.4	0.4
Union	323,344	305,209	18,699	17,859	6.0	5.9
Warren	50,181	49,319	350	303	0.7	0.6

Source:- Adapted From 1940 United States Census  
Negroes in the United States

TABLE #3

TOTAL AND NEGRO POPULATION IN SELECTED CITIES OF  
NEW JERSEY

1930 - 1940

## ALSO PER CENT OF NEGRO POPULATION TOTALS

	Total Population		Negro Population		1940	1930
	1940	1930	1940	1930		
Asbury Park	14,617	14,981	3,513	3,567	24.0	23.7
Atlantic City	64,094	66,198	15,668	15,611	24.4	23.6
Bridgeton	15,992	15,699	1,603	1,526	10.0	9.7
Burlington	10,905	18,844	1,362	1,408	12.5	13.0
Camden	117,536	118,700	12,478	11,340	10.6	9.6
Englewood	18,966	17,805	2,999	2,524	15.8	14.2
Elizabeth	109,912	114,589	4,941	4,751	4.2	4.5
Freehold	6,952	6,894	624	592	8.9	10.5
Hackensack	26,279	24,568	3,098	2,330	11.8	10.3
Jersey City	301,173	316,715	13,416	12,575	4.5	4.0
Long Branch	17,408	18,399	1,492	1,609	8.6	8.7
Lawn Side	1,270	1,379	1,151	1,224	90.6	88.8
Morristown	15,270	15,197	1,437	1,377	9.4	9.1
Montclair	39,807	42,017	6,777	6,384	17.0	15.2
Newark	429,760	442,337	45,760	38,880	10.6	8.8
New Brunswick	33,180	34,555	2,096	2,086	6.0	6.0
Neptune	10,207	10,625	1,605	1,869	15.7	17.6
E. Orange	68,945	68,020	5,950	4,880	8.6	7.2
Orange	35,717	35,399	5,620	5,027	15.7	14.2
Paterson	139,656	138,512	4,268	2,592	3.1	2.1
Roselle	13,597	13,021	1,681	1,538	12.4	11.8
Red Bank	10,974	11,622	1,583	1,596	14.4	13.7
Plainfield	37,469	34,422	4,574	3,684	12.2	10.6
Pleasantville	11,050	11,580	1,892	1,596	17.1	17.2
Princeton	7,719	6,992	1,198	1,053	15.5	11.3
Salem	8,618	8,047	1,540	1,498	17.8	10.2
Summit	16,165	14,556	1,405	1,261	8.7	8.7
Trenton	124,697	123,356	9,308	8,057	7.5	6.5
Woodbury	8,306	8,121	1,204	951	14.5	11.6
Wildwood	5,150	5,330	541	530	10.5	10.2

SCURCE: - Adapted From 1940 United States Census  
Negroes in the United States

TABLE #4

STATE OF NEW JERSEY  
WORKERS EMPLOYED IN INDUSTRIES  
(EXCEPT PUBLIC UTILITY WORK)

-1940-

Type Of Industry	White		Negro		Totals
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Forestry & Mining And Agriculture	47,776	2,309	3,147	121	3,268
Manufacturing (All Types)	404,042	156,489	9,262	1,970	11,232
Construction	73,857	1,353	3,127	31	3,158
Transportation, Communication And Other Utilities	107,650	15,015	4,170	74	4,244
Wholesale And Retail Trades	195,389	61,441	7,030	1,046	8,076
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	57,410	29,571	1,029	127	1,156
Business And Repair Services	26,966	2,861	1,681	37	1,718
Domestic And Personal Services	36,271	59,591	7,080	26,646	33,726
Amusement, Recreation And Related Services	9,135	2,120	511	81	592
Professional And Related Services	52,539	63,690	1,687	1,253	2,940
Government Services	45,179	8,769	1,038	151	1,189
Industry Not Reported	26,619	13,585	1,409	463	1,868
All Industries Total	1,077,033	416,794	41,167	32,040	73,207

Source:- Bureau Of The Census - 1940

Progress Report  
FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT

Objectives

This Commission has noted in the surveys made in previous reports, and from investigations and research made by this agency, relating to the condition of the Negro in New Jersey, that the "number one" obstacle confronting the Negro's advancement, has been the primary problem of earning a decent living.

The Commission has charted a course as one of its first objectives, to work with industrialists, public officials, labor unions and influential lay leaders and organization, of spearheading a program that will ultimately guarantee every Negro worker in New Jersey, of either sex, the opportunity to earn a living at any skill in which that worker is qualified. This program must also guarantee to new Negro workers who enter the labor force, the opportunity to acquire any skill which their talents or adaptability may point up to for training and apprenticeship.

This Commission's investigators were instructed to work in the various areas of the industrial field of New Jersey and press for an equality of working standards in pay, hours, and working conditions for the Negro worker, identical with the standards of the white workers of the State. The Commission holds that the right to work is elemental and undebatable for all free men and citizens in a democracy.

Analysis

We are in complete agreement with all the competent analysts, on the premise that, from this focal economic point, stems most

of the other co-related questions relative to the Negro's past and future measure of achievement, or defeatism in the areas of housing, health, education, recreation, delinquency, crime and citizenship morale.

#### New Jersey's Industrial Pariahs

With a few exceptions, which shall be noted, the Commission's investigations discovered a widespread and shameful policy of discrimination against the Negro worker. The general pattern in normal times before Pearl Harbor, was to shunt the Negro worker off as an industrial "pariah". We found nothing in writing save the occasional newspaper want ads, (hate ads.) which noted "white" or "gentile" in specifications for this or that job advertised. And, of course, the reactionary labor unions, which had inscribed "lily white" clauses or racist ritualistic hocus pocus in their constitutions.

The unwritten custom of barring Negroes from employment was not as brazen as the cases of the newspaper help wanted advertisements, but was equally as effective in keeping all of the best jobs "lily white". The practice had atrophied into a hard and fast policy which in action boiled down to this credo,-- "no negro workers wanted" or "give the negroes the lowest, dirtiest jobs, the menial jobs, or those jobs with high occupational disease hazards", and finally the Negro woman worker was condemned almost in toto to "domestic service".

Even in these fields, Negroes worked and lived under a constant threat of being "the last hired and the first fired"..... Parallel with this industrial discrimination and degradation, went the triple shame of the lowest wage scale, abominable working

conditions in relation to hours of service, and disrespect for the unskilled worker as an individual..... Barred by the all embracing fog of prejudice from most of the craft labor unions, Negroes were nevertheless branded as scabs when they sought and obtained work as free lancers.

The Commission indicts this practice before the bar of public opinion and characterizes this appalling employer-worker conspiracy as "New Jersey's color caste system" in labor relations. New Jersey's leading white citizens have often expressed horror at the brutal and debasing effects of the caste system in India, on the public mind and soul, and at the same time, they consciously or unconsciously practice or condone its counterpart in our states' industrial pattern.

#### Field Work

So for this first year, the Commission directed almost the full force and emphasis of its field staff to the job of grappling with this vital question of employment, wages and working standards. Fortunately, the general tide of employment was rising due to the labor demands of the lend lease program in the war effort. As the Commission's investigators moved into the employment field, they were confronted with, but not surprised to find, the paradoxical situation of many firms holding war contracts, which in one breath begged and advertised, "we want workers for our plants", "terrible manpower shortage", but in the next breath would say to eager Negro job applicants, "it's against this company's policy to hire Negroes".

It is only fair to say that this attitude of the employers was not peculiar to New Jersey, although New Jersey was probably

the worst offender, having at that time the bulk of the war contracts on the eastern seaboard. It is certainly no overstatement to say that this brazen bigotry was fairly representative of a national pattern of industrial discrimination against colored people.

### March On Washington

The Negroes all over the nation rose en masse and bitterly assailed this latest attempt to rob them of their chance of equitable integration into the nation's war effort. They passionately resented being rejected as co-builders of the "arsenal of democracy".

A dynamic Negro leader arose among them, one Asa Phillip Randolph, who proposed a nationwide protest in the dramatic form of what he termed "A March On Washington" by Negroes from every state in the Union.

The temper of the Negroes was at such a pitch as a result of this denial of the right to work, that Randolph's idea caught like wildfire, and over 200,000 Negro men and women, made plans and raised finances to start community units, and stage a march on the nation's capital, reminiscent of the Veteran's Bonus March, and the March of General Coxey's army. Frustrated and bitter, many of the groups of Negroes of New Jersey were organized and poised to join this nationwide demonstration. The zero hour of the march was almost about to strike when the national administration, realizing the seriousness of the movement, both to the national and allied morale, conferred with Randolph and the "March On Washington" steering committee.

### Fair Employment Practice Committee

As a result of this conference, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 8802 which directed all holders of war contracts to discontinue the practice of denying employment to any citizen on account of race, creed or color..... A short time afterwards the Fair Employment Practice Committee was created by another Executive Order with powers to investigate and report to the President on any lack of compliance with Executive Order No. 8802..

Anxious to cooperate with the war effort and desiring only to protect the basic right of Negro citizens to work, Randolph and his committee called off the march, but the framework of the committee is still intact.

### F. E. P. C. HEARINGS

The issuance of the Executive Order No. 8802 had its progressive repercussions in New Jersey. In the light of complaints received, it was revealed that many firms had either ignored the President's order, or openly defied the directive to change their racial employment policy. Complaints from Negroes and other minority groups poured into the offices of the F.E.P.C.

The Fair Employment Practice Committee acted first with persuasive letters. Wherever they failed, the F.E.P.C. called public hearings and subpoenaed some of the brazen offenders, which resulted in several New Jersey firms being cited to the President for violating the order barring discriminatory practices against Negroes, and several other minority groups coming under the bracket "race, color or creed".

The spotlighting of these recalcitrant firms, was evidence that the Federal government had passed the coddling stage in relation to labor shortage bottle necks, caused by race or religious prejudice. Word was passed down manufacturers' row and there was some immediate progress in the hiring of heretofore rebuffed Negro applicants in many plants holding war contracts throughout the state. A careful study by this Commission, however, revealed that in too many cases the policy/<sup>adopted</sup> was merely "token hiring".

### "Token Hiring"

In many cases checked by the Commission's investigators, firms had hired sufficient Negroes to get within the fringe of the letter of the Executive Order. Typical of this evasion was one personnel manager in a firm which had a total employment load of 1096, who assured one of our field men, that the company had no discrimination policy against hiring Negroes, and to prove it he stated and produced records to the effect that they had 7 Negro men and 2 Negro women on their payroll.

In the New Jersey town where this plant was located, there was a potential labor market of over 500 Negroes. All of the "token hired" Negro men in this plant were classed as unskilled laborers, and the Negro women were assigned as lavatory matrons. There were no Negro men or women on the production line; although three of the Negro laborers had some machine-shop experience, and many colored girls with brilliant high school records from the local labor market had applied and been turned away because "they had no experience". White girls with a similar record of "no experience" were being hired daily and put on the floor performing simple mass production operations

and trained in the plant every day, until they were ready to take their places on the skilled production lines.

We shall detail more case work along this line in another chapter. However, our investigators noted the "token hiring" as not being compliance, but subtle evasion of Presidential Order No. 8802. The Commission reformed its strategy to fight this transition discrimination, which had taken the place of absolute exclusion of Negro workers.

Whereas the President's Executive Order No. 8802, the F.E.P.C. hearings, the U.S.E.S. and the War ManPower Commission, on paper at least, were now geared to challenge the practices of racial discriminations against war workers from the Federal angle, the State of New Jersey at this time through an act of the Legislature significantly assumed a major role in the fight to support the struggle for industrial racial democracy in New Jersey.

#### New Jersey Outlaws Discrimination in War Plants

On May 4th, 1942, the New Jersey Legislature passed the Stackhouse Bill making it unlawful for any employer engaged in war contracts to discriminate in employment for reasons of race, color or creed. The Stackhouse Law was forthright in language and had "teeth" in the penalty paragraphs which proclaimed that "any employer or person who (1) Excludes a citizen . . . denies, or aids or incites others to deny to any person, because of race, color or creed, public employment or employment in any capacity in industries engaged in defense contracts, . . . shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable by a fine of not less than (\$100.00) nor more than (\$500.00) or imprisonment for not more than six months or both."

Future historians and sociologists will note that the Stackhouse Law and the Hargrave Act, creating the New Jersey Welfare Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population, are recorded examples of interracial vision, courage and enterprise on the part of the recent Legislatures of New Jersey. These laws were conceived and enacted by their sponsors to create statutory measures, directed towards correcting some of the social problems of the State, that stemmed from racial and cultural prejudices against Negroes and other minority groups. The Commission's investigators also found the Stackhouse Law, the Hargrave Act and the President's Executive Order No. 8802 to be an excellent triumvirate, through which the Commission could make a legalistic and authoritative approach to firms and agencies discriminating in the field of employment. The Commission discovered that armed with these instruments, stating the policy and position taken by the highest sources of state and national authority, the work of the Commission could be at once both orderly and effective. It visualized its assignment as one which directed it to use educative and persuasive measures, wherever possible, to break down prejudicial employer-worker attitudes....and if this approach faile.... then, after a reasonable time, our responsibility was, clearly, to put in motion forces wherein the stern punitive arm of the law would be evoked against the offending party or parties involved.

#### Case Work With Employers

The highlights of the Commission's work in contacting employers, urging the imperative necessity of scrapping their 'color caste' system in employment, can be summarized by a cross section study of some of the case work of our investigators. We shall out-

line a number of employer reactions selected as typical from the hundreds of cases completed by our field staff.

Our investigations covered every county in New Jersey in which war work was being carried on. In 1940 according to the figures of the U. S. Bureau of Census, 104,970 Negroes out of a total Negro population of 226,973 were in the labor force. Of these 104,970 potential Negro workers, 13,419 were doing public emergency work(W.P.A, N.Y.A.etc.) 18,344 had no jobs and were seeking work and 73,207 were gainfully employed in private industries. For purposes of clarity, we present these figures in thumbnail chart form.

On public emergency work	13,419
Unemployed and seeking work	18,344
At Work (not public emergency)	<u>73,207</u>
Total Negroes in labor force	104,970

In a further breakdown of the Negro workers employed in other than public emergency work, referring specifically to the 73,207 figure noted above, it was revealed (see table No. 4) that 33,726 of those workers were employed in the personal and domestic service field, or 44.6 per cent. Thus nearly one half of the working Negro population was cast in a low income field, which offered little or no chance for promotion or hope. As the reader studies and sums up the comparisons in table No. 4 and bears in mind that even in the other fields of employment where the Negro was hired, his place in the scheme of that industry was at the lowest rung of the ladder with scant chance of rising to a higher level.

## Employers and Personnel Managers

These figures and percentages are eloquent in giving further documentary analysis and proof that the Negro workers in New Jersey have been cast into discriminatory stratification, as to the type of work they were permitted to perform to earn their daily bread. Whenever our field men approached an employer or personnel manager, they found them, for the most part, indoctrinated with this customary color caste point of view in relation to the so-called traditional 'Negro jobs' and 'white man's jobs'.

Let us emphasize again there were certain notable exceptions in attitude. Our staff found some employers or personnel managers who apparently immediately saw our point of view as a matter of simple justice. Some of these men had made experiments on a small scale in the integration of Negro workers. Others expressed agreement with our suggestions, but frankly admitted they were afraid to break the ice, or they did not know of any safe method to combat the expected reaction of the white workers' prejudice. However, let us quote the reaction of some of the most typical employers, and the reader can examine the statements for whatever value they may have as logic, patriotism, or what have you.

Mr. A., personnel manager of a plant making radio parts said, "We have run our plant here for 20 years and we have never used Negroes. My white workers would walk out if we put Negroes on the bench."

Mr. B., owner of a small plant hiring less than 100 workers said, "Negro workers are not qualified for this type of work. Their work apprenticeship has always been in the farming,

domestic or personal service fields. We would lose too much money 'breaking them in' the high speed habits and alert behavior pattern of an industrial worker."

#### Greater Intolerance of White Women Workers Reported

Mr. C., personnel manager of another plant asserted, "We have colored men gradually working their way up in the plant, but a delegation of the white women workers here has served notice on us, that if we planned to hire Negro girls or women, our firm would be expected to put in separate toilet facilities. Before they would use the same facilities with Negro women, they stated they would quit. We think that their demands are silly, and we couldn't get the materials for a separate plumbing outfit if we wanted to. It seems the female of the specie is more deadly or intolerant than the male".

Commenting on the fact that the white women's attitudes of prejudice seem most unbending, Mr. D., General Manager of another plant making radio parts, which employs as high as 90% female help explains, "Our plant is in a semi-suburban area, our normal employment roster about uses up all of the working class white female in this area. The extra war workers we have to employ are from the class of white women who don't have to work to live. Their menfolk can support them. They are the glamour workers-- for the thrill or patriotism of the thing--they're pretty high hat, and we have a tremendous turnover as it is. We have to handle them with kid gloves. They ostracize the poor white workers. They would cripple the plant schedule by walking out, if we dared put in Negro women on the line. But, I do wish you would send us three colored women for the washrooms."

Mr. E., manager of a firm producing plane parts gave this reaction. "Our workers are one big happy family. We generally get our workers through the recommendation of workers already in the plant, who bring a relative or a friend. That makes for harmony between the workers, which is good for production. None of our workers ever recommended a colored worker to us. We would not like to change that plan which has proved successful."

Miss F., interviewer of another plant reported. "This is a closed shop, we get all of our help through the union. The people we get have the seniority of long time membership. They have never sent us a Negro worker."

Here is one example of 'employer resistance' that was recorded by one of our investigators, which taxed the resourcefulness of all parties concerned.

Mr. G., personnel manager of one plant, speaking for the management said to our investigator, "In relation to hiring colored women, I agree with you that there should be no discrimination, but if I hire them, we have received word from white delegations of our women workers that they will quit. We have checked the strength of this movement and find that it will not be a 100% walkout. In fact very much less, 25% at the top. We are behind in our production now and cannot stand a 25% loss, even for a few days, as we have a Navy man right in our plant who is on our necks daily demanding production. If I follow your suggestion and thereby disrupt my plant schedule and production, will your Commission be able to step in and furnish me enough skilled workers to carry on the plant production quotas as required by Uncle Sam?"

The Commission will record later some of the replies and suggestions made by our staff to counteract these specious arguments of management. The tone of these replies to our first approach expresses a varied shade of employer reaction. The retorts ran the whole gamut from sullen tolerance, through a policy of timidity and indecision, to an amazing ineptitude in handling human relationships. When one considers that a personnel manager is presumably a trained person, who, at least, has been exposed to a basic course in psychology, the most charitable way one can explain his confusion when confronted with the race angle, is that his foundation study of employer-worker relationship was predicated on the theory of dealing entirely with all white workers. Obviously, this type of manager, wherever found, needs re-education, if they are to make a constructive contribution to a nation at war for its survival, in which one out of every ten potential war workers is colored.

#### Helping Hands

On the credit side of the ledger of personnel managers some of our investigations were confronted with an entirely different picture. Just what educative forces are to be credited with this enlightened viewpoint we cannot specifically point out. We are inclined to credit some of the spadework to the training and placement program of the National Youth Administration of New Jersey. This agency has broken down new workers' prejudice and employer timidity, by training together in mechanical skills and workers' comradeship, thousands of colored and white youths side by side in their schools throughout the State.

Also, the United States Employment Service, where it was fortunate enough to secure progressive and liberal administrators, has refused to truckle to the prejudiced habits of either employers or white workers in their referrals.

The War Manpower Commission has inaugurated a program of education through pamphlets, directives, and withholding certain cooperation from firms, which have attempted to cling to their pre-war patterns of racial employment discrimination.

Progressive labor union locals, with the C.I.O., decidedly taking the most aggressive stand, have backed our Commission's fight for integration of Negro workers on many occasions. They have also, on their own initiative, formed virile committees to combat race discrimination, carrying on a forthright educational campaign among workers in their locals. They have not only preached industrial democracy, but practiced it, in nominating and electing their Negro fellow workers to key positions on policy making boards, which chart the program of their locals and councils.

The more progressive labor unions have not confined the battle for democratic racial understanding, within the sphere of trade unionism, but have extended their influence and voice to the other co-related fields, where race prejudice has borne down upon the Negro, and muddled the thinking of white workers.

#### Its An Ill Wind That Blows No Good

The housing shortage, caused by the tremendous migration of new workers from all over America to New Jersey, has played its part indirectly in 'softening up' the employer's reluctance against hiring Negro workers. When the habitable houses already built in New Jersey had reached their saturation point in

absorbing the new white migrant workers, there just were not any more houses to give shelter to the late arrivals, nor to allow for the expanding family units of those already here. The new houses constructed under the war housing grants, could not keep abreast of the demand. So, employers who still wanted to favor white workers from Tennessee, Georgia, Illinois and everywhere else, could not complete the transactions because there was no more housing for the white workers. These white workers had the offer of jobs, but no place to live. Many Negroes of New Jersey had houses, but no jobs. The final solution was in favor of many Negro job applicants of New Jersey who were thereby eased into hundred of jobs, here and there, throughout the State, primarily, because the problem of housing workers out-weighed the problem of color prejudice. A typical case of a frustrated migrant white worker is summarized in this dialogue which one of our investigators overheard between two white workers on a bus loaded with war workers, leaving Newark terminal.

First Worker: "So you are going back to West Virginia, Bill?"

Second Worker: I've got to go. You see, I came up alone figuring after a spell of work, I'd send for the wife and kids. But I can't find a house or an apartment. I've been trying ten months, there's nothing in sight. The dough I'm making is O.K., but I want to be with my family. The kids miss their Pa, and the wife ain't so well. I've gotta go back, Jim. My wife says I might as well be in the Army if we are to be separated for one year, two or more. We don't know how long this war is going to last.

First Worker: We've been losing a lot of good guys that way. My gang is changing all the time. Is that brother of yours coming up? I mean the one that's a carpenter.

Second Worker: Naw, what's the use? He would be in the same fix I'm in. Say, you know one thing, our boss is getting desperate. He's putting niggers in the crews. Two of our gangs now look like Uncle Tom's Cabin on parade. What I want to know, how is it niggers have got houses and I can't get one?

First Worker: That ain't hard to figure. The Negroes who have houses, live in the colored section. The only white people who ever move into a colored section to live would be some kind of poor foreigner, who either didn't know any better or operated some kind of small business, and lived in back of it, or over it. It would never occur to you to look for a house in a colored neighborhood. We take a lot of things away from Negroes, but we don't take their houses. The only competition the local Negro has on that score, is from Negroes coming in from other states....and I understand that the Negro families are pretty much doubled up now, across the tracks, but such as they are, they have more places to sleep, than places to work in the war goods plants. I kinda figure we are going to get a lot more of these Negroes, because within a 45 minute bus ride of our plant, there are thousands of Negro porters, maids, bootblacks and others, now doing work that don't mean a thing in relation to beating Hitler and the Japs."

#### Sabotage of the F.E.P.C.

It would seem entirely logical that in view of all these new forces working in favor of industrial justice for the Negro, his work problem would be more readily solved, and perhaps, that it would be unnecessary to create or continue any special agency to gain the desired objectives for the Negro worker. Unfortunately, the theory does not carry over into the factual record of what is actually being accomplished.

As we have already related our Commission's investigations revealed that the President's Executive Order No. 8802 was just another 'scrap of paper', or another 'official bulletin' from

Washington, until the original pressure which was brought by the "March On Washington" movement, was reapplied to officialdom by the March On Washington Committee. This second pressure movement Committee, with powers from the President to exercise police powers in relation to violators of Executive Order 8802, caused the creation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee. The will to resist it's provisions by lesser officials, was present from its birth, to the present writing.

The F.E.P.C. had behind it the noblest of intentions, but was limited in its powers for stern enforcement. It also was vulnerable to attacks from enemies of the Negro, and partisans in Congress opposed to the policies of the President who issued the order because it was the creation of an Executive Order, rather than an act of Congress. Whereas; it is true, that every time the F.E.P.C. held a public hearing, and cited some firms or other parties for discrimination, the Negro worker did gain some status in the war effort, but it was perfectly clear to our Commission in New Jersey that the F.E.P.C. was spread out too thin here to do anything but a 'gesture job' of policing the many plants in New Jersey <sup>which</sup> / were thumbing their noses at the Executive Order and F.E.P.C. The F.E.P.C. staff was too small. The machinery for receiving and handling complaints was cumbersome, and the time element of going into action was so lengthy that for all practical purposes its effective work amounted to little more than an occasional scolding letter or a personal visit from an F.E.P.C. investigator, sometimes spaced as much as six months or a year apart. A part of this impotency can be explained also by the fact that the F.E.P.C. has been compelled to spend three fourths of its time fighting for its own life rather than for the Negro worker.

## The Commission Investigators Enter The Struggle

This Commission's experience convinces us that a practical job in this field cannot be done by remote control. We have found it necessary to have our men out in the field every day and sometimes into the night, checking on complaints of discrimination, counselling with thousands of bewildered and frustrated Negro job applicants. They came to our offices; our field men contacted them in their homes, and very frequently, on invitation, gave employment and vocational guidance to groups and organizations. In fact, this group counselling became such a factor in our program that the Commission was moved to appoint specialists from our staff to handle this very significant branch of our work. Our files are filled with case records of adjustments made through our cooperation that could not possibly have <sup>been</sup> disposed of except through prompt understanding and personal contacts with all parties involved. Our investigators reported, with one or two exceptions, which have been noted, that other State and Federal agencies were for the most part, barren in any results in relation to effecting any sweeping interracial labor relation reforms.

The whole matter of interpretation here, hinged on the attitude of the departmental heads. In most cases, the area or regional heads were found to be ultra-conservative in practice. The fact that race discrimination in employment had been declared bad public policy, that the Executive Order No. 8802 was a federal directive, that the Stackhouse Law was a New Jersey statutory mandate, and all combined, represented an authoritative policy of revolutionary change in interracial labor relations---- just seemed to have passed over the heads of the reactionaries...

It was just another bulletin, or another law--and unless someone pressured them, these administrators took a position of having enough to do to follow their usual routine. By their actions throughout the state, they demonstrated that they felt no close personal responsibility to secure economic justice for the Negro. In fact, a full year and more after these mandatory directives had been issued to officials sworn to uphold laws of the land, our investigators have reported some government appointive officials and personnel directors still 'ear-marking' certain low scale jobs for Negroes and 'reserving' certain high scale jobs 'for whites only'. There have been uncovered numerous cases where ability and fitness for the job have been subordinated to the question of race, color and creed of the applicant.

In light of these revelations, the old agencies cannot be expected to conscientiously investigate and cleanse themselves or others of the habits dominating their behavior for decades. Many of their top flight directors have no sympathy with the intent of the laws directed to change race attitudes, and at the very best, unless prodded constantly, would make only a lackadaisical effort to enforce the provisions of such laws.

Beginning in the spring of 1942, the Commission staff started its round of the plants throughout the State. Following up letters, making appointments for personal calls on the personnel managers, our men vigorously pressed the claims of the Negro workers for full inclusion in the work program of the war effort.

As has been indicated, the task of converting management was a formidable endeavor and required ardent and persistent work in clarification, interpretation and planning. To meet the expected

resistance to our program in many quarters, the Commission had made a special study of the successful techniques of employers in other parts of the country, who had met the identical 'problem' of integrating Negro workers in their organizations. We also made use of the very practical studies on this subject which had been pioneered by such private and public agencies as the National Urban League, the Council of Democracy, The New York State Committee on Discrimination, the Anti-Discrimination Committee of the C.I.O., the National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People, and others.

#### Some Advice We Gave To Management

With full knowledge that management would look askance at purely theoretical suggestions, we pointed out to each prospect on our list the rich experiences of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company of New Haven, Connecticut. This company, very early in 1941, intelligently and realistically faced the problem of labor shortage. In order to overcome it, they decided to tap the abundant Negro workers pool in the Metropolitan area. They increased the number of their Negro workers from 200 to 1500 within a year's time. Prior to that time, they too had followed the old pattern of employing Negroes only in the very lowest brackets. However, when the personnel officers sifted the application records of its Negro employees and found many of them were well trained and with excellent scholastic backgrounds, the company decided to change its personnel policy and hire Negroes in all capacities. As a result, Negroes were soon working in over 50 capacities in the Winchester plant. Negroes were hired as clerks in the office, and as skilled and semi-skilled workers on the

production line. One of the best trained Negro men was employed to work on, and with the office personnel staff. Other Negroes as their qualification warranted, were gradually promoted to be supervisors and foremen over both white and colored workers in the plant.

#### Inventory After First Year

After a year of mixing white and colored workers--men and women--in practically all jobs, everybody at Winchester hailed the policy as a success. In fact, according to the report from that laboratory of 'democracy in labor relations' nobody there even thinks of color any more, for everybody in that plant knows that merit is the only road to success for any worker regardless of the color of his skin.

#### Fair Play in Up-Grading

When Winchester decided to give its Negro workers opportunity for advancement, it also decided to give them exactly the same opportunities that it gave its white ones. And this, the Company says, is the reason why its policy of integrating Negro workers in its plant in all capacities is a success. As an example of Winchester's determination to reward its workers for merit only, it upgraded 115 Negroes out of a total of 672 workers upgraded in a three month period. White and colored workers not only work together, side by side, but they also eat together in the cafeteria, play together on athletic teams and use the same wash-room and toilet facilities. Of course, when Winchester instituted its new policy and put Negroes to work in all divisions of its plant, a few white workers objected. However, the Company overcame these objections and convinced the complainants of the

soundness of its policy by discussing the whole question with them in a matter of fact, but determined manner. The Company states that now some of the chief objectors to working with Negroes, are among the foremost champions of Winchesters.

#### Winchester, Just One Of Many

The Winchester Repeating Arms Company was chosen by the Commission as exhibit "A" of functioning industrial democracy because of its location in the Metropolitan area. The people of New Jersey, employers and workers, native and migrant are exposed to the same general thought, patterns and backgrounds as would influence the Connecticut town of New Haven. However, the Commission's men also made it clear to New Jersey's top management men that Winchester Arms was not a freak plant, but only one of many firms in the country which had reacted intelligently, forthrightly and in the finest democratic tradition to the nation's call for all out production in this total war. We pointed out to the war plants of New Jersey that once the essential nature of the racial factions is grasped, that sincere and intelligent plant managers could evolve step by step the technique of integration of Negroes in their work programs with the maximum of efficiency and minimum of unfavorable reaction.

#### Necessity For Firmness

Among the first things that management decided to do was to stand firm behind their new policy. It was agreed that in no sense should they manifest an apologetic attitude in its introduction. All experiences pointed out that nothing would encourage would be agitators more than indecisive or apologetic steps.

### Preparation For Introduction

The first step, once management had made up its mind, was to train the supervisory staff on whom the first hand burden of integrating Negro workers would fall. The enthusiastic supervisors were given the first Negro workers, but all were required to take them as the program developed.

### Gaining Employee Acceptance

The firms <sup>which</sup> / decided on the approach of employing white collar workers first, found their technique excellent psychology in destroying any erection on their part of a new caste system in the plant. No production line employee could hurl back at foremen or management the slur "you are making us work with them, but we don't see them working with you in the office!". Management found less resistance among the white collar workers because of the broader culture, and experience of workers with high school and college educations. These workers had many common intellectual points of agreement, with a highly trained Negro and a mature respect for the abilities of the individual.

### No Bars To Merit

The rights of the Negro to work was discussed in routine speeches and talks with workers along with other talks about the war, Democracy and production. It was decided that any limitation of democracy in the plant would endanger the whole new structure of amity and understanding. So as a natural follow up of work bench cooperative endeavor, all of the facilities of the plant were democratized.

Everything was done in the 'together' spirit. Interracial athletic teams were stimulated and the merit of the individual was the sole badge for inclusion. If a colored worker could play

sing, dance or what not in a manner to enhance the quality of the unit, there were no color bars erected against admission. This factor alone built a tremendous spirit of fair play and goodwill.

Cafeteria, medical and all recreational facilities must be open to all alike. It was the cross section experience of many plants that any other policy would eventually lead to a demand from the 'die-hards' for segregation on the production line. A firm policy was adopted in the very beginning disapproving and prohibiting racial epithets as one of the greatest dangers to worker morale.

#### Selecting The Negro Worker

The first Negro workers were carefully selected. Reliable and reputable agencies, such as the United States Employment Service, the New Jersey Welfare Commission On Condition Of The Urban Colored Population, the Urban League, the colored churches, fraternal orders, and the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People, can be used to start the pool of the Negro workers who are to 'break the ice'.

The Commission further advised the firms to make sure of absolute fairness in the required health examinations. This is not only good policy for workers' morale, but the only lawful way to conduct an examination. Negro personnel officers have proved of great value to many firms <sup>which</sup> have made use of their talents. Their knowledge and contact with the various Negro organizations, groups and key individuals make them invaluable liaison men between the employer and the Negro population. They can best counsel management on many questions which may arise. Also, and a

very important factor, is that they are evidence to the Negro worker of the fair attitude of the company. They can be of great value in interviewing and counseling Negro workers.

#### Placing The Negro Worker

We advised management to avoid a policy of segregating Negro and white workers. Segregation prevents true understanding between the races and paves the way for open friction. It is resented by Negroes. It is expensive and deprives Negroes of the competition of experienced white workers which enables them to increase their efficiency. Successful integration of Negroes is possible, if they are scattered over the entire plant by steady, not sudden induction.

#### How Management Can Best Handle The Negro Worker

This Commission suggested that counseling of Negro workers on an individual basis as the only way to proceed. Picking out Negroes from a group of mixed workers for advice is painful and is usually resented by the Negro workers. Counseling the Negro workers to avoid behavior which will tend to confirm racial prejudice is desirable. It can best be done by a Negro personnel officer. Aggressive behavior is no more marked among Negro workers than white. It is a class and not a racial characteristic and results from social and economic frustration.

On all the checks and re-checks that we have made, we have concluded that absenteeism is no higher among Negro workers than among white. In some places, we found it to be lower. Laziness and irresponsibility is not characteristic of the Negro industrial worker. On the other hand, operating machines is a new experience for the new Negro industrial worker. We suggested to

management that in this sphere of thought and action, the Negro personnel officer . . . would be invaluable in counseling the new Negro workers about handling machinery for their own benefit, as well as to protect the interests of the Company. We have noted before, that members of our staff visited and addressed thousands of Negro workers on the subject "Plant And Public Conduct".

In Relation To Re-educating The White Worker

That greatly advertised "bug aboo", the task of breaking down color caste prejudice of the white workers, has been considered by many as the most formidable obstacle to overcome. However, our experience is that this obstacle has been overrated.

Our Commission suggested to management that once it had firmly adopted a policy of democratic integration and had gone through the preliminary stage of intraining its supervisors, foremen, etc., the next step would be naturally up to the supervisory staff to proceed and "condition" the white workers to expect Negro workers on the production line, in the office and wherever the need may develop.

It has been found by the pioneers in this industrial race-relations experimenting that counseling of small groups of white workers, has been successful in breaking up many old prejudices. We have found out that the white workers, on the whole, have responded to an appeal to their reason on the basic principles of fair play, democracy, patriotism and the necessity for all to sacrifice, if the war is to be won. We pressed home the point that sacrificing 'race prejudice' against a fellow worker must be included in the list of sacrifices.

### The Ridiculous "Lavatory Aristocrats"

It is ironical and certainly ridiculous, but it was discovered that the plant toilet was the greatest source of friction among the white workers, especially the women. The experience of successful management in dealing with this problem was to provide measures, rules, etc., to keep all toilets clean and orderly. Also, to have an absolute fair and impartial system of health examinations and health service. Wherever and when this technique was employed friction has been reduced to a minimum, or entirely eradicated. The same general rule also should be applied to locker rooms and showers.

Rumor and propaganda are routed, concerning Negroes and high disease statistics, when the Negro workers have in their possession 'clean bill of health cards'. This scientific assurance kills the fear of the unknown in the minds of the white workers.

### Equal Pay For Equal Work

Our investigators reported to the Commission that one of the greatest fears many white workers held concerning Negro workers was the fear that the Negro worker would work for less money---and therefore, either cheapen the job, injure the white workers wage scale---or maybe supplant him on the job. There is only one sure-fire way to combat that fear, we told management, and that was to make it clear that all workers, regardless of their color, would be paid the same wage for the same work. In relation to meeting the problems of employing colored women, it was impressively pointed out that it was of the utmost importance to have enlightened white and colored women as personnel officers to give the special counseling to the female workers in their area.

We advised management that in considering the question of upgrading, the process should be to let the natural aptitudes of the workers determine the procedure. The best workers will be accepted by their fellow workers, regardless of race. We had numerous case records to prove the validity of this conclusion.

### The Third V

This Commission certainly holds no brief for the detractors of the Negro worker who would put them into pigeonholes labeled lazy, incompetent, stupid, careless, undependable and the rest of the tirade of adjectives which total up to a general characterizing of Negroes as undesirable material for inclusion in American industrial pattern. We challenge this picture as being plainly a distorted caricature of the Negro worker. However, we are realistic to the point in which we recognize that the New Jersey Negro worker needs a primary education in the modern behavior patterns of the machine age employee.

We contend that any greenness displayed by the new Negro worker in the first few weeks, is not due to any basic racial trait, but to the long denial of any opportunities for training in factory and plant techniques. But with the barriers to his admission to the forges of industry removed, with opportunities and incentives for advancement offered in the reasonable future, the Negro workers will adapt themselves and advance as quickly as any other group of workers with identical opportunities. That has been proved over and over again in those sections of America where the industrial color bar has been let down.

With alert awareness to the needs for vocational guidance, our Commission instituted a program of counseling these workers

in relation to their conduct and habits, not only on the job, but also as to their general public conduct, to and from their place of employment. This has been termed "The Third V Program". The first V being the national symbol for Victory abroad. The second V or double V being coinage of a nationally circulated Negro newspaper, The Pittsburgh Courier, meaning victory at home for democracy. The third V, the brainchild of another Negro newspaper editor of the Cincinnati Union, namely, Wendell P. Dabney, meaning the Negro's victory over himself.

### The Twenty Commandments

In this third program which was largely transmitted through the medium of lectures to groups, large and small, our field men drove home and expounded in detail the paramount necessity of observing the following 'do' and 'don't' instructions or commandments to Negro workers.

#### DO

1. Cultivate punctuality on the job.
2. Be alert around machinery, thus avoiding accidents.
3. Listen carefully to your foreman's or supervisor's instructions.
4. Get enough rest each 24 hours.
5. Be courteous and cooperative to your fellow workers.
6. Mind your own business.
7. Be a cheerful and willing worker.
8. Think and study how you can improve your standards of efficiency from day to day.
9. Be neat, quick, honest and truthful.
10. Remember that the way you conduct yourself, will largely determine whether you and other colored workers will hold this job and similar jobs after the war.
11. BUY ALL THE WAR STAMPS AND BONDS THAT YOU POSSIBLY CAN-- Remember the horrors of the depression--this big money won't last--the BONDS will be your cushion against want in the future.

#### DON'T

1. Watch the clock for lunch and quitting time.
2. Waste time in the smoking room and lavatory.
3. Touch liquor or bring liquor on the job.
4. Slop over your work. It is going to be inspected.

5. Use vulgar or profane language.
6. Wear extreme or outlandish clothes, or keep a chip on your shoulder. Don't 'clown'.
7. Annoy other workers by too much talk.
8. Don't throw away your earnings and then borrow from your fellow worker until next pay day.
9. Play practical jokes or call people out of their names. You are paid to work, not play.
10. Lay off for trivial reasons. The plant is working on a production schedule and every day you are absent is marked against you. It is also disloyal to let our soldier boys down with "too little and too late".
11. DON'T CASH IN YOUR WAR BONDS FOR UNNECESSARY TRIPS, WHOOPIE AND OTHER FOOLISH EXPENSES.

#### Management Testimonials

Of the 563 plants holding war contracts contacted by this Commission during the first year of our program, we are in a position to say 90% of them have at least made a gesture of willingness to cooperate. The other 10% have not exactly 'thumbed' their noses at our agency, but could be classed as recalcitrant. Their evasiveness has not reached the point where the Commission is ready to spot them for a public hearing, but they remain as a challenge to try some other approaches for an adjustment. If these last peaceful resorts fail and there is no substantial improvement, then we will hesitate no longer and proceed with the authority invested in us by the Legislature to call them up for a public hearing.

This Commission is of the opinion that for the record however, some of the firms with whom we have established excellent relations should be noted and excerpts from their correspondence to us be duly quoted.

The personnel manager of the Eclipse-Pioneer Division of Bendix Aviation Corporation in Teterboro, N. J. wrote in part,

"In reference to people you have referred to us, we are pleased to state that a considerable number of them have been employed by this organization.

"Their services have been very satisfactory and we sincerely appreciate your interest in helping us to solve our manpower problem."

/signed/ R.G. Thrasher  
Personnel Director

And another:

Harrison, N. J.

"We are indeed appreciative of the courtesies and consideration that have been extended Crucible Steel Company by your Welfare Commission since your aid has been most helpful.

"The matter of absenteeism is of extreme importance to us and we would appreciate any data you may have compiled relative to this subject and be thankful for any suggestions you might offer."

/signed/ H.R. Moffit,  
Personnel Director

The Industrial Relations Director of the Elastic Stop Nut Corporation of America in Union, N. J., addressed our Commission thusly:

"We should like to commend you at this time for the excellent work your department is doing.

"As a result of our last inspection, we have added twelve Negro girls to our staff in the capacity of machine operators. A recent check indicates that all of these girls are doing splendid work.

"The intelligent and courteous manner in which your department works out such problems with industries like ours is most

constructive. Please be assured that we shall do our utmost to avoid any kind of discrimination within our organization, and that your suggestions and recommendations along these lines will be welcome at all times."

/signed/ Frank Shugert  
Industrial Relations

From South Jersey, the P.J. Ritter Company with general offices in Bridgeton, N. J. wrote:

"We are glad to report that the colored workers employed by this company have been most satisfactory.

"At the present time about 50% of our workers are colored and their work has been <sup>of</sup> highest quality. To date we have had no difficulty to speak of with these workers, but should circumstances arise to warrant it, we will be glad to contact you.

"Our offer to have your representative call at any time still stands, and we trust you will call on us if you are ever in this section."

/signed/ Earl L. McCormick

It is very significant and complimentary to the P.J. Ritter Company and Mr. McCormick that the splendid cooperation established between this firm and our Commission was consummated entirely through correspondence.

Sperry Products, Inc. of Hoboken, N. J. wrote us:

"We wish to state that your office has in the past been very helpful with your services.---There has been a mutual satisfaction between us and those in whom you were interested either directly or indirectly."

/signed/ Edmond P. Dodge  
Personnel Director

From M. Grossman & Son, Inc.

"Our management has been very liberal in the hiring of colored help since our contact with your organization. We hope to be able to continue to do so. Your aid in this matter is very much appreciated."

/signed/ Catherine Dz amba,  
Sec'y.

From South Jersey, the Ventnor Boat Works, Inc. of Atlantic City sent this message:

"We feel that you are doing a good job in preparing colored workers in their new tasks in the present war effort.

"Your services have been very helpful to us, and the colored workers now in our employ are doing a very good job."

/signed/ Arno A. Apel,  
General Manager

Thomas A. Edison, Inc. of Orange communicated with us as follows:

"We assure you of our continued desire to fully cooperate with your organization. Our policy remains unchanged in this respect. If the occasion should arise you may rely upon our future assistance in arriving at a satisfactory solution of any mutual problems."

/signed/ S.F. Larchar  
Personnel Manager

The C.O. Two Fire Equipment Company of Newark went on record as follows:

"Your sincere and conscientious interest in the welfare of the employment problems of this Company are very much appreciated and I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your interest in this matter."

/signed/ Ralph E. Batch,  
Director of Personnel and Public  
Relations

From the Commanding Officer of the War Department Eastern Ordnance Publications Depot in Newark, we received this communication:

"The services rendered in obtaining personnel for this depot to date, by the staff of the New Jersey Welfare Commission has been highly satisfactory."

/signed/ Lee C. Klein  
Major Ord. Dept.  
Commanding

In the case noted below, with the corroborating letter appended, our Commission staff members with the cooperation of the War ManPower Commission was able to establish a Negro Worker's right to be employed where his highest skill could be utilized for the war effort. This Negro worker was a skilled mechanic who was hired as laborer on his first job. Not given any opportunity for promotion, he quit and took another job.

Mr. Robert E. Moore, President of the Flockhart Foundry Company of Newark wrote the following letter to our Commission:

"The purpose of this letter is to thank you for assistance rendered in the case of Robert Mincy.

"We had engaged Mr. Mincy as a mechanic and he was working in a very satisfactory manner. About three months after date of his employment, another employer alleged that Mr. Mincy was illegally employed by us.

"We made several attempts to protect the rights of Mr. Mincy and ourselves through the United States War ManPower Commission, but were unsuccessful. We then called upon your Commission for assistance and are pleased to state that your Commission established our right to employ Mr. Mincy and Mr. Mincy's rights as well!"

/signed/ Robert E. Moore-President

The solution in this case was a decision handed down by the War ManPower Commission, which ruled that every worker is entitled to work wherever he can be employed at his highest skill. The Commission staff members assigned to this case had to go to the top drawer War ManPower Commission officials to get this interpretation of the rule.

#### Liasion Duty Between Workers and Agencies

Although our staff was far too small to do a thorough case work job for all of the individual Negro workers seeking our counsel throughout the State, we did tackle many individual cases that were 'typical' of a pattern of discrimination or frustration operating against Negro citizens and workers. But as has been mentioned before, we were driving for reforms affecting groups of Negro workers, not merely to break the ice for an isolated individual Negro here and there.

Towards these groups of Negro workers our Commission developed a big brother relationship. The creation of so many new governmental agencies which possessed great potential powers to help or confuse the workers, caused many individuals, groups and delegations to seek us for all kinds of advice. Our staff members were called up to interpret the many laws, bulletins, directives, rules and forms which left these workers in a daze in relation to the right approach to these bureaus and agencies.

Rendering this type of service soon developed into a part of each day's routine, on the part of our office and field staff. In hundreds of cases, this kind of guidance was the only thing

necessary to connect many heretofore frustrated job seekers with a working place on the production line of the war effort. We ran across many instances where volunteer workers from civic organizations were helping in this field. In some cases subordinate clerks of the agencies were sympathetic and helpful, but for the most part these agency clerks were too busy with their other routine to take the time needed for individual or group instruction to bewildered Negro applicants caught in a vortex of red tape.

EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 8802

Issued June 25, 1941

Reaffirming policy of full participation of the Defense Program by all persons, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin, and directing certain action in furtherance of said policy.

Whereas it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

Whereas there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of considerations of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity;

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the successful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

2. All contracting agencies of the government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President.

The chairman and members of the committee shall serve as such without compensation but shall be entitled to actual and necessary transportation, subsistence and other expenses incidental to performance of their duties.

The committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid.

The committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

/s/ Franklin D. Roosevelt

ASSEMBLY, NO. 194  
STATE OF NEW JERSEY

INTRODUCED MARCH 9, 1942 - By Mr. Stackhouse  
Referred to Committee on Labor and Industries  
APPROVED MAY 4, 1942-----CHAPTER 114, LAWS of 1942

AN ACT prohibiting the discrimination by industries engaged in defense work in the employment of persons therein.

Whereas, During the present state of war it is essential to the interest and welfare of the people of the State of New Jersey that the utmost effort be expended in order to create the necessary war materials to carry said war to a successful conclusion; therefore,

BE IT ENACTED by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

It is declared to be the public policy of the State of New Jersey that it opposes discrimination in the engagement of persons employed on defense contracts or public works, by reason of race, color or creed.

1. It shall be unlawful for any employer engaged to any extent whatsoever in the production, manufacture or distribution on military or naval material, equipment or supplies for the State of New Jersey, or for the Federal government, or for any subsidiary or agency of either the State or Federal government, or who is engaged on any defense contract whatsoever, to refuse to employ any person in any capacity on account of the race, color or creed of such person.

2. Any employer or person who

(1) Excludes a citizen by reason of race, color or creed, or previous condition of servitude, from any public employment, or employment in any capacity, in industries engaged on defense contracts,

(2) Denies, or aids or incites another to deny, to any person, because of race, color or creed, public employment or employment in any capacity, in industries engaged on defense contracts,

shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars (\$100.00), nor more than five hundred dollars (\$500.00), or imprisonment for not more than six months, or both.

(3) (a) "Employer" includes any individual, partnership, association, corporation, business trust, legal representative or any organized group of persons acting directly or indirectly in the interest of an employer in its relations to employees.

(b) "Industry" refers to any trade, business, industry or branch thereof, or group of industries, in which individuals are employed.

(4) This act shall take effect immediately

## EDUCATION AND TRAINING

In spite of the repeated enunciation, by the Legislature and the courts, that it is the public policy of this State that there shall be no discrimination on account of race, color or creed, racial segregation exists in the public school systems in most of the southern counties of the **State**.

The ramifications of this pattern are checkered in relation to the geography and thought patterns of the various communities in which the schools are located. We will deal with some phases of this educational hodge-podge later in this chapter, however as a basis of presentation the Commission hereby offers some figures and comparisons to chart certain progress in declining illiteracy in the colored population of New Jersey despite the barriers erected to retard their progress.

### FIGURES THAT TELL A STORY

Going back two decades, we find in 1920 that 19,713 Negro children were attending school in New Jersey. This represented 63.0% of the total Negro youth population. In 1930, 39,209 Negro children were enrolled or 68.6% of the Negro youth population and in 1940, 48,571 Negro youth or 74.2%. (Table )

This represents a gain of 11.2% in the two decades of Negro youth population attending school between the ages of 5 and 20 years.

The most hopeful sign, however, in raising the

standards of literacy of the Negro youth of the State is found in the figures and percentages which evaluate the Negro youth and their school attendance between the ages of 15 to 20, the high school years

In 1920, 2,854 or 24.9% of Negro youth were enrolled for this higher education. In 1930, the numerical figures had increased to 6,734 and the percentage to 32.5%. In 1940, our last census, the Negro youth enrolled was 11,053 or 45.0% of the total Negro youth population.

Behind these cold figures stands the evidence of the determination of Negro youth and their parents to better prepare the present and the next generation of Negro citizens for intelligent citizenship. They believe a better education will make them more useful members of our society. The grim irony of the situation is that thousands of these youth, whose training meant major sacrifices and fighting against tremendous odds, have in the past and are now being denied opportunities in our industrial economy to utilize their hard won training at its highest skill.

#### HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION IN FOUR CITIES

Sampling a few cities, as a yardstick (see Tables 20-21) the City of Elizabeth with a total Negro population of 2542 Negroes over 25 years of age, we found that 254 or 10.0% have completed from one to three years of high school. In the same city and age group, 18.7% of the native white have the same amount of schooling and 5.6% of the foreign born white.

In Newark, with 25,540 Negroes 25 years or older, 2,432

or 9.5% have had 1 to 3 years of high school training. The corresponding percentage for native whites is 17.0% and the foreign born white 5.5%.

In Jersey City, the 1940 Census reveals that there are 7,365 Negroes 25 years or older. Of this number 908 or 12.3% have 1 to 3 years high school background. The native white percentage is 17.3% and the foreign born white 4.8%.

In Trenton, the figures are 4,802 Negroes 25 years old and over with 590 or 12.0%. Native white per cent is 17.8% and the foreign born white 4.7%.

Going a step higher into the college brackets, we find 1.2% out of every hundred Negroes has completed college, that is 4 years or more in Elizabeth. 6.4% native white and 1.8% foreign born white.

In Newark, 1.0% out of every hundred Negroes has completed 4 years or more of college. 5.0% out of every hundred native white and 1.7% out of every foreign born white.

In Jersey City, 2.0% out of every hundred Negroes, 4.2% out of every hundred native white and 1.3% out of every foreign born white has completed 4 years or more of college.

In Trenton, 1.2% out of every hundred Negroes, 5.1% out of every hundred native white and 1.3% out of every foreign born white have college degrees or better.

The Commission cites these statistics to illustrate the desire, the aptitudes and achievements of Negroes in relation to education. The educationally ambitious Negro is persistently knocking at the doors of educational opportunity in New Jersey, and in many parts of the state, the knock

is unheeded or the applicants are sent to the back doors of segregation, neglect and humiliation.

In relation to the inception and growth of the illegal segregated school system in New Jersey, the Commission found it to be the result of connivance between--certain Boards of Education in South Jersey starting at Mercer and Monmouth Counties going southward, and the short sighted so-called Negro leadership, past and present, in the various communities afflicted with the blight of separate or Jim Crow Schools.

In some cases these segregated schools have come into operation by "consent" of the local Negro leadership. In other cases by "request" and we found instances where the scheme to segregate the colored students from the white students in the public schools of New Jersey was consummated by "default". Nobody protested and the deed was done.

At any rate, the Commission discovered that the racial policy in handling New Jersey's school population presents no statewide unity of plan in its administration. The result is that a patch work quilt pattern in school race relations covers the State of New Jersey.

The broad blocks of reaction symbolized by the segregated schools, in many cases are reared side by side, in the same city or county with other schools which kept within all the legal and factual boundaries of democracy in education.

The Commission chronicles below some of the variations, squares, triangles and odd strips which we found grafted on the educational patchwork quilt in New Jersey.

## DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION-vs-PLAIN AND FANCY JIM CROW SCHOOLS

- (1) Schools with no form of segregation,
- (2) Separate elementary schools and mixed high schools,
- (3) Divided school building--one side for white, the other, Negro.
- (4) Separate classes for each race and on the same school site.
- (5) Separate elementary schools joined by a common auditorium.
- (6) Separate classes and teachers for each race within the same building.
- (7) Mixed high school classes, but separate swimming classes for each race.
- (8) Mixed high school classes, whites permitted to join swimming classes, Negroes not permitted to take swimming instruction.
- (9) Attempts in many of the Northern counties to lump colored children living in adjacent communities into a joint "colored school" whereas the white children would continue to attend the schools in their separate municipalities. In this way, 3 towns in Northern New Jersey tried to rid itself of its colored students.
- (10) In the State Teachers' College at Glassboro, New Jersey, colored students were accepted as trainees but refused accommodations in the dormitories on the campus. The Commission investigated this condition on complaint of some of the trainees and will note later the outcome of this probe.

All of these illegal practices have been going on in defiance of the State School Laws and the decision of the courts. In addition to these prohibitions, the Department of Public Instruction of the State of New Jersey issued its GUIDE FOR TEACHING--PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY; and wrote into its credo for education of this State, under the subtitle of "Population, Immigration and Americanization" the following.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION CONDEMNS  
INTOLERANCE

We quote, " Probably at no time since the middle ages has there been a greater need for education for tolerance and inter-racial cooperation than exists today. Not only is this true of old world countries, but here in the United State well. We must begin by teaching young people that they should not condemn a whole group because of the objectionable characteristics of one or two members....We must impress upon our students the truth that there is no superior race; every race is superior in some respects. Boys and girls must be made to understand that minority groups are usually the unfortunate victims of their environments, which in turn is largely determined by low-wage scales and debased standards of living.... We must put our own house in order before we can hope to do much for the oppressed people of other lands."

#### WHAT IS AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

In this same syllabus presenting suggested teaching materials for the needs of present day American youth, the authors further say under the subtitle WHAT IS AMERICAN DEMOCRACY--GENERAL PRINCIPLES, "DEMOCRACY AS AN IDEAL IS BASED UPON THE PRINCIPLE OF RECOGNITION OF THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF THE HUMAN PERSONALITY, THE PRINCIPLE THAT PEOPLE ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN THINGS. IT RECOGNIZES THAT EVERY INDIVIDUAL REGARDLESS OF RACE OR CREED, ECONOMIC OR CULTURAL STATUS OR MENTAL CAPACITY, IS A PERSON WHO SHOULD BE TREATED AS AN END IN ITSELF, RATHER THAN AS A MEANS TO AN END. IT IMPLIES THE RIGHT OF EACH INDIVIDUAL TO THE GREATEST POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE FULLEST DEVELOPMENT OF HIS CAPACITIES...."

The Committee of Educators who prepared this declaration of principles and " Guide for Teaching" are among the most respected and representative members of the educational systems of New Jersey.

The following constituted its membership:-

Harry L. Stearns, Superintendent of Schools, Woodbury  
Roy W. Hatch, Head of Department of Social Studies,  
State Teachers College, Montclair

John S. Herron, Assistant Superintendent of Schools,  
Newark

John T. Greenan, Principal, Eastern School, East Orange

James E. Downs, Senior High School, Summit

George E. Brown, Superintendent of Schools, Ocean City

Jay I. Henshaw, Director of Secondary Education,  
Jersey City

Paul S. Gillespie, Principal of High School, Hammonton

Clara V. Braymer, Central High School, Trenton

Rachel M. Jarrold, Head of the Department of Social  
Studies, State Teachers College,  
Trenton

Marcia A. Everett, Helping Teacher, Warren County

Thomas J. Durell, Assistant Commissioner of Education,  
Trenton

Howard Dare White, Chairman, Assistant Commissioner of  
Education, Trenton.

This Committee received the blessings of the incumbent Commissioner of Education of the State of New Jersey, who wrote to them as follows:

"I wish to commend the faithful and able work which has been done by this committee. The Committee has completed a very difficult task and we have been fortunate to enlist the help of these members of the public school system. This monograph becomes an important contribution to education in New Jersey."

/s/ Charles H. Elliott

Commissioner of Education

Remember, the above language is not the writing of the Commission, but the ringing enunciation of the New Jersey State Department of Public Instruction through its spokesmen. When any student of government and democracy in action,

compares the words above, with the chicanery, the twisting, the wriggling and evasion practiced in the plain and fancy segregation that is being clandestinely wormed into school systems all over the State, the conclusion is inescapable. In New Jersey, we are only giving lip service to the ideal of democracy in education.

How can anybody really teach democracy in a Jim Crow school? How can any child learn democracy in the atmosphere of a building which quarters the white students on one side of a wall or fence, and the colored children on the other side? How can a teacher convincingly impart to a pupil, white or colored, that Hitler's "superior race" rantings are unscientific and baseless, when these same students are living daily with the school's manifestations of racism as expressed in the separate school system in the various towns of New Jersey. Unwittingly we are raising a new generation of little Fascists on the one side and attempting to rear a race of conquered half citizens on the other.

Separate schooling for Negroes has saddled the added expense on the taxpayers, attendant to any duplication of services. The many sub-standard shacks, crowded classrooms, overworked teachers, . . . discarded and neglected equipment, which were typical of many "colored schools" in the State visited by members of our staff, were evidences of a crowning infamy forced upon large sections of the colored population. Concurrently, these submarginal factors needlessly lower the tone of public education in New Jersey.

### A Typical Case Of Negro Self Segregation

In one South Jersey town the Commission recently found a case which has a very familiar ring, when compared to other reports of how some Negroes, themselves, inspire a community to adopt a jim crow school policy.

The angles of this type of story as revealed to our investigators in different places, vary in details but the framework is about the same. It usually originates with some prominent Negro, either a property owner, a politician, civic worker or minister, who has a daughter who wants to teach school, or a property that could be converted into a Negro school. If it is the case of the daughter wanting to teach, this case we have in mind is typical and unfolds as follows.

The daughter, holding a teacher's certificate tries to get appointed to the local school system, and is unsuccessful because of race prejudice. The Board of Education and the town officials pass the buck, back and forth, if the Negro vote in that town has any strength. Otherwise, they just file the application and ignore it.

The parents and the girl go into a huddle and their problem is this. (1) If the girl cannot get a teacher's job at home, she must leave home. If she stays at home, the only work available for her is domestic work. Her parents have sacrificed to educate her for something better than that, so they grope for a way out. Then the idea is born. "If we had a colored school, surely they wouldn't mind her teaching colored children". Then they begin to work on it. Sometimes, it works out right away providing no alert Negroes, or tax-conscious

white people object. If there are any Negroes in that town with vision and the courage to act as free citizens, they will immediately recognize and challenge the inherent danger in taking this step backward----of truckling before the forces of prejudice, with a weasel jim crow solution.

In many parts of the State, when these attempts have been made, it has torn the Negro population into two camps, those for, and against segregation. In the pro-segregation groups, we find two types of Negroes. On one hand were those who weakly subscribed to the "half a loaf"----"line of least resistance" theory and among the other group were embittered Negroes who hated white people. These intense racialists wanted no "truck" whatsoever, with white people, and welcomed the idea of educating their children towards this same anti-white philosophy. One father of three children told an investigator, "The colored school is allright with me, the white folks have dirty hearts....They ain't got no Christianity....I hate 'em....They have always taken advantage of the colored folks....So I don't like to be around them any more than I can help it....I don't want nothing from white folks, but pay for my work."

The Commission deplores this state of mind, and advocates a rational, rather than an emotional reaction to race prejudice. We merely chronicle this interview as an example of the by-products of segregation and discrimination.

#### Negroes Petition For Segregated School

In this particular town of New Jersey, the teacher's mother

an aggressive and determined person, drew up a petition asking the Board of Education to establish a separate colored school. The mother of the would be teacher then had most of the colored people of the town to thoughtlessly sign the aforesaid petition.

The powers that be in the local government then decided that the request would have to be voted on as a public question at the next election. The election was held and the petition or resolution for a separate school was defeated....The mother was persistent.....The next year the question was again put on the ballot and defeated a second time. The third year, however, the opposition weakened and the plan to set up a separate school was voted in.

While the mother was carrying on this three year fight for a separate school, the daughter had gone to Maryland, and had been employed as a teacher. When the fight for segregation was won in her home town, she came back and was hired by the Board of Education to be head teacher in the Negro school, with classes from the 1st to the 6th grade....The 7th and 8th grades were retained as mixed classes and held in another school. When the depression hit the town, so many of the colored families migrated to other places that the colored population dwindled to a point where the Board decided to close it, and have all of the children attend the regular school. The colored "head teacher" hotly protested and came back with the counter proposal that all of the colored children should be sent to her school which would take in the colored children attending the 7th and 8th grades. The Board

gave in, and now the three colored teachers muddle through, dividing up the instruction task of the 8 grades.

#### TRENTON NEGROES FIGHT JIM CROW

As a refreshing contrast in Negro leadership, Trenton, N. J. Negroes have taken a nobler stand in fighting Jim Crow in the school system. The Commission sent two of its investigators to Trenton as observers of the legal action proceedings against the Board of Education of the City of Trenton, instituted by Mrs. Gladys Hedgepath and Mrs. Berlene Williams, parents of two colored pupils, Janet Hedgepath and Leon Williams both 12 years of age.

#### BACKED BY THE TRENTON BRANCH OF THE N.A.A.C.P.

The action against the Board of Education in the names of the two Negro parents was backed by the Trenton Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Dr. E. J. Austin, president; Mrs. Madeline Broaddus, secretary; Attorney Robert Queen, counsel.

#### THE HEDGEPATH CASE

Janet Hedgepath attended the Carroll Robbins School through the grammar classes up to the sixth grade, completing the courses in June, 1943. Janet was the only Negro pupil in this class. Upon completion of the Carroll Robbins School courses, the entire class, of which Janet was a member, was assigned to the Trenton Junior High School, No.2, with one exception, Janet, who was assigned to the New Lincoln School.

## THE NEW LINCOLN SCHOOL

The New Lincoln School of the City of Trenton is a large structure located on North Montgomery Street, near Brunswick Avenue, occupying an entire city block. It is reserved exclusively for Negro children. The enrollment at New Lincoln School is near 2000, with instructions offered from kindergarten classes to the sixth grade; courses for junior high students, representing the 7th, 8th and 9th grades. In the junior high division of the New Lincoln School, about 546 students are distributed through 18 rooms. One principal, Professor P. J. Hill, supervises the entire school without a vice or assistant principal.

## TRENTON PATTERN

Trenton's Negro population is about 10,000 residents. It has been the policy of the Trenton Board of Education to assign all Negro students of the junior high school division to the segregated New Lincoln School. In the grammar schools, the pattern of segregation is not prevalent. Negro students attend many of the grammar schools according to the residential zones. Negro students of the senior high school division attend the Trenton Senior High School. The system of segregation is absent in both the grammar schools and the senior high school. Only in the junior high school division, has it been the policy of the Trenton Board of Education to assign all students of African descent to the "jim crow" New Lincoln School.

Mr. Paul Loser, Superintendent of the Trenton Schools, ad-

mits that the Board of Education ruled in 1922 that "Negro children of junior high school age shall be assigned to the New Lincoln School". Beyond this admission, no explanation has been obtained from any official of this peculiar pattern of segregation in junior grades only.

On July 1, 1943, a committee of the Trenton branch of the N.A.A.C.P. addressed a letter to the Trenton Board of Education inquiring about this policy of segregation and asking an explanation. As of September 21, 1943, the letter was unanswered.

#### MRS. HEDGEPATH PROTESTS

Upon learning that her daughter, Janet, had been assigned to the New Lincoln School, Mrs. Gladys Hedgepath requested the Board of Education, through the Superintendent, Dr. Paul Loser, to reassign Janet to Junior High School, No. 2 with the others of her class from the Carroll Robbins School.

On August 13, 1943, Dr. Loser wrote Mrs. Hedgepath as follows:

"My dear Mrs. Hedgepath:

Pending final decision by the Board of Education, your daughter, Janet, is assigned to the New Lincoln School".

The Board of Education met on September 2, but no action, or no announcement was made upon the request that Janet be assigned to the ~~same~~ school, with the others of her grammar school class. On Monday, September 13, the regular Fall term of the Trenton schools began.

#### PETITIONED SUPREME COURT

With the beginning of the Fall term, Mrs. Hedgepath entered her daughter, Janet, in the New Lincoln School, under protest,

to comply with the laws regulating compulsory school attendance of children of school age. At the same time, on September 16, through her counsel, Mrs. Hedgepath petitioned the Supreme Court of the State for a writ of Mandamus which shall be directed to the Trenton Board of Education demanding that the Board of Education permit Janet Hedgepath to attend the Trenton Junior High School, No. 2.

Mrs. Hedgepath charged that exclusion from attendance at the Junior High School, No. 2 was in violation of the State Civil Rights Act, 10:1-2 and 10:1-7; contrary to the New Jersey School Law, R. S. 18:14-2; and therefore, illegal and invalid.

Mrs. Hedgepath further charged that her daughter, Janet, was unable to pursue commercial studies at the New Lincoln School, since the New Lincoln School offers only a straight academic course. Junior High School, No. 2 offers a commercial preparatory course in its curriculum, and that, therefore, the program of education offered at the New Lincoln School is sub-standard and not equal with that offered at the Junior High School, No. 2.

#### JUDGE ISSUED RULE

Justice Newton H. Porter of the State Supreme Court, on September 16, signed a Rule to the Trenton Board of Education, ordering the Board of Education to show cause why the Writ of Mandamus should not be issued.

#### THE CASE OF LEON WILLIAMS

The case of Mrs. Berline Williams versus the Trenton

Board of Education follows closely along the same outline of the Hedgepath case. Leon Williams, the son of Mrs. Berline Williams, attended the William G. Cook School up to the sixth grade. He, too, was the only Negro member of his class. All others of the same class were promoted from the William G. Cook Grammar School to the Junior High School, No. 2., with the one exception of Leon. To attend the New Lincoln School, Leon will have to travel a distance of 16 blocks while the Junior High School, No. 2 is located three blocks from his home.

#### MEMBERS OF THE TRENTON BOARD OF EDUCATION

The Trenton Board of Education is composed of.

Dr. Edward J. Jennings, president; Robert C. Belville, secretary; I. Herbert Levy, Winfield S. Fell, Charles P. Messick, William R. Thorne, James W. Dwyer, Mrs. James Ballantine, Dr. Walter D'Arcy, Louis F. Marciante and Dr. Paul Loser, Superintendent of the Trenton School System.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF CASES

The Trenton Cases attracted the attention and interest of the entire state and eastern section of the country. Many of the metropolitan daily newspapers have carried feature stories. PM of Sunday, September 19 and Monday, September 20 carried photographs of both Mrs. Hedgepath and her daughter, and Mrs. Williams and her son.

Mrs. Hedgepath is a native of Trenton, employed in a defense industry. She is also the mother of two sons now serving in the Armed Services of the country. Mrs. Hedgepath is

employed manufacturing soldier uniforms.

Since the New Lincoln School was built in 1922, the policy of segregation in the junior high school division has been the vogue in Trenton. Frequent charges have been made that the New Lincoln School was overcrowded and that the sub-standard curriculum was responsible for the large number of Negro students who failed in classes after being promoted from the Lincoln School to the Trenton Senior High School. Trenton has four other junior high schools, but Negro youth can only attend the New Lincoln Junior High.

The Trenton branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with a membership of more than 1000, has assumed responsibility for all expenses of the legal action in the effort to break the 20 year pattern of segregation in the Trenton Public School System.

#### JIM CROW ROUTED

#### AT GLASSBORO TEACHERS COLLEGE

Acting on the complaints of racial discrimination from parents whose children were attending the State Teachers' College at Glassboro, N. J., two investigators of the Commission from the South Jersey area were instructed to investigate. They wrote Dr. Edgar Bunce, Principal of the College as follows:

Feb. 1st, 1943

Dear Dr. Bunce:

Information has come to us, from a reliable source, that there exists in the

Teachers' College, a state institution, and of which you are president, a policy of discrimination against Negro students.

It is stated that preparations were about to be made to accommodate several of the colored young women in the College Dormitory and after these young women had arranged to occupy the rooms, you informed them that, on account of the complaints made by parents of some of the young white women, the plan had to be called off. As a result, the colored young women, who do attend the College, have many difficulties to overcome, relative to living conditions etc., which the other students do not have to contend with.

They want to receive what the State offers them, but are indirectly denied this freedom and opportunity by a vicious practice founded in race hatred.

Today, when all God-fearing creatures are praying for freedom of all mankind, these stories are hardly believable, however, we must give credence to them because of prior incidents and the general attitude we find existing in places of high rank.

We have been requested by persons, not connected with the College, to place this information before the Commission. Before urging the Commission to take some action in the matter, we shall appreciate hearing from you with reference to this practice, which is being conducted not only within your knowledge but also, with your apparent approval and, perhaps, under your direction.

We are inclosing a copy of the Statute under which the Commission functions. Your cooperation with the Commission as well as your sincere desire to make democracy a real principle for all mankind, is earnestly solicited.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Bunce replied as follows:

February 3rd, 1943

Dear Sirs:

I am in receipt of your letter of February the 1st, concerning the Dormitory at Classboro Teachers' College. While it is true that this College is a State Institution, the Dormitories are conducted, not by the State, but by the Dormitory Association, an incorporated body consisting of the students who reside at the dormitory. This association has its own officers and manages the dormitories both financially and otherwise.

When I recently proposed housing a number of colored girls in the Dormitory, the members of this Dormitory Association protested vigorously and many letters were received by me from parents of the white students voicing opposition to the proposed move, threatening to remove their daughters from the College, etc.

I personally believe that our colored students should be housed in living quarters which are equal in every way to that provided for the white students. From a practical standpoint, however, I cannot wreck this College by going against the wishes of the great majority of the students and their parents in this matter of housing.

If the Commissioner of Education requests me to admit colored students to the dormitory, I shall, of course, do so, thus changing a custom which has been in existence since the College was established in 1922. I have written to him concerning the matter and await his decision.

Very truly yours,

/s/ Edgar Bunce,  
Principal

In the meantime the following letter was sent to the Commissioner of Education.

February 5th, 1943

Dear Sir:

About February 1, 1943, we wrote Dr. Edgar F. Bunce, President of the N. J. State Teachers' College, at Glassboro, N. J., with reference to a particular form of racial discrimination, which has existed in this, as well as other state institutions, from time immemorial. Information has reached us that the young colored women, had recently been granted permission to occupy a portion of the College Dormitory; later this permission was withdrawn.

Many of the colored students, attending Glassboro College, find it very inconvenient to get to and from school especially during these days. In many instances handicaps, such as these have added greatly to the backwardness of many of our colored youth. A gain, any practice similiar to this, is definitely contrary to the true principles of democracy.

You will please find a copy of the reply received by us from Dr. Bunce. You will note that Dr. Bunce feels that the admission of colored women to the College Dormitory will wreck the College, yet, Dr. Bunce states that if you authorize him to admit the colored women he will follow your instructions. This College will not be wrecked; neither has any other College, State owned or privately owned, been wrecked, to our knowledge, where the principles of democracy and Christian justice have taken the place of race, creed and class hatred and intolerance.

We would appreciate some word from you in this matter. To date, we have decidedly refused to make an issue out of this case, feeling that you will immediately correct the wrong. When your attention is called to the existance of such injury. Thanking you for your immediate consideration and an early reply, we remain,

Respectfully yours,

Before the Commissioner replied, we received the following letter from Dr. Bunce.

VICTORY FOR DEMOCRACY

February 8, 1943

Dear Sir:

I have today admitted to the Dormitories of the Glassboro State Teachers' College several Negro girls at the request of the Commissioner of Education. We shall do our best to make these young women comfortable and happy.

Very truly yours,

/s/ Edgar Bunce,  
Principal

On February 17th, 1943, the Commissioner, Dr. Charles H. Elliott, telegraphed us as follows:

REPLYING YOUR LETTER FIFTEENTH INSTANT NOT AWARE ANY DIFFICULTIES AT GLASSBORO UNTIL WEEK FEBRUARY FIRST. IMMEDIATELY DISCUSSED MATTER WITH PRESIDENT BUNCE AND DISPATCHED FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO HIM UNDER DATE FEBRUARY FIFTH, QUOTE, CONFIRMING MY TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH YOU PLEASE PROVIDE SUITABLE FACILITIES FOR NEGRO STUDENTS ON THE CAMPUS OF THE TEACHERS' COLLEGE AT GLASSBORO--STOP--I UNDERSTAND THAT THESE CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE VERY SOON, UNQUOTE, UNDERSTAND YOUNG WOMEN WERE LOCATED IN DORMITORY FEBRUARY NINTH. HAVE BEEN INFORMED.

A letter from one of the young women, and from Oak Hall#4, State Teachers' College, Glassboro has been received by us as follows:

My dear Commissioner:

Mother wrote and told me that you wanted to hear from me. Believe me when I say that I intended writing to you long before now. We were admitted to the Dormitories on Tuesday, February 9th, 1943. Since then, we have had no complaints

from anyone and so far none of the white students have moved out and I doubt if any of them shall, all of them have treated us well and we feel quite at home.

We are given the same services and conveniences which they receive. There are just five **who have moved in.** They are

Gloria Ashew of Hackensack, N. J.  
Carrie Gould of Bridgeton, N. J.  
Edith Mayhew of Bridgeton, N. J.  
Ilene Gittens of Atlantic City, N. J.  
Fannie Uttley of Atlantic City, N. J.

Dr. Bunce has told us that if there was anything unpleasant which occurred to inform him and he would take care of it. I am still in the dark as to just how the matter was settled but since we are here I won't worry about it, however, I am sure we have you to thank for a large part of what was done. We are sincerely grateful to you.

Respectfully yours,

/s/ Fannie Uttley

This correspondence is offered in evidence to point out that whenever a public administrative officer takes the position that a public office is really a public trust and acts accordingly, simple justice without dramatics or fanfare will be meted out to all of the creeds, racial or class factors of that public....Between February 1st and February 8th.... just seven days....the civic crime against Negro students was liquidated. A blot that had been on the escutcheon of the Glassboro State Teachers' College since 1922 was erased in one week.

#### OPERATING IN RACE TENSION AREAS

The Commission on its own initiative, investigated alleged tension spots in several schools throughout the State. Our

investigators found no deep seated animosity between the white and colored school children at any point in its investigations.

In the City of Newark at the Barringer High School, our investigators found that this school had unfortunately been thrust into the foreground of the teen-age hoodlum clashes in that city during the month of June. The specific incident or incidents which precipitated the fracas are garbled as to a precise fixing of responsibility....The most hopeful and reassuring information that our investigation brought out was that the clashes were not between white and colored members of the school population, but was spearheaded by "out of school" tough gangs who, however, made a practice of following the city wide inter-school track meets every year.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Interviews with members of the faculty and members of the student body, both white and colored, of the Barringer High School, revealed the pleasing and encouraging indication that racial tolerance was firmly established as an integral part of education within the curriculum, buildings and grounds of this institution. No signs of discord were observed here. To the contrary, there was, apparently, a very sincere effort on the part of both racial groups to exert every influence to counteract the reactions of the injured unity created by the violence raging about the vicinity of the school's location.

To encourage this healthy program of cordial and democratic racial understanding, we accepted, in the name of the Commissioners, an invitation to participate in the annual

Student Council Induction Ceremonies. A member of the staff delivered the principal address at these exercises, the keynote of his speech being an appeal for tolerance on the part of the Youth of Today and responsibility to the world of tomorrow. At the end of the discourse, a thousand students gave an enthusiastic outburst of sustained applause.

This student council elected all of its own officers, and colored boys and girls were generously sprinkled on the staff as officers, and also were elected or appointed by the student body to head whatever committees their talents qualified them to fill.

#### COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

In the final phase of investigations of these youth racial clashes, we largely concentrated our attention to a study of the racial relationships prevailing among the white and colored neighbors in the sections where whites and colored lived in the same blocks. We concluded, after extensive observations and interviews, that one focus point for a constructive program of harmonious relationship must be in the neighborhood where residents must learn to live side by side with mutual respect for each other's right to liberty, peace and pursuit of happiness, and they must pass that credo on to their children in the homes.

In the First Ward district, surrounding the Webster Street School, we found white and colored families who had never exchanged greetings, although living as neighbors for periods of more than ten years. While neither group professed the slightest degree of animosity towards the other, and both

expressed respectful and complementary opinions of the other for being good, orderly, well-behaved citizens and good neighbors, none shared a single, mutual community project.

The problem of discrimination in the Webster Street School Playground and the Webster Street School Community House, operated by the City of Newark as a public project, was studied by the investigators. Protest against this discrimination in a public-sponsored project was registered with the Supervisor of Recreation for the City of Newark, and resulted in the starting, on the part of the Director of the Webster Street School Project, of a planned program to encourage and include the colored citizens to full participation in all activities of the project.

There were at least half a dozen other alleged school race tension cases reported to us, but on investigation, we discovered that the racial factors of the complaints were negligible, and that adequate adjustments could be made by the local social welfare agencies or the juvenile courts in the area. In these cases we made referrals to and cooperated with the agencies best equipped to handle the given situations.

#### Newark's Progressive Plan

However, a very progressive precedent has been set by the Newark Board of Education in the field of Education For Democracy. As a starter in this direction, Mayor Vincent J. Murphy of Newark, demonstrating social vision in relation to the City's responsibility to its 45,760 Negro citizens

Within a few months after the appointment of the Negro

member, some immediate reforms were enacted by the Board in relation to democratizing the school policy in the hiring of new teachers. Four new colored teachers were appointed from the waiting list of eligibles. These appointments were unusual in the respect that for a period of twenty years previous, all of the other Negroes who had qualified under the examinations, had been skipped over by means of first one trick and then another to evade the Civil Service regulations.

The Commission does not mean to infer that the Negro member performed this miracle of cracking the color bar alone. He was backed by the majority opinion of the Board, and the Superintendent of Schools.

At the time of the writing of this report, the Newark Board of Education is in the process of developing an Educational Program for Good Will and understanding in all of the schools of the city. The main features of the program have been shaped towards the end, whereby all teachers and students coming under its influence will, "achieve a fuller appreciation of the American way of life, through a planned program which will aim to break down religious and racial prejudices wherever they appear".

A committee of teachers in the Newark school system have been designated the special assignment of preparing a curriculum syllabi for use in the upper elementary grades, also the junior and senior high schools. This syllabi will emphasize the prime necessity for the cultivation of good will and understanding among all the peoples of our democracy. This material will be a regular part of the course of study

. in history and civics and will be one of the "must" subjects for every child who passes through the school system.

According to the announced plan of this currently progressive Board of Education, the entire teaching staff of the city's system will be encouraged to enroll in the several university or college courses which are now being offered for teachers in the field of human relations. The Superintendent of Schools, according to reports given to our investigators, has scheduled conferences of teachers to which outstanding authorities in the field of intercultural education will present the problem of potential racial disunity and how to combat it. . . In addition to this curriculum revision and teacher in-training, the Board is reported to be working out a carefully prepared program of making the new school training of the youth stick, by carrying the message of good will to their parents through the parent-teacher and other adult groups touched by the schools.

The Superintendent of schools, John S. Herron, who presented the plan to the Board of Education said by way of introduction.

"From time to time, disturbing animosities appear in our national life which are un-American and contrary to the fundamental principles of true democracy. The history of our country shows that such outbreaks occur either during periods of war, or immediately thereafter. These manifestations make for disunity in American life, sometimes with tragic consequences. The only recognized remedy is education--education in the principles of brotherhood upon which democracy rests, and education in the practice of the democratic way of life....Respect for others

tolerance, good-will and understanding must be taught if they are to be understood and practiced, just as honesty, cleanliness, courtesy, religion and health must be taught".

The Commission wholeheartedly endorses the "Newark Plan" as hereby launched by the Board of Education of that city. We warmly recommend it to other cities of the state for study and emulation.

There are numerous other cases of school investigation in our files. Some are incomplete and will necessarily be subject matter for our next report. Others are repetitions of each other and some have already been cited.....So we go to our next reporting field, having published our findings on those, we consider the most significant cases which have come under our observation.

The sequel to Berline Williams, Gladys Hedgepath case against the Board of Education in Trenton was the issuance of a writ of mandamus by Justice Newton H. Porter of the New Jersey Supreme Court. The writ follows:

"Porter, J.

The relators are of the colored race. They reside in Trenton. Their children are pupils in the Trenton public schools. At the end of the school year of 1943 both children were graduated from the elementary school in their school district and were promoted to the junior high school grade. The policy of the respondent is and has been for a number of years to send all children of the colored race irrespective of the place of residence in the city to a central junior high school to which only colored children are admitted. It is called the Lincoln School. The white children are sent to other schools

within the districts of their residence. It is only in this one school in the city where the colored children are segregated from other children. Were they not colored, the school to which the relators' children would be assigned is nearer to their homes than is the Lincoln School. All junior high schools of the city seem to have equal academic standing.

The sole question presented is the legal right of the respondent to refuse these children admission in the school nearest their residences. The only reason the admission sought is denied them is because of their race. We think it clear that the children are unlawfully discriminated against. It is unlawful for Boards of Education to exclude children from any public school on the ground that they are of the Negro race. R.S. 18:14-2; Pierce vs Union District School Trustees, 46 N.J.L. 76, aff'd 47 N.J.L. 348; Patterson vs Board of Education, Trenton, 11 N.J.L. Misc. 179, aff'd 112 N.J.L. 99.

This writ will be allowed.

Issued February 7, 1944.

## FINDING A HOME

This Commission views with deep concern and grave apprehension, the plight of the Negro heads of families in their efforts to establish and maintain decent places to live. The varied problems of housing faced by all low income workers presses down upon the mass of Negro home seekers. They also have to contend with the patterns of frustration and discrimination aimed at their aspirations for better housing because of race prejudice.

### Citizens Divided

As the Negro population has grown in numbers in many cities of the State, there has developed many discouraging patterns of interracial and intraracial impediments in the business of renting, buying and selling of homes for Negro and white occupancy. We list some of the factual reasons responsible for his dilemma.

- (1) The group instinct of migrant Negroes for racial solidarity, as expressed by their seeking houses near their friends or other members of the Negro race, i.e. voluntary segregation.
- (2) The Negro worker's low income of necessity forces him into the market for the cheaper homes. Here the Negro home seeker finds not only other Negroes, but also poor white workers who frequently divide themselves into nationalistic or alike folkway groups within the worker's residential areas.

The Negro ran afoul of

- (3) restrictive covenants, written and unwritten formulated to restrict Negro residence in certain areas.
- (4) also, intimidation of potential Negro tenants or owners by terroristic threats and action by the white residents of a community.
- (5) They have experienced unsurmountable difficulties in financing the purchase of homes in so called "white areas".

Their neighborhood pride has been dulled by

- (6) the reluctance or refusal on the part of landlords to repair and improve properties occupied by Negro tenants.

They suffer from the

- (7) neglect on the part of many municipal governments in not maintaining equal and essential health and other related services in Negro neighborhoods.

They have had to endure the

- (8) dumping of the 'vice problems' of many towns on the doorsteps of the Negro community.

They have witnessed the

- (9) intensification of Negro concentration in certain town areas by local housing authorities through the practice of 'ear-marking' certain low cost projects 'for Negroes' in one part of the town, and 'for whites' in other sections. Under this plan followed to its ultimate conclusion the New Jersey cities of the future will be sharply divided by official sanction, and citizen's consent, into 'all Negro' and 'all white' blocks and areas.

- (10) As a result of this concentration, restriction and inevitable congestion, the law of supply and demand raises the prices of rents paid by Negroes to rates far exceeding the average for white workers in the same and higher wage earning brackets.

#### Statistics On Racial Concentration

To illustrate some of the statistical records proving concentration of Negroes in the 'black belts' of the various towns we cite a few notable instances.

--According to the 1940 Housing Census released by the United States Bureau of the Census--

In Asbury Park - 983 out of 994 dwelling units occupied by Negroes in that City, were all in the first Ward.

In Atlantic City - 2078 out of 4,081 dwelling units occupied by Negroes, were in the 3rd Ward.

In East Orange - 1,154 out of 1,442 dwelling units occupied by Negroes, were in the third and fourth wards.

In Englewood - 625 out of 662 dwelling units occupied by Negroes, were located in the 4th Ward.

In Jersey City - 2,477 out of 3,479 dwelling units occupied by Negroes were located in the 6th and 8th wards.

In Long Branch - 313 out of 397 dwelling units occupied by Negroes were in the 1st, 5th, and 6th wards.

In Montclair - 969 out of 1,496 dwelling units occupied by Negroes were in the 4th ward.

In Newark - 7,165 out of 12,243 dwelling units occupied by Negroes were in the 3rd, 7th, and 14th wards; 4,427 are located in the 3rd ward.

In Camden - 1,138 out of 3,189 dwelling units occupied by Negroes were in the 7th Ward.

In Paterson - 706 out of 1,132 dwelling units occupied by Negroes were in the 4th ward.

#### Segregation Means Neglect

The grave social evil pregnant in this trend of 'black belt' concentration is that these areas tend to become the 'neglected and forgotten wards' of the cities of which they are a geographical segment, because, as we have noted above:

- (1) Absentee landlords let them sink into slums.
- (2) Absentee landlords squeeze the last penny at the highest rates, because of the forced congestion.
- (3) Houses unfit for human habitation are not condemned, because the Negro human being is not considered as important as the influential landlord and his profits.
- (4) Capital frowns on lending money for adequate improvements to rehabilitate the broken down, overage and deteriorated structures.

(5) Health hazards increase, and police court activities are taxed to a maximum to counteract the anti-social evils spawned by bad housing and its attendant evils.

(6) Even the natural leaders of the Negro group desert these worse communities, in order to have their children come up in a more wholesome atmosphere. This is the supreme tragedy as it robs these communities of its expected spearheads for reform.

#### A Private And Public Slum Clearance Plan

This Commission endorses the plan, as far as it goes, submitted by the Department of Health of the City of Newark, which according to our survey and also according to its own confession has a dangerous challenge from its slums. We agree with them when they recommend.--

" (1) Revision of the Building, Fire, and Sanitary Codes making it mandatory for owners of dwellings to remodel old buildings in accordance with modern standards of living.

(2) Compulsory demolition of all those structures beyond rehabilitation and declared unfit for habitation.

(3) The adoption of self liquidating long term municipal bonds to assist in financing the rebuilding and rehabilitation program.

(4) State subsidies by bond issuance or diverting surplus road funds to help finance building and slum clearance programs.

(5) F.H.A. loans to property owners with an equitable investment by the municipality for the development of rebuilding and slum clearance programs.

(6) Legislation giving powers to act in the new programs for better homes for workers in the city."

This Commission urges that thought be given this program by the various town officials having related problems. If and when the plans are adopted in principle, we submit, as sound and enduring public policy, that air tight clauses be inserted in the detailed commitments and contracts outlawing any form of racial discrimination in relation to the employment of workers skilled and unskilled on the erection of the projects. And also that there shall be no racial discrimination in the selection of potential tenants in the new workers homes.

Thumbs Down On Post War Ghettos

This Commission consistently urges that in the future, all public or quasi-public financed housing be guided by a like policy. We publish herewith our open letter to the Newark Housing Authority stating our position in relation to the proposed Housing Project for war workers to be erected in Newark in 1944 under the new grant from the Federal Housing Administration.

"The New Jersey Welfare Commission is unalterably opposed to the establishment of any project which will continue the practice of segregation in the City of Newark or any part of the State of New Jersey. The Commission is particularly opposed to the practice at the present time when the entire world is engaged in a bitter struggle to eradicate the fallacy of racial superiority and difference. It is most unfortunate that a Federal project which will be operated by the Newark Housing Authority should permit the creation of a new segregated housing unit.

"The Commission feels that a 150 unit dwelling should be erected for war workers regardless of race, color or creed. The Commission further feels that due consideration should be given to the racial proportion of the tenants in the neighborhood where the project will be erected. If this is done, it will be the true operation of the democratic spirit which this country is striving so hard to make real.

"The Commission calls upon the members of the Newark Housing Authority and the Commissioners of the City of Newark to halt the establishment of segregation in the proposed project and to insist that the dwelling be occupied by war workers regardless of race, color or creed."

HOUSING

As a result of this "halt housing segregation" position taken by our Commission, also taken by the Newark branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Newark Citizens Committee for Inter-racial Unity, the New Jersey Good Will Commission, and the North Jersey Baptist Ministers Conference, these groups held various conferences and meetings to discuss the issue.

In conferences with the Newark Housing Authority in session, and with Mr. Charles Ascher of the National Housing Agency it was evident that both the Newark Housing Authority and the National Housing Agency had been given the impression, by some Negro leadership that segregated public housing would be acceptable as such without protest. One prominent colored political leader was quoted in the Pittsburgh Courier (New Jersey Edition) as saying that "he did not agree with the stand the Commission had taken and that the housing situation for Negroes had reached such a deplorable stage, especially in the third ward, that if a separate project would bring the relief that was so badly needed, he would not oppose it, as much as he abhorred segregation."

For the complete record it is only fair to state that officialdom in the city of Newark manifested apparently sincere amazement that Negroes had arrived at a point in thinking in which they would challenge segregated public housing.

Mr. Charles Ascher in a public statement issued said in part --

"In the earnest desire to do everything possible under wartime limitations the Administrator allocated money to build another 150 houses for badly housed essential immigrant war workers in Newark, having in mind particularly the plight of the Negro families disclosed in the survey. Congressional curtailment of requested funds, the urgency of the war need elsewhere and continued shortage of materials make these 150 houses about the last to be scheduled in Newark as war housing. In proposing that they be scheduled in the first instance for badly housed Negroes it seemed to us that we were making a genuine contribution to the war effort.

When the war housing crisis is over, it is expected that the houses will become part of the permanent low-rent housing of the Newark Housing Authority which will be responsible for the selection of tenants. It is the policy of the National Housing Authority to let local authorities determine the pattern of occupancy.

At the end of a ten day battle between the conflicting points of view, the issue was reduced to this statement of policy coming from Mr. Frank B. Wenrich, Executive Director of the Newark Housing Authority --

"The policy of the Newark Housing Authority has been and will continue to be, I am sure, to house those in the greatest need of housing. When it comes to tenant selection for this war housing project we will select eligible war-workers in accordance with this policy. If conditions are then as they are now it is altogether probable that most of the families selected will be Negroes. However, if conditions change, and we find that there are families of White war workers in greater need than families of Negro war workers, then they will be selected. Need will continue to be the determining factor."

This Commission and the above mentioned organizations who are contending for application of the democratic principle in public housing, are standing by until such time as the selection of tenants begins, to observe how the performance matches the pronouncements.

## HEALTH AND SURVIVAL

The welfare of the State as a whole demands that all of its citizens be equally considered in relation to the plans and operation of programs for better health of its citizens. When we face the problems of the diseases which affect mankind, any drawing of color or creed lines is not only tragic, but ridiculous.

This realistic and purely scientific view has been partially adopted by some enlightened members in the field of state health administration, whose responsibility it is to cope with the threats of general health in the state as revealed by constant surveys and statistics which are being presented to them from time to time.

Especially in these war years, the necessity for conservation and development of our human resources has been brought home to us, as being closely allied with our ability to produce the weapons needed for our colossal war machine.

### ManPower-ManHours and Ill Health

The loss of man hours, with its attendant curtailment of productive capacity, due to ill health of workers, has taken its inevitable toll. Healthy workers in our war plants and healthy soldiers on the battlefield are the most precious of the State's human resources. There cannot be an over-supply. Every potential healthy worker, who is not at his peak because of neglect or other sins of official omission, is a loss to the war effort. The statistics on the number of rejections in the Army due to physical deficiencies are too well known to recount here.

The State Department of Health, the various county and municipal Boards of Health, the hospitals, training schools for nurses, the medical associations, the Red Cross, the clinics and

other agencies dealing with any phase of public or private health, are instruments set up by society to develop the best possible scientific approach towards making New Jersey a healthy state in which to live. This Commission reiterates, that in this noblest of fields, there should be no color line. There should prevail an absolute equality of service and opportunity at the patient level and also the various professional and technical levels of health administration.

Just as this country has but lately become aware of the waste of natural resources that has been going on for decades, so this nation and state should realize how wasteful is its present practice with respect to the non-utilization of all of its human resources, because of the color line being drawn through many of our private and/<sup>public</sup>sub-divisions of health control.

Aside from the necessities of this hour of national peril, simple justice demands that reasonable and equal opportunity be assured to the citizens of New Jersey, regardless of race or creed in all health benefits programmed for the State of New Jersey.

On the credit side of the ledger, following the line of recognizing the importance of the Negro in community health programs, there has developed certain planning of health programs on an interracial basis.

The New Jersey Tuberculosis League in its 1942 report notes significant progress in planning and achievement. The report in part says:

"....Community leaders and professional workers have cooperated effectively in the building of long term projects which should serve long after the war emergency. Not only have special surveys for Negroes been organized, but the Negro worker has been a part of the numerous plant surveys conducted under United States Public Health Service

auspices. He has also greatly benefited by community educational programs."

For a number of years, the State of New Jersey also has had a Negro member of the State Board of Health. One of the results of this inclusion of a Negro on this important making body has been to make the majority group in health administrative circles at least partially aware of the need for concentration of effort in public health control programs in the densely populated Negro areas.

Whereas this Commission does recognize the need of certain concentration of public program education among the residents of the so-called Negro areas, we are also aware that there is a danger of distorting the term "concentration" to end up as meaning "segregation".

This Commission takes the stand that any trend towards stratification of patients and professional personnel along bi-racial lines, tends to initiate and solidify a dangerous public policy, contrary to true democratic principles and interracial unity.

#### Segregated Health Pattern Develops

We have arrived at this conclusion because of complaints brought to our attention in which the policy of separatism in public health administration seems to be taking root in certain areas of the state. One sample case record of this infiltration of Jim-Crow practice can be cited in Monmouth County, where the employment of one colored nurse at a neighborhood clinic has been a fixed policy for some time. This nurse, however, is confined only to calls and service to colored patients. The colored social service investigator also attached to this county staff is likewise restricted to work among Negro clients. The ironic part of this arrangement lies in the fact that many Negroes in

their eagerness to see some placement of their trained professionals have acquiesced and acclaimed this "pariah" employment as a liberal gesture on the part of the appointive officers.

Another factor in the Asbury Park-Neptune Health Center setup in this same county, is that the potential white clients living in this area, are encouraged and directed to patronise another Health Clinic located just over the border line of the heavily inhabited colored neighborhood. Conversely, the Negro clients, no matter where they live, are channeled to the "Negro" clinic.

Thus in this area there is being developed a pattern of "racial clinics", not designed to serve a geographical unit of a city, but to separate the Negro and white workers living in the same and contiguous areas, who use the facilities of the public Health centers.

It has been reported to this Commission, and we are investigating the allegation, that this policy is being adopted in some other parts of central and southern New Jersey. Obviously, this "dixie" pattern, if continued or permitted to expand, will stultify the ideal of classless health administration in the state. It is our firm conviction that there should be most certainly a determined effort to stamp out this undemocratic practice before it parallels the development of the infamous separate public schools of New Jersey.

#### State Department of Health Bureaus

This Commission has been privileged to be in position to study the grand strategy of the working public health program as envisioned by the high officers of the State Department of Health. In the official PUBLIC HEALTH NEWS, published bi-monthly, we find a progressive and intelligent breakdown of administrative func-

tions by specialization of work delegated to various bureaus.

Emphasis is thus stressed on special health problems to be overcome, and a definite responsibility is placed upon the bureau heads by the policy making Board of Directors. The bureaus come under the following headings: Administration, Bacteriology, Chemistry, Engineering, Food and Drugs, Local Health Administration, Maternal and Child Health, Venereal Disease Control and Vital Statistics. Under Special Activities there are listed: Dental Health Program, Negro Health Program and Rabies Control.

The high death rate of the Negro population from tuberculosis is alarming. Though the Negro numbers less than one in twenty in the population, he contributes almost one in every four tuberculosis deaths. The cause for this high death rate, in the opinion of most authorities on the subject is due to late case finding and reporting. In less technical terms, the Negro tuberculosis patient is almost dead before he applies for treatment. A high death rate is a natural follow up of this early neglect.

#### Machinery Geared To Reduce The Negro Death Rate

To combat this scourge, the necessity for intensive education of the people in the predominately Negro populated areas was started in May of 1940. A competent Negro doctor was appointed as consultant to the State Department of Health and this year his immediate staff of assistants consists of a clerk and three Public Health Nurses. The directive under which this squad of health trouble shooters operates reads as follows:

"Purpose:- To create health consciousness among Colored people in the state on a community basis in order to educate them about certain diseases with which they are affected, due largely to their financial status, and to stimulate existing agencies to do something about the differential morbidity and mortality rates for this minority group....."

The director and his public health staff make visits to existing health and welfare agencies throughout the state, medical societies and key people in each community. They arrange the organization of County health units to carry on the local health education work under the personal guidance and supervision of the Negro Health Program Division of the State Department of Health.

To date they report 18 of the 21 counties have been so organized and 36 city units. These units arrange to bring a health message throughout the year by having meetings in churches, Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s, schools and Community Centers; health talks on tuberculosis, venereal disease, cancer, maternal and child health and first aid. Visual and audible education through sound motion pictures are featured. The bureau also makes extensive use of pamphlets and posters distributed in public places.

The United States Department of Health stands behind this county aid program to a large extent, loaning facilities, consultation service of their specialists, and in many cases assigning personnel to help the coverage on the job of perfecting health control through education and treatment.

In many instances where in spite of all the high pressure pleading, the people do not come to the doctors or clinics, the clinics are carried to them in the form of mobile units equipped with full X-Ray paraphernalia and other modern weapons of science, needed to battle the threat to community health. Their slogan is that, "Tuberculosis is not a disgrace. It is a disease". They also apply this same slogan to the so-called social diseases. Much of the reluctance on the part of the Negro to give early reporting of the presence of these maladies, is due to a false propoganda of "racial disgrace" built around the his-

tory of these twin plagues. These diseases have been falsely labeled "Negro diseases". This is just another of those pseudo-scientific, often repeated, falsehoods. In the Negro's ancestral homeland, Africa, especially the parts where there are no white men, these diseases are unknown among the natives. As a contrast, all over Europe and other places where the white, brown and yellow races have lived for centuries these diseases have flourished. Through these centuries, the white man has built up a comparatively "developed immunity" to resist these saboteurs of the health of mankind.

These diseases being new to the Negro, he has not had sufficient time to benefit by the process of the "developed immunity" already acquired by the white man. Until such a time element has elapsed and nature's law of the survival of the fittest has evolved, the stronger strains, the Negro must enhance his chances for survival by a full and prompt utilization of all scientific methods of prevention, nutrition, treatment and self-discipline.

However, as this Commission has indicated in the opening of this chapter, those officials responsible for the special crusade of health education and administration must be alert to see that the program develops on a community basis rather than on a segregated racial level. The doctors, nurses and laymen of all of these health units should be integrated in order to insure the highest professional efficiency and progress.

## HEALTH

In their effort to have industry employ the skilled and unskilled workers of the colored group, the investigators of the Commission were faced with the excuse that many of the Negroes had contagious diseases. Added to this charge, which proved later to be only an excuse for not employing the Negro, were the statistics of the selectees examined for the Armed Forces. The Commission faced a condition which needed immediate attention.

The first move was to contact the State Department of Health, Venereal Disease Control, and to confer with the heads of this Department. Contact was then made with the New Jersey State Medical Association and a meeting was had at which the State Department and the Medical Association officials were present.

As a result of these conferences, the matter of venereal diseases was brought into the open and became the main topic of discussion at many meetings subsequently held throughout the State. The New Jersey State Medical Association appointed a special committee which recommended that the main attack against the venereal diseases must be by means of a program of education. It was also recommended that the Commission assist the Department of Public Health, through Dr. J. Earle Stuart, consultant Negro Health Program, which it is now doing.

The Commission was able to secure many employers to assist in finding cases of venereal diseases, by the strict requirement of a blood test, prior to regular employment. Many employers were educated to the fact that a positive blood test does not necessarily mean, in all cases, that the individual having same is not suitable and safe for employment along with other persons.

Dr. Stuart, Health Consultant among Negroes in New Jersey,

while busily engaged in Negro Health in general, with the small staff of workers supplied him, has given valuable assistance through the health educational programs presented in many parts of the State. These educational programs are arranged by Dr. Stuart and the citizens of the various communities and are supplemented with personal contact and home visits by the few nurses.

To combat and control these ever present diseases, it is of the greatest importance that the public, through its Department of Health, maintain a constant vigil by persons not only prepared to serve but also employed to serve.

The Commission, therefore, as a result of its study and findings, recommends to the State Legislature that the work personnel of the field staff in the State Department of Health, the department in which Dr. Stuart is the consultant, be numerically increased. The compliance with this recommendation would carry health education into the homes of hundreds of persons who need it most and very seldom take advantage of the public educational and cultural programs offered.

#### Institutions Receiving Public Aid

With a few exceptions, scores of institutions receiving substantial financial aid from public funds close their doors to all persons of color, insofar as their staffs, boards and departments are concerned.

Our investigators endeavored in many instances to secure the selection of colored professional men to the boards of some of the institutions, run largely upon the funds of the public raised through taxation.

A large majority of the colored physicians of one community

in the State adopted a Resolution setting forth the fact that applications and requests, of all kinds, had been made to City and the Hospital Staff in this particular City for representation on the Medical Staff in this city hospital.

These requests brought forth a series of sympathetic expressions and "buck-passing" replies. Even in the face of statistics to prove that this request is not unreasonable, not even in New Jersey, many of our high public officials are determined that certain institutions under their control must remain "lily-white".

This Commission earnestly recommends that the New Jersey Legislature enact a law, which will prohibit the appropriating, giving or paying of any public funds or money raised through taxation, by the State, Counties or any governing body of this State, to institutions which refuse to employ or engage New Jersey citizens because of race, color, religion or creed; and which institutions practices racial, or religious discrimination in any form.

This law should carry with it a suitable punishment for its violation.

It has been recently reported to us that the time is now ripe for successful action. We quote one doctor who said:

"The opportunity now, more than ever before, is favorable for the colored doctor who has something to contribute."

This optimistic statement came from a physician who had the opportunity to scan the questionnaires covering this subject sent back from 43 hospitals in the State of New Jersey. One highlight of progress in the related field of professional inter-racial attitudes is that at the present time every County Medical Association in New Jersey now has the doors wide open for the admission

of colored physicians.

A similiar situation is developing during this war for nurses. This is true for nurses in training, registered nurses, public health nurses, in hospitals, and in relation to service to private cases. In 1942 a survey made by the Negro Health Program of the State Department of Health was completed. 125 colored registered nurses were located in the state. In December, 1943, only 35 responded to a questionnaire which sought to relocate and employ these nurses if available. Of the 35 who responded, all were employed, or had married, or gone into other fields of service, some of it in the war effort.

This Commission will assist any group or agency who tries to bring these people with their hard won skills back into the field of their earlier ambition and potential usefulness to their people and the State of New Jersey.

**REPORTED CASES AND DEATHS FROM ALL FORMS OF TUBERCULOSIS  
CLASSIFIED BY COLOR**

**NEW JERSEY: 1942**

COUNTY	Number of reported cases			Number of deaths			Reported cases per death		
	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>	<b>3,308</b>	<b>624</b>	<b>3,932</b>	<b>1,424</b>	<b>431</b>	<b>1,855</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>2.1</b>
Atlantic	82	58	140	36	40	76	2.3	1.5	1.8
Bergen	224	28	252	94	11	105	2.4	2.5	2.4
Burlington	50	12	62	31	7	38	1.6	1.7	1.6
Camden	159	31	190	78	27	105	2.0	1.1	1.8
Cape May	25	-	25	7	1	8	3.6	-	3.1
Cumberland	43	9		25	5	30	1.7	1.8	1.7
Essex	630	217	847	277	168	445	2.3	1.3	1.9
Gloucester	28	9	37	22	8	30	1.3	1.1	1.2
Hudson	638	40	678	313	47	360	2.0	0.9	1.9
Hunterdon	18	1	19	9	1	10	2.0	1.0	1.9
Mercer	235	46	281	88	24	112	2.7	1.9	2.5
Middlesex	156	9	165	82	7	89	1.9	1.3	1.9
Monmouth	130	32	162	46	18	64	2.8	1.8	2.5
Morris	70	5	75	34	4	38	2.1	1.3	2.0
Ocean	22	4	26	17	4	21	1.3	1.0	1.2
Passaic	323	52	375	126	18	144	2.6	2.9	2.6
Salem	25	9	34	4	6	10	6.3	1.5	3.4
Somerset	32	2	34	22	1	23	1.5	2.0	1.5
Sussex	27	-	27	10	-	10	2.7	-	2.7
Union	216	41	257	83	32	115	2.6	1.3	2.2
Warren	30	-	30	20	2	22	1.5	-	1.4
State Institutions	143	18	161						
Military Posts	2	1	3						

Adapted:- Tuberculosis Control in New Jersey - 1942

## SPECIAL FIELDS

Once it became known to the colored population that this Commission was created, it was inevitable that we would receive many and varied calls for advice and assistance on many problems related to interracial maladjustments.

Whereas every case called to our attention was carefully considered, the nature of many of these were such that we referred them to other agencies or organizations. These public agencies were reputable, semi-public, or privately financed bodies. In most instances, guidance and the establishment of a proper organizational contact was all that was needed to straighten out some of these localized or comparatively minor complaints.

### Commission Assists Action by Community

In line with our general plan to support, or organize local citizens' committees for community action, we loaned, when needed or requested, our resources, personnel, and advice to these organized local groups that were geared to handle the adjustments at the community level. We, at all times, tried to avoid any act that could be considered as riding rough shod or 'stealing the show' from an intelligent and active local socio-interracial organization.

However, if in the opinion of the Commission, a case had in it the element of establishing a dangerous policy that might disadvantage large numbers of colored citizens in a given area or the State, our investigators promptly took the lead in working for the breaking down of such alleged policies as they appeared or were reported and checked.

Quite a few of these cases followed a familiar pattern. We shall only quote a few, which show the range of our action. By way of illustration, many cases of discrimination against Negroes in public places, restuarants, soda fountains, inns, etc. were reported to this Commission. We informed each of the complainants in relation to their legal rights as citizens to equal accommodations in public places giving each a copy of the New Jersey laws on the question, and referred them to their local N.A.A.C.P. or their personal attorneys for action against the offenders through the courts.

We noted in our chapter on employment that our Commission staff was kept very busy assisting hundreds of workers old and new in the preparation of the numerous government forms, which had to be interpreted to the worker before he could go to work in the war program.

#### Win Fight In Soldier Discrimination Case

At Fort Monmouth, N. J., this Commission was instrumental in bringing to the attention of Brigadier General G. L. Van Deusen, Commandant of the Fort, a complaint made against the operator of the Casino Skating Rink in Asbury Park in which colored soldiers were being refused admission to the rink. Upon receipt of our official charge and request for adjudication, the General acted promptly. He sent his post inspector to the rink and after this army official's interview with the management, the Commission received this letter from the General, noting an ending of the undemocratic practice.

Negro Welfare Commission  
Central, New Jersey

Dear Sirs:

"With further reference to the case of Lawrence Gelzer, I am informed by my Post Inspector that the management of the Casino Skating Rink have given assurance that colored soldiers from Fort Monmouth will be admitted in the future to their establishment. I trust that there will be no further incidents of this nature concerning personnel from this post."

Very truly yours,  
G.L. VanDeusen  
Brigadier General  
U.S. Army Commanding

Jim-Crow Crops Up In Practice Air-Raid

During a practice air-raid on Route 6 in Little Ferry, some colored motorists were included in a group ordered to the side of the road by State troopers and air raid wardens. They were then all ordered to retire to the shelter of a nearby public roadhouse. All of these people except the Negroes were admitted without question by the management of the inn. The Negroes were barred admission, and when they reported the incident to the air-raid warden, he shrugged his shoulders and told them, "I guess you'll have to go back and get in your car".

Commission investigators probed this case and the following week the Commission sponsored a bill to outlaw discrimination in air-raids. The bill was introduced and passed quickly by the Legislature. The statute provides a penalty of "\$500 fine or six months' imprisonment or both, to refuse a person access to a place of shelter during an air raid alarm for reason of race, creed or color", as a punishment for future offenders.

## Helping New Jersey's "Oakies"

When the farm labor shortage in New Jersey became acute, the importation of migrant labor from the southern states and the West Indies brought with it potential problems of community reception and adjustments by the native population and the newcomers.

Investigators from the Commission staff worked with the War Food Administration, the communities, the employers, and the migrant workers towards effecting the best possible solution to acute situations that sprung up as a result of a paucity of housing, sanitation and recreational facilities for the migrant laborers. The investigation by our staff was constructive and in cooperation with the Monmouth County Grand Jury who handed up recommendations for housing and sanitary reforms.

## WHAT THE COMMUNITY CAN DO

### Thought And Social Action At The Community Level

The New Jersey Welfare Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population recommends that there should be:

1. Organized an interracial citizens committee in every community in the State which contains an appreciable Negro population. We have selected twenty cities as a start which have a population of Negroes exceeding 9.0%. (See Table #3)
2. Wherever such an organization does exist, rather than duplicate the effort, the Commission will give all aid and encouragement within its power to this group in developing a forthright and practical program of better racial understanding.
3. To the central interracial group in any community liaison men and women should be invited to assume membership, who have organizational contacts in the varied segments of the community life. The forces to be reckoned with are the Church, the Press, the Board of Education, the Municipal Government, Fraternal Organizations, Social Service Agencies, the County, State and Federal officialdom, Labor Unions, Rotary, Kiwanis, Women's Clubs, the Chamber of Commerce and other civic and cultural groups.

### Objectives and Recommendations

#### Objectives:

To foster better interracial understanding through stimulating the interracial education of both juvenile and adult population of New Jersey's urban centers.

#### Analysis

Some pioneer work has been done in this field but it has been spasmodic and only the fringe of the problem has been skirted. The inherent dangers of community disunity have been ignored by the majority group. A sense of hopeless frustration has developed in the Negro's group thinking, with a resultant distrust on their part of the majority groups preachments and lip service to democratic ideals. In normal times, flagrant and brutal injustice against Negroes has been the rule of conduct by the majority

white population with a resultant sullen resentment being evidenced by the Negro.

In times of stress, such as during the present war, these restrictions and repressions of the Negro groups is being sharply challenged. Those who subscribe to the theory of the "white supremacy" pattern are reluctant to change their attitudes with resultant potential racial tensions and clashes.

This potential specter of racial dissention bodes ill for the spirit of unity needed for our all out effort to win this war.

### Training Diciples of Democracy

The first step in organizational techniques for the central interracial group is to intrain its membership in knowledge of the subject and its related problems:

- (a) The group should make a scientifically planned study of the Negro's history. Care should be exercised in the selection of source text-book material so that an unbiased evaluation can be arrived at in relation to the Negro's inherent right to be respected as an individual and a full fledged citizen.
- (b) Concurrently with the study of the Negro, there must be included an acquaintance with the historical background of other interracial movements fostered within the span of America's history. Some of the greatest names in the annals of the Republic have been associated with the crusades for interracial tolerance in the past.
- (c) Another valuable guide for the groups procedure will be found in studying the experiences and techniques of other cities in New Jersey and other liberal states, who have made progress or attempts at progress in this field of human relationships.
- (d) The Commission recommends that the committee also should explore in a realistic manner, the related problems created by the impact of ideas of the majority and other minority cultural groups, in our urban and rural communities. We believe that the interfaith, interracial and intercultural movements should be merged into one general community movement. Very obviously, any other course would be risking possible duplication and new intra-community dissention, thereby defeating the broad objectives of their common aims.

The best method for further indoctrination of the central committee can be selected from the various facilities in the given community that are available and practical for the purposes of molding public opinion. Among these will be included such mediums as; news and releases to the local newspaper, the radio, a planned series of lectures, panel discussions, area conferences, mass meetings, dissemination of pamphlets and other literature, exhibitions, pageants, parades, use of moving picture material designed for the program, refutation of rumors with facts--by making surveys and having on hand figures and other statistics to repudiate the lies and half truths, use of posters and street car advertisements, etc. The Commission does not presume to possibly think of every medium of carrying the torch, as we are aware that the initiative in this respect is boundless in its possibilities for variation. We merely present these few suggestions as sample patterns.

When the central committee has progressed to the point that they have agreed as to the scope of their major objectives.... when they are ready to proclaim a manifesto of principles..... then they can and should begin to carry the message to the community at large.

Each step in the campaign for the re-education of the community at large must be as skillfully planned and directed as possible. Men and women with talents and contacts for this task are to be found in every committee that has been formed as herein prescribed. The committee in its structure has the natural leaders. With the new civic horizon revealed, by the

course they have just finished, these leaders are now ready for progressive social action geared at achieving a design of unity among all the peoples of the community in which they live in New Jersey.

The Committee is now prepared and inspired to map the time, the place and the methods it will use to most effectually enlist the services and cooperation of:

- The Church
- The Schools
- The Municipal Government
- The Fraternal Organization
- The Labor Unions
- The Service Clubs
- The Leaders of Industry
- The Social Service Agencies
- The Women's Clubs
- The Veteran's Organizations
- The Cultural Organizations

The New Jersey Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population stands ready to furnish information, suggested reading material, speakers, guidance and cooperation for any group in New Jersey which plans to work or organize on these lines. The Commission also plans to initiate or revive in other communities not presently organized local Central Committees for interracial social action.

## WHAT THE SCHOOLS CAN DO

### Suggested Study and Action by the Boards of Education in New Jersey Cities

The Board of Education in any city or town is a public agency. Its members are public servants, generally responsive to sound suggestions from the public it serves. However, due to the everpresent pressure in the interest of conservative budgeting and their resistance to adding "crackpot" frills to educational policy, they often move cautiously in adopting new programs.

With these known factors in mind, the local Interracial Committee must first thoroughly familiarize itself with the tested soundness of the proposal to extend the policy of education for democracy.

The Commission recommends:

1. A major effort should <sup>be</sup> made by the Interracial Committee to stimulate study, action and review on the part of the State Board of Education, and the various local Boards of Education in relation to their past treatment of the Negro question in the "Problems of Democracy" series.
2. Boards of Education should be urged to include in their curriculum on civics and history, text-books which treat with dignity and truth the story of the Negro and the other minority groups. These books containing a true evaluation of all the minorities should be graded in treatment, to meet the I.Q. of all students from the elementary grades through high school. Until such time as complete integration of the material is included in the present text-books, a special syllabus on the

subject should be prepared. This syllabus should not be supplemental, but mandatory.

### TEACHERS IN-TRAINING COURSES

3. After the Board of Education has approved in principle and acted upon a policy of imparting full and unbiased information concerning all minorities, the next logical step is to get the Board to direct its teachers to intrain in a course of Intercultural education. Such courses have been and can be brought to any county area in the state. In New Jersey and New York they are being sponsored at the University level by duly accredited instructors who are specialists in the field. Once these first goals have been achieved, the job in relation to the administrative forces of the school is well launched.

### TECHNIQUES

4. In the course of the teacher intraining period there will evolve the various methods best suited for the particular community the Board is serving. In Springfield, Massachusetts; Chicago, Illinois; Newark, New Jersey and New York City, each Board has worked out a plan pointing in the same general direction but elastic in fitting the special problems involved in organizing the program.

5. Many of the prejudices, biases and undemocratic attitudes evident among the children are reflections of forces and factors outside the school, such as the home, the street, the club, and sometimes even the church; the program for democracy should not, therefore, be designed solely for the children in the schools but should reach the parents and the adult world which conditioned the child's environment and thinking.\*

6. One of the major weaknesses of previous attempts to inculcate democratic ideas was the fact that the teaching had been too idealized. Youngsters were given to understand that we in this country had already achieved a perfect democracy. This teaching and idealization did not coincide with the realities of the youngsters' experiences. They soon became disillusioned because their own observations invalidated the idealizations..Children were taught, for example, that this was a land of equal opportunity and that in this country people were not discriminated against because of race, religion, or creed. But the Negro girl knew very well that even though she were an excellent stenographer, there was little possibility of securing a position as a stenographer; and the boy with a foreign-sounding name knew that his chances for securing a good position were not so good as those of his classmates who had Anglo-Saxon names.\*\*

#### ADULT EDUCATION IN SCHOOL PROGRAMS

7. Another suggested step is parent and adult education. Several years of experimentation in New York and Chicago and Springfield, Massachusetts, with plays, pageants and school community programs built around racial unity material, has proven to be highly successful. These programs, tactfully and skillfully prepared should be promoted by the School Administration in each community. Unless this phase of education at the adult level is stressed, it has been found that much of the new democracy taught in the classrooms has been negated in the homes by the attitudes and behavior patterns of their older people at home.

### VISUAL EDUCATION

8. Negro men and women who have distinguished themselves in various fields should be brought before the school assemblies to speak, sing, act or give related informative demonstrations. Films, pictures and other visual methods of education on the subject should be utilized. Much standard material of this type can be procured from state and federal agencies at nominal rental costs.

### SCHOOL AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES

9. To implement the whole program of Intercultural Education in the classrooms and other points of contact, an adequate section of the school library should be earmarked for related standard books, magazines, pictures and other material. This section should be built up each year, by being generously provided for in the annual budget designed for book purchases. The School Administration should also seek and propose cooperation of the city public libraries towards a similar action in their department.

### SUMMER WORKSHOPS

10. Finally the Board of Education should use its prestige and influence in encouraging summer school intercultural education workshop attendance by its teachers.

\* A Community's Total War Against Prejudice--Alice L. Halligan  
\* \* " " " " " " " " " "

## WHAT THE CHURCH CAN DO

The role that the Church can play in the crusade for Christian Democracy has been clearly recognized by many of the leading church men in the State.

### Federation of Churches Point The Way

Those churches in New Jersey which have affiliated themselves with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America have sponsored or co-sponsored a series of meetings at least once a year labeled "Fellowship Week", "Brotherhood Week", "Interracial Sunday" and other related titles. During these 'weeks' which are generally scheduled during the second week in February, various interracial programs are promoted. Speakers who are specialists in the fields of interracial study are featured, and in many cases an interracial exchange of pulpits is the order of the day.

The National Office of the Federation of Churches of Christ in America has a voluminous assortment of publications and pamphlets that are available for dissemination to its member units, and anyone else interested. This inspirational and forthright literature outlines detailed steps and a comprehensive agenda, setting forth the technique of operation for interracial units of localized Christian democracy.

This Commission is also aware of the fact that quite a few ministers are exerting their influence in a quiet way to ease tensions in isolated instances that come under their observation. We have also come across some of them, actively taking part on Interracial committees in some of our towns and cities. However, this Commission respectfully advances the thought to the clergy of the State, that as laudatory as these efforts are, coming once

a year, the job of preaching the doctrine of brotherhood of man is a fifty-two week task. We pray, therefore, that the Church will truly become the militant and alert conscience of Society throughout the year.

It is our profound belief that the church with its moral and spiritual mandate, should actively spearhead any community movement to achieve the objectives of interracial, interfaith, or intercultural unity.

### Catholicism Takes A Stand

Aside from the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Catholic Church publishes a monthly magazine, "The Interracial Review" which on its masthead declares it "is the only Catholic magazine in America devoted primarily to the task of formulating an interracial policy".

Under a subtitle of "Philosophy" this magazine further declares "The Interracial Review professes a theory of race relations well integrated with the whole body of Catholic social principle. The 'Review' has a unified program". Under the subtitle "Organization" it further declares "The importance of organizational activity is stressed. Significant meetings are reported. Methods and techniques are given. The 'Review' stands for group cooperation!"

Under "Social Problems" the publication states: "Housing, working conditions, the New Deal, education, lynching, hygienic problems--all are treated at length in our pages. The 'Review' is in step with the times!"

And finally, under the subtitle "Youth", it declares, "Our feature 'As Youth Sees It', is a forum for a large and growing

body of Catholic young people on fire for the cause of inter-racial justice. The 'Review' is inspirational!"

#### Ecclesiastical Crusader

This Commission thinks that a very fitting summation of the action philosophy enunciated above by these two great branches of Christendom, is found in the words which come from the pen of Dr. Bernard Iddings Bell, High Church Episcopalian Priest and Author of the caustic book, "Church In Disrepute". He wrote in part as follows: "Many non-church goers think of the churches as social clubs--smothered by respectability and enervated by timidity--led chiefly by parsons more intent to please congregations than to blurt out the disconcerting will of God--controlled by small bore laymen fearful lest the Church blow ardently upon the latent fires of spiritual and moral revolution--impotent to prevent war--(unable) to stand for prevention of a revengeful and dishonest peace."

After this blunt and critical analysis, the Reverend Bell pointed out a way in which the Church can win over many of the tribe of "doubtful Thomases". He asserted the Church must cultivate three attributes:--

"Simplicity -- the blazing centrality of God as He is in Christ.

"Sincerity -- a Church which is the conscience of society, which will condemn selfish, nationalistic, imperialistic, compromising social action, (and will) insist upon a society which will recognize, as Jesus does, that man is more than a producer and consumer of goods, more than a breeder of wage-slaves and cannon fodder.

"Sympathy -- not pity, but fellow-suffering. The Churches must lose their lives for Christ sake and that of the brethren, become the hidden leaven of a selfless love in the lump of misery called mankind, go out and share the bitter things with not one timid shudder, or else be trodden under foot by men who have learned what life is about."

## WHAT THE POLICE DEPARTMENT CAN DO

The Department of Public Safety in the larger cities in New Jersey have supervision over the Police Department. In some of the smaller cities, the Police Department is on its own, under the immediate jurisdiction of the Chief of Police. In either event, a grave responsibility is on the shoulders of the directing head, if and when the occasion arises that a riot breaks out as a result of community tensions.

It is therefore of paramount importance that the conduct of the police officers in these tragic circumstances will be of such nature that they can be commended for prompt, efficient and impartial quelling of civil strife.....We are thoroughly aware that the police in most cases (excepting cases of police brutality) have nothing to do with the circumstances bringing about these community eruptions. There are other anti-social factors in the community which engender and nurse the grievances which finally burst into civic fratricide.

However when the community eruption comes, the policeman is the first city official with authority to be called upon for action. It is then that the police officer must use, not only force, but intelligence and understanding. If he has been so trained, all is well and peace and justice is triumphant. If he has not, then in many cases matters are made worse and oftentimes a corner fight can develop into a full fledged neighborhood or city-wide riot. In normal times these conditions may not be so probable. But in times of war, and considering our mixed national and racial populations plus the strain on

nerves caused by the tempo of our war work, things are vastly different.

We therefore submit to the law enforcement authorities of New Jersey two cases of police action to study: One the performance of the Police Department in Detroit, Michigan, during the June riots there, where the police did everything that was wrong. Judged by any fair and impartial standard.....it has been conceded that the police handling of the situation in Detroit was the worst case of Police Department ineptitude in the history of any northern American city.

As a contrast to the grizzly, blundering of Detroit's Police Department heads, our Commission recommends the alert, intelligent and forthright procedure of Police Chief Charles J. Monks of Passaic, New Jersey, who stopped an incipient riot by immediately stepping into the breach in that city, correcting an initial error by a patrolman, and laid down a policy of prevention of any miscue in the future. Two of the Commission's investigators assigned to investigate the near-riot discussed with the Chief of Police the background of various other disturbances throughout the country. They stated that full confidence in the law-enforcing authorities could be restored to the populace, white and colored, only when it became known that they would refuse to tolerate such disorders in the future and that immediate arrests would be made of guilty parties without regard to race or color.

Our investigators also discussed with the Chief of Police, the report which the Commission had made to the Governor arising out of the race riot in the City of Newark. They pointed out that a request had been made of the Governor to call a

conference of law enforcing authorities and other responsible officials with a view to the consideration and adopting of a program which would lead to a better understanding between the races, and to the elimination of the dangers involved in such situations. The Chief of Police was most cooperative in his attitude and sympathetic in his approach to the problems presented to him. He assured the representatives of the Commission that a thorough investigation of the situation would be made, particularly with reference to the conduct of the police at that time. This would be followed by a report from him to Mr. Cinamon with such recommendations as he deemed pertinent. The representatives of the Commission kept closely in touch with the situation and sought to convey to the proper City officials of City of Passaic, the importance of adopting appropriate precautionary measures to assure the fact that there would be no repetition of the incident.

Without any further editorial comment, we present as a model for action Chief Charles J. Monk's letter to the Director of Public Safety in Passaic.

From: Charles James Monks, Chief of Police  
To: Julius J. Cinamon, Director of Public Safety  
On: Racial Tension

The recent incident at Main Avenue and Summer Street, Passaic, in which a soldier attached to one of the nearby military posts became involved with a young Negro girl rapidly flared into a serious situation, should act as a warning that the cause of the trouble should quickly be removed. Frankly, there exist a few points (fortunately a few) in the City, which under certain circumstances could be so irritated to reproduce a repetition of this condition. There are some hotheads and even unscrupulous persons among both the white and Negro people, who if let alone could and would cause such unfortunate situations. I am convinced that a course of education and re-education is necessary, and after the spade work is

done, should receive wide and appropriate publicity, for if the plan is followed, certainly only good can come of it.

The initial contact which people who live in congested areas have with our institutions is most frequently with the police officer. To them, he represents the law and its authority, and even though the policeman in no way contributes to the underlying causes of the evil of race discrimination, hatred and bigotry, unfortunately, he of all the departments of law is the first to deal with the situation when it erupts. He appears on the scene at the outbreak of trouble, but has no control of the underlying causes which had been fermenting beneath the surface.

The plan of action which I have in mind is therefore divided into two parts. The first deals with police prevention, activities and contact, while the other deals with civic movements, designed for better understanding between the races.

#### I.

##### (a) Instruction course to all policemen.

One or more competent outstanding citizens should address our entire Police Department, giving them a compact course of instruction in civil liberties, outlining the duties and inter-relations of the policeman to the citizen; a tracing of the history of bigotry and discrimination; how to recognize its early symptoms, the pitfalls and the serious consequences. The lecturer will stress that in this democracy we strive for equality before the law of all people regardless of race, color or creed. I propose to promote free and open discussion from the rank and file of the policemen with the lecturer to provoke a question period for its stimulating effect.

(b) There should be called into conference and consultation immediately, the intelligent and outstanding Negro men and women of the community, civilian and clergy, strictly avoiding the politically minded personalities. An advisory board should be formed from the foregoing to meet with the Chief, Police Court Judge and top ranking officers from time to time to discuss various problems as they arise. Obviously this group would meet from time to time in executive and confidential session.

(c) I propose to sponsor the calling of a Police Clinic, at which representatives from other communi-

ties having similar problems and large Negro populations will discuss the experience of each in the handling and treatment of these problems, out of which must come a mutual benefit to all attendants at such a Clinic.

## II.

The Mayor, at your suggestion, should appoint a city-wide representative and inter-racial committee to consider and treat with the entire situation as it exists and effects our community. The Police Department will gladly and heartily cooperate. The following are subjects which should receive the immediate attention of such a committee.

1. Juvenile Delinquency
2. Adequate Housing
3. Employment discrimination
4. Economic discrimination
5. Publicity on inter-racial activities
6. Cultivation and public support of intelligent Negro leadership.

I believe that the whole problem is bound up with the future welfare of our community and it is therefore of sufficient importance to urge you to discuss with the Mayor Part II of the foregoing program.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Charles J. Monks

## WHAT THE PRESS CAN DO

This Commission believes it is substantially true, that nearly every literate person in New Jersey reads at least one newspaper. We think it is also true that newspapers have a tremendous power in molding public opinion. There seems to be in the minds of a large number of people a fixed idea that if anything is "printed in black and white" it must be true.

## POWER OF THE PRESS

Of course in this age of "propaganda", "counter-propaganda" and "angling of the news", much of that confidence in the printed word has been dissipated. However, a constant reiteration of a point of view by a newspaper or other publications which have a steady chronological appearance before the average readers eye, still retains much of its original power of persuasion.

With these factors in mind, it is certainly conclusive that the "fourth estate" has a grave responsibility and much power, in helping or hindering the growth of better racial understanding in the State of New Jersey. We respectfully submit to the editors of New Jersey, for their careful consideration, both the papers owned and edited by white and colored management, the following suggestions in relation to the treatment of news, features and editorial approach on matters which would involve interracial understanding.

To Newspapers, etc. Owned and Controlled by White People

1. Do not use the word "Negro" or "colored" in identifying criminals by race in crime stories.
2. Do not publish "jokes" about the Negro which tend to characterize the Negro as a perennial buffoon.

3. Do not generalize on matter tending to identify the Negro race as being especially prone to the commission of revolting crimes.
4. Treat the anti-social behavious patterns of Negro offenders against the law (if in the light of competent news reporting the culprit must be identified by a racial tag) in the light of the individual's economic, educational and social background.
5. Capitalize the letter N when printing the word Negro,
6. It is very seldom done in the northern states, but avoid using any such characterizations as "coon", "darkey", "shine" or other degrading terms in referring to Negroes.

This Commission feels that the true freedom of the press will in no sense be compromised if the editors of the state graciously accept this code of ethics designed to avoid needlessly harming a whole people struggling for a brighter day.....or to avoid frustrations, reprisals and race tensions.

On the constructive side of the ledger, the so-called "white press" can do an excellent job of building interracial amity through its pages.

1. Publish significant stories of the accomplishments of the Negro in the local, state and national field. In the national field there are many news services of unquestioned integrity which can be utilized for such coverage.
2. Publish pictures of Negroes who are doing outstanding things in relation to the life of the cities, the states and the nation. These picture services are also available.
3. Encourage the progressive Negro leaders in the various communities by editorially supporting their constructive movements when needed.
4. Combat editorially and by feature crusades all forces of bigotry and intolerance which might arise to tear down the spirit of interracial unity.

To the Press Owned and Controlled by Negro Management

The so-called "Negro press" has pioneered the hard way to

obtain its present measure of progress. In many instances, before the advent of the powerful crusading agencies fighting for Negro advancement, the Negro press stood almost alone in the fight for Negro Progress. It is certainly no overstatement to say that much of the past and present strength of the crusading, liberal, interracial movements, is the result of the excellent public relations services rendered to these organizations by the Negro press. They grew in numbers and power together.

The Negro press has now come of age. It has matured in its physical and typographical aspects to the point that judged by the highest standards, the most successful Negro newspapers are on par with the white papers of comparative circulations in the State.

This Commission respectfully submits to the Negro press of the State, the following proposals for their study and possible action, along the lines of improving interracial relations;

1. To initiate or support a statewide, joint conference between the editors and publishers of the white and Negro papers of New Jersey and the radio stations. At this conference, we suggest that the Negro representatives support in principle the propositions, that in reciprocity for the white press and radio adopting a policy laid down along the general outline cited before in this article, that the Negro press would in turn do some or most of the following things.

First, in the case of insignificant conflicts between Negroes and whites, the factors will not be magnified for Negro reader interest or circulation purposes. Second, that lurid headlines and exaggerated angling of the news must not supersede a policy of factual reporting, based upon sound and competent investigation.

The Commission in no wise suggests the suppression of the

Negro Press' prime role as a Legitimate and militant voice of protest against any and all indignities committed against Negroes. We desire no let up on their mission to raise "intelligent hell" as Walter White terms it. But we do suggest that its crusades be always "intelligent" and based on thorough investigation.

2. At this conference of the Negro and white press representatives, we suggest they adopt a program of laying all of their controversial cards on the table. Both sides should frankly criticize and invite criticism, which will clarify their respective points of view. At the end of this conference, it is reasonable to hope for a solution which will bring as an ally to the cause of interracial understanding, one of the most powerful forces in New Jersey.....i.e., the entire press and radio facilities of the State.

WHAT THE UNIONS CAN DO ABOUT THE PROBLEMS  
OF MINORITIES IN THEIR OWN ORGANIZATIONS

We have mentioned in passing in our chapter on "The Field of Employment" some of the cooperation labor unions have given to this Commission. However, in relation to a positive and affirmative program we publish for the record, and submit as a model for union officials some excerpts from the booklet entitled "Working And Fighting Together" published and distributed by the Congress of Industrial Organization's Committee to Abolish Facial Discrimination.

In its foreword it says --

"Today, labor is challenged to demonstrate its capacity and its willingness to assume even larger responsibilities. In a world at war, free labor must produce the supplies and equipment needed by our fighting forces, the consumer materials necessary for minimum health and comfort, and the needs of our valiant allies the world over.

It must likewise prove to thousands of new workers that the democratic processes at work in the labor movement make no distinction of race, religion, color, or nationality.

Labor cannot afford to ignore either of these responsibilities. If it fails to utilize the skills and strength of every American workman, it prolongs a bloody and destructive war.

If it refuses to rid itself completely of the blind prejudices that deny people who are "different" a fair deal within the labor movement, it undermines the strength of labor and threatens its hard-won gains. How labor acquits itself under the pressures of war-created tensions may well be the yardstick by which we determine the kind of world we can expect after the war."

In this handbook under the subtitle "Race Conflict in the Union" it says in part --

"Why bring it up anyway? What can we do about it? The answer is simply this. For many years the struggle for survival and the competition for jobs have provided the soil in which the seeds of discrimination against minority groups have flourished.

Racial and religious prejudices have restricted the number of persons engaged in some occupations, while closing the doors of opportunity to thousands of others---because they are different. It has made us lose sight of our higher aims and ideals in a world torn apart by economic and racial imperialism.

And it has caused the spread of undemocratic ideas and practices, even among those who have joined hands and hearts in the fight against these forces. It becomes increasingly important that we not only recognize the enemy within our gates, but also attack him with the full might and strength of the labor movement."

A little further in the pamphlet it relates --

#### "When The Union Acts

While the CIO and its affiliated bodies have declared their stand on discrimination, the attitude of a local union may not be consistent with the general policy. It is important for local union leadership to be committed to the principles of fairness and honesty and to the policy of no discrimination that the national body has established.

When a decision to employ minority group workers is made, the union must be prepared to stand behind it. If this is clearly understood by the employer, he need have no fears of labor difficulties. Frank and open discussion of all of the factors involved should be held in union meetings and with the labor-management committee before action is taken. This will provide opportunities for mutually helpful understanding and cooperation.

In some cases, contract provisions pave the way for the employment of minority group workers. Many CIO unions include in all new contracts, as well as in renewal contracts, clear-cut statements of its policies in this respect. Every member of the union then understands that this part of the contract must be respected .....and is as important as any

other provision."

Here again the Union speaks up forthrightly on the very important question of "Training, Upgrading; Seniority Rights". Here is the advice and policy of action by the union --

"Does the union assume responsibility for what happens to the minority group worker after he has been employed? Will he have a chance along with other workers to improve his skills and increase his earning power? Will his seniority rights be respected when transfers, upgrading, or other changes are made in the shop or factory?"

Here again, we must refer to the attitudes of local union members. If they can be made to understand that the desire for advancement, promotion, self-improvement is strong among all groups of workers regardless of race, they will stand solidly behind fair and impartial treatment of minorities in this respect.

Management is quick to explain a discriminatory policy in training and upgrading in the shop by declaring that skilled workers will not accept Negroes or other minority groups as helpers, apprentices, or learners. Strong union action may be necessary to counteract the all too prevalent tendency to "freeze" certain types of workers to certain jobs. If training classes are organized in the shop, notices of the classes, when and where they will be held, should be posted where all workers can see them.

Negro workers in a Wilmington shipyard complained to their union that they frequently did not know about training courses until several weeks after they had started, because announcements were never placed where they could see them. They claimed also that Negro welders were not upgraded along with other workers whose training and efficiency were equal to white welders on the job.

When these problems were discussed with the shop foreman and he understood that the union would not tolerate this discrimination, the practice was immediately discontinued."

Under the caption of "Worker Contacts on the Job" the handbook continues --

"While the employer must accept responsibility for providing safe and desirable working conditions, unions can do much to insure satisfactory relations between workers.

Where minority group workers are employed, the union's job is often more difficult, but it need not be.

Every effort should be exerted to prevent irritating situations that can so easily arise over the use of racial epithets, jokes, and stories about minority groups on the job. "Darky" jokes, dialect stories, and name-calling are never acceptable, and they may easily create friction among workers. A wholesome respect for the dignity and importance of work go hand-in-hand with respect for the worker. Alert union officials and members can do much to discourage this practice.

There are many other point by point directives included for workers guidance in the pamphlet which space does not permit us to quote, but a high point to mention in our conclusion is this advice on meeting procedure for their various locals --

#### "Union Practices That Get Results In The Meetings:

What the minority group union member thinks about his fellow workers in the union meeting is always important. If he gets the impression that he is "tolerated" but does not "belong", his attitude will be indifferent and antagonistic. He will soon consider it a waste of his time to attend meetings or participate in other union activities.

Certainly a coddling or protective attitude should be avoided, but every right and privilege accorded to other members should be extended to him. If the presiding officer and other union officials observe a few simple rules in this respect, another source of dissatisfaction can be eliminated.

1. Give the minority group member a fair chance to express himself

about matters discussed in the union.

2. Avoid jokes and ribs about his diction and his manner of speaking.
3. Give him full opportunity to serve on committees and participate freely in the meeting.
4. If he does not thoroughly understand the union's action on a given problem, be patient. See that he gets the necessary information.
5. Refrain from uncomplimentary comments or statements about other minority groups, even though they are not represented in the meeting.
6. If he has leadership qualities, give him a chance to use them. If he is elected to office, respect his position. Negroes are serving as presidents and officers of a large number of unions which include members of many races and nationalities.

## WHAT LEADING WHITE CITIZENS CAN DO

The role that the leading lay citizens of the white majority, in our New Jersey communities can play in the interracial drama, is one of leadership. Many high minded white men and women of the state have conveyed to this Commission the sentiment that they are distressed in spirit over many of the subtle and vicious cruelties practiced against their colored fellow citizens.

## WHAT CAN WE DO? AND HOW?

They have averred to us that they are shocked and appalled by the occasional overt acts, perpetrated against a backdrop of smoldering cultural and racial tensions. Many of them have asked themselves and others, "What can I do about it?" "How can I help to crush this insidious thing that is sometimes pecking, and at other times violently blasting away at the foundations of our professed democracy?"

There is a need now in this State, as never before, for the respected, intelligent and courageously patriotic white Americans in the upper socio-economic bracket to speak up for undiluted democracy. The important people in the political sub-divisions, must stand by the proposition, of setting the pattern of practicing democracy as well as giving lip service to the creed. Some of the noblest names of past American history have added lustre to their reputations by doing precisely this thing.

This Commission has its answers to the queries of those well intentioned but perplexed white citizens who are sincerely seeking blueprints to combat and ease the race and cultural tensions. We believe that our answers are concise, logical and comprehensive. However, for the moment, we prefer to pass on to you the

tion as it is in the world today. If there are people in the South able to think like this, it gives hope to the whole country and to people everywhere."

Humbly conceding that our poor words may seem pale in comparison, we think you will commend our decision to give you a few gems from Lillian Smith's THERE ARE THINGS TO DO, in which she outlines a code of justice in interracial conduct. Whereas her locale is the South, much of her timely advice is equally applicable to New Jersey. In an opening chapter she said,

"There are things to do now in our communities, things that we all can do to bring ease to the tension felt throughout our region.

"Somehow we must believe this. Believing it, we shall break the spell we have put upon ourselves. We know that a man can paralyze his own body. Torn by his hates and his loves, his conscience and his desire, his fears, his guilt, a man can lock himself in a grip like death and become a thing like the dead."

In analyzing the righteous but timid individuals and groups who follow a hush-hush---do-nothing policy about the status quo, she continues thusly,

"How curiously right we are as we rationalize our inactivity! We intuitively hit upon the core of this matter when we say, as so many of us southerners of good will now say: 'We dare not do this good thing, for fear of doing some harmful thing also'. With these words, we unknowingly turn a light on the depths of our souls, exposing our basic ambivalence of feelings. With these words, we remain loyal to the strict, steel-like code to which we, since birth have been trained to bend.

"From childhood to old age, the sensitive white southerner whips himself with this cutting fear of doing harm until humane impulses, worn out, decency exhausted, courage bruised and flabby, he learns to move through life like some half dead thing, doing as little harm (and as little good) as possible, playing around the edges of great life issues, blinding himself to the ever increasing misery, the ever increasing frustration which his very lethargy is bringing to his land.

"We need to open our eyes and look about us. We need to stare at the naked misery of our people, at the gullied land and the gullied culture, until our imaginations begin to see what we have done to our people and ourselves by NOT acting. We need to assess the damage that we are responsible for, we need to tell that total deficit over and over to ourselves, rubbing it in like salt until it stings us into action."

#### BLUEPRINT FOR THE TIMID, THE BRAVE, THE WISE

"Yes....There are things to be done. Some so simple, so unrequiring of courage, that even the most timid among us can safely do them.

"There are other tasks exacting more imagination than bravery, more energy than sacrifice that can be done also.....And there are other jobs that must be done only by the brave who possess along with their courage, skill and intelligence and resourcefulness.

"Whatever our reasons for wanting to act; whether we are stirred by love for our country or love for democracy; by our shame at being a party to injustice; our desire to win the war, or our belief in the teachings of Jesus Christ, whether by vision of a new world in which all men of all races will have an equal chance for food and freedom, or fear of a race riot in our home town;--whatever our reasons for wanting to ease race tension, there are things we can do NOW.

#### THE SIMPLE UNDRAMATIC THINGS WE ALL CAN DO

"1. We can give ourselves a first-aid course on the State. We can learn where the racial pressure-points are. We can learn the names of the economic groups who have a stake in race tension and are exerting pressure to keep the white man and the black man afraid of each other. We can assess the power of this pressure. We can learn to understand our region, how it functions, what its laws are, how to change them. We can learn how sick it is, the significance of its symptoms, where its strength lies. We can do this by reading a few books now. Not next year, now. Raper and Reid's SHARECROPPERS ALL; Embrce's BROWN AMERICA; Charles Johnson's GROWING UP IN THE BLACK BELT; Franklin Frazier's THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES; Davis and Gardner's DEEP SOUTH; Powdermaker's AFTER FREEDOM; Belfrage's SOUTH OF GOD; Pope's MILLHAND AND PREACHERS; Wright's TWELVE

MILLION BLACK VOICES; the well edited NEGRO CARAVAN; Cash's MIND OF THE SOUTH; are some of the books worth reading. Then read Nehru's TOWARD FREEDOM which, though written by a Hindu about India, is one of the best books on the white man and the black man in the south ever published. Get familiar with Odum's SOUTHERN REGIONS. Learn to use it. There are ten thousand facts in it we all need to know and ponder.

#### AVOID NAME CALLING

"2. Let's urge every white person to stop using the words 'nigger', 'darkie', 'coon'. Stop telling 'nigger jokes'. They're not very funny these days except to the Germans. Little things? Yes. But the little things do as much as the big things to wear out the Negro's nerves. Sandpaper rubbing hard against the black hearts.....

#### WRITE LETTERS

"3. Write a letter to your newspaper (not to be published-if you wish it so) suggesting that Negro jokes be avoided in its pages for the duration of the war at least.

#### CONVERSATION PIECE

"4. In conversation with friends, make a point of suggesting how ridiculous you think it is for whites who pride themselves on their manners to refuse to use courtesy titles when speaking of or to Negroes. How familiar and intimate it is to dare call a strange Negro by his first name. Make a point of suggesting that 'nigger jokes' are bad taste in war-time (of course they are excessively bad taste at all times); that they are hurting morale both of Negroes here and our colored allies across the seas. Suggest how difficult it must be for Negro mothers to give their sons to a jim-crow army and then be pushed around by us at home; how torn and conflicting must be their feelings of patriotism and race pride and justice; how injurious to morale it is when whites make unfair demands of Negroes.

#### PUT YOURSELF IN A NEGRO'S PLACE

"Spend a little time thinking. Thinking how it must feel to be a Negro in our State today. How it must feel to be jim-crowed on buses, in theaters, in churches, in schools, hotels, restaurants, in the armed forces, in jobs.

## LISTEN TO THE NEGRO'S SPOKESMEN

"6. Write a few letters. Write to several radio area stations urging that Negro organizations be invited more frequently to put on programs, that Negro speakers and artists when announced be accorded courtesy titles, that Negroes be invited to participate in the forums which many radio stations promote. FEW WHITES HAVE EVER HEARD AN EDUCATED NEGRO SPEAK A WORD. Yet there are 55,000 Negro college graduates.

b. Write to your newspaper and suggest that photographs of Negroes be published: Negro heroes in the armed forces, Negro artists and scientists, and educators, and others who have achieved to a newsworthy level.

## APPLAUD THE COURAGEOUS

"7. If you are unable to speak out publicly for racial democracy, or to write for publication, or to act democratically before others, there is still something you can do. Commend those who do these things which you don't dare do. Praise your minister for his sermon on brotherhood (or hint to him that it's about time to preach one.) Write your editor and commend him for that democratic editorial (or suggest to him that it is time to write one); subscribe to the magazines which are trying to do a good job for democracy in war time. Ask your librarian for books on race, on the South, on economics, on world affairs. See that she buys them if she hasn't them already in your library.

## PERSONAL BRIDGEHEADS ACROSS THE CHASM

"8. There is another thing which any well-bred white man or woman can do. It is in the best tradition of the South. Seek out among the Negro race a few individuals with whom you can become good friends. You can easily find many that are equal to you in education, intelligence, appearance, charm, ability, social poise, sensitive good-breeding. The great chasm between the two races must be bridged-for the sake of building a prosperous good South, for the sake of peace and the new world order, for the sake of our souls. This bridging is not a great engineering feat to be done sometime in the dim future, 'after the war', 'someday', 'when the time comes'.....It is every man's job, white and Negro, to do now. The chasm is deep but not so wide that a man can not reach across it and take the hand of a man on the other side.

## READ NEGRO PUBLICATIONS

"9. Subscribe to a Negro magazine or a Negro newspaper. Remember as a white person you likely know very little about any Negroes except those who have worked for you in some menial position.

"Read a Negro's books or his articles; then write him a letter. Write an artist, a singer, an actor and tell him of your appreciation of his work.

"But if you want to know what kind of people Negroes are, how it feels to be a Negro in war time, read their papers and their books. All will give information about Negroes, what they are thinking and feeling."

## BE A GOOD NEIGHBOR

"10. Whenever you have a chance of not being segregated, quietly take it. Such as sitting by a Negro on bus or streetcar, or standing by a Negro in an elevator. A 'gesture'?..... Yes....but a gracious one."

## DON'T EXPLOIT YOUR NEGRO HELP

"11. Pay your cook more. Shorten her hours. Treat her with more consideration. She is not your slave. Remember, she owes you nothing. On the contrary, you are probably heavily indebted to her for many workhours she has given you free. Remember this is 1943 and we live in an American democracy. She has the right to organize her group if she wishes, the right to belong to a union if she wishes, and to demand better pay and better working conditions. Don't expose your ignorance by exposing your irritation at her acting intelligently.

## THERE ARE OTHER THINGS TO BE DONE

"There are other things to be done: things to be done that will require more imagination, more energy, and more of your time. Not any of them entails sacrifice or humiliation or much courage. But you can feel justly proud of your contribution to democracy if you do them:

1. We can all begin to train our children now to be, not little Nazis, but democratic world citizens. We owe this to them, in order that they may adjust harmoniously and without psychic conflict to the new world

democracy which we now dream about and know is coming toward mankind.

We can train them in good racial manners; to respect all people regardless of race or economic status; to oppose injustice, whether economic, racial, sex, political, or psychological. We can avoid those frustrations of spirit in childhood that prepare the emotional soil for aggression. We can train them to do long-range planning, to think of ends and means as one continuous process of indistinguishable quality. We can give them a sensitive appreciation of human personality. We can make them fearless of new ideas. We can give them awareness of their identification with all children of the whole earth.

If we fail to do these things, our southern children will have a painful time adjusting themselves to the new life ahead of them; almost as difficult perhaps as it will be for the little German children. For our southern white children now are not prepared emotionally and intellectually for democracy. To practice it, would seem a strange and alien thing to many of them, as well as to their parents.

This Commission wishes to remind the reader that these forthright proposals for democracy in action have come from the deep South where historically the mores and traditions of the two races have far more difficult adjustments to make than in our State. Certainly New Jersey leadership must not lag behind that of Georgia.

Space conservation permits us only to touch the highlights of Miss Smith's full program. However, we here reprint her summation as published in the (Winter 1942-1943) number of SOUTH TO-DAY:

"Yes, it is true: in times of peace and ease, customs change slowly. But in times of strain and stress customs change quickly. During the last war, American women won the vote. During this war, the Negro and the poor white can win the vote. During the last war and shortly after, social and sex customs changed rapidly and radically. Things were done that had never been done before.

shocking healthy-minded things often;  
shocking, foolish things, sometimes.  
During the depression, a mild economic  
revolution took place.....We  
are now in the midst of a total world  
war and a total economic-race revolution.  
Things are happening; things are going  
to continue to happen. We can sputter  
and break a blood vessel or we can roll  
up our sleeves and get to work to make  
them happen smoothly and harmoniously.  
The choice is ours only in WHAT WE DO  
ABOUT IT; not in the changes themselves.

THE THIRD V  
WHAT THE NEGRO CITIZEN CAN DO

is growing

The idea behind the Third V/apace in the thinking and action of Negroes throughout the nation. This Commission recommends its study and adoption by the State's Negro leaders. In turn we suggest that its basic philosophy be passed on down to the rank and file of the Negro masses of New Jersey.

In our chapter on employment, we quoted the origin of that phrase among Negroes. Briefly, we reiterate the chronological significance of the Three V's. The first V (victory) is the international battle cry in this war, symbolizing victory abroad for the armed forces of the United Nations who are fighting to preserve the democratic concept of government. The second V means victory at home in the United States, over any form of imported or home grown facism. The Third V symbolizes the Negro's victory over himself. In its credo is embodied a frank recognition by the thoughtful Negroes themselves of the liability factors exhibited by untutored Negro individuals and some backward Negro community practices. This third V movement which has developed into a crusade, outlines plans for the correction, modification and eradication of those factors as expressed in certain conduct patterns and attitudes of the behavior non-conformists. These patterns and attitudes found in some Negro communities tend to confirm the basis of much race prejudice already held by many whites against all Negroes.

What can the Negro do to remove these self imposed barriers to his progress? The task is a "must" job for all Negroes to tackle, but of course the prime responsibility to chart the course and method of action lies squarely on the doorstep of the

local and statewide Negro Leadership. This Commission suggests that Negro newspapers, Negro organizations with a large or small following, every Negro minister, fraternal leader, civic or social club officer should use every possible opportunity to preach and drive home the sorely needed message of self discipline to the untrained segment of the Negro population.

This Commission recommends to these key people in the Negro communities that the following thought provoking machinery be utilized; lectures, sermons, pageants, plays, editorials, feature stories on the third V, in fact every method of conveying an idea from leaders to their followers. As a framework upon which to build the campaign of re-education in intra-racial conduct, we suggest that thought and action be stimulated on some of the following questions

#### COMMUNITY SELF-DIAGNOSIS

1. War time and post-war committees should be formed on a community basis with every segment of the organizational life of the community being represented. These communities should realistically diagnose the status and qualifications of the Negro citizens for survival and progress in the fast changing world.

2. Pessimism, optimism and the "ostrich " policy should be shunted aside in this diagnostic approach to the intra-racial enigma. The Negro citizens must stand before a highly critical mirror and quiz themselves mercilessly on their demonstrated assets and liabilities in terms of first class citizenship participation. Quizzing themselves specifically they should ask;

#### In re. Being Desirable Neighbors

a. In relation to making ourselves more desirable neighbors, have we done everything humanly possible to keep our neighborhoods and homes clean, orderly and law abiding? Do our com-

munities use their power as citizens to set personal standards and to demand of public officials standards in neighborhood sanitation? Does our leadership crusade against the "numbers racket", off color juke box joints, bawdy saloons, other gambling and related vice which is often dumped and permitted to flourish in Negro neighborhoods? Do our civic leagues promote clean-up, paint-up, clean-block campaigns, developing community pride and respect for property?

In re. Parental Watchfulness

b. Are our modern parents giving their children the utmost in home training, encouragement, high inspiration and sufficient of their time necessary to soundly shape their characters during the most impressionable years? Are we giving our fullest personal and financial support to the public and semi-public youth character building social agencies that are serving Negro youth in the Negro communities?

In re. Cardinal Virtues

c. Has this generation kept up to the traditions of our fathers and mothers in ardently cultivating in ourselves and our children the cardinal virtues of thrift, punctuality and general trustworthiness.

d. Have we applied enough of our time, energy and intelligence to the development of a self-sustaining economy? What have we done in the field of promoting widespread small business? Are we encouraging our youth to study for ownership and management of community private business? What have we done along the lines of community cooperative business? Have we explored the possibilities of neighborhood credit unions?

In re. Health

e. What concentrated and sustained effort has been made in accelerating the spread of public health education (aside from the Negro Health Week program once a year)? Are we really doing anything much about combating the high infant mortality and death rates for adults?

In re. Use of the Franchise

f. To what extent has our community fought to break down the practice of vote buying and selling that is all too prevalent in the poorer Negro neighborhoods (and in some that are not)? What is being done towards educating the masses of Negroes against succumbing to the propoganda urging blind partisan support of political demagogues who have known records of opposing good government? To what extent do we permit the minority "Negro underworld" to dominate the majority of decent citizens in political representation of the Negro race in party councils? What are we doing towards dethroning the "ward healers" who usually have a vested personal interest and replacing them with men and women who have a constructive policy for the progress of the Negro?

In re. Public Conduct-"Zoot-Suitism"

g. What long and short range plans are in motion to teach the underprivileged and untought segment of the Negro population, both native and migrant, the much needed lessons on good public manners and conduct in public places, on the streets, in busses and trolley cars? Who is telling zoot-suiters to stop making themselves ridiculous and other Negroes ashamed by the wearing of outlandish clothing in public?

In re. Trade Union Participation

h. What is being done by our leadership along the lines

of advising the new Negro industrial workers who have been recently integrated into the trade union movement in large numbers? Has the Negro leadership kept pace with the trends and potential power of the trade union movement in helping or hindering the cause of the Negro worker in the post war world? Has our leadership urged these new Negro members to actively participate in the meetings of the unions? Have they urged these members to aspire for office on the policy making boards of the unions? Have these workers been made aware that the policy of hiring and firing by management in the future will be made in conjunction with these union policy making boards?

This Commission does not presume to give any stock answer to all of these queries as it affects the Negro population in the cities and towns of the state. We are aware that the answers vary according to the type of community that might be polled. We know that the queries are not complete as to coverage of all the possible variations of community patterns and behavior. However, we believe that if this line of questioning were realistically followed, and answered by positive programs of a constructive nature, much progress can be made in lifting the tone of Negro life in the State.

This Commission stands ready with all the facilities at its command to help initiate and develop the intra-racial crusade for the Third V in any community which indicates to us that they desire the aid of this state agency.

The Commission also believes that the Third V program is second to none in importance on the entire social service agenda designed to elevate the Negro to a status of first class citizen-

ship. In the months and years to come, we intend to unceasingly prod and stimulate the leadership in those communities which our investigations reveal as being in need of such community vision and intra-racial social action.

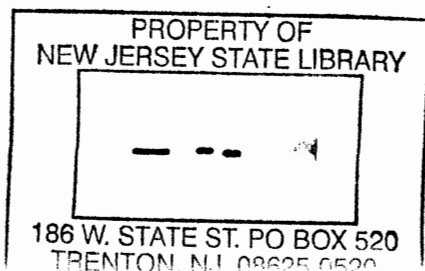
TABLE #15

NEGROES OF THE STATE 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER  
BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND SEX

-1940-

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
Persons 14 Years Old and Over	172,459	82,879	89,580
In Labor Force	104,970	64,844	40,126
Not In Labor Force	67,489	18,035	49,054
Employed (Except Public Emergency Work)	73,207	41,167	32,040
At Work	71,926	40,411	31,515
With A Job	1,281	756	525
On Public Emergency Work (W.P.A., etc.)	13,419	11,246	2,173
Seeking Work	18,344	12,431	5,913
Unable to Work	10,807	4,567	6,240
Engaged in Own Home Housework	31,431	495	30,936
In Institutions	4,070	2,828	1,242
Experienced Workers	16,084	11,001	5,083
New Workers	2,260	1,430	830
In School	13,310	6,541	6,769
Others and Not Reported	7,871	3,604	4,267

Adapted:-  
United States Bureau of Census-1940



THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY  
PLACEMENTS CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRY

CALENDAR YEAR  
-1942-

INDUSTRY	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	NON-WHITE
Forestry and Fishing	21	21	0	5
Mining	135	125	10	22
Construction	5,841	5,458	383	1,389
MANUFACTURING				
Ordinance and Accessories	1,342	946	396	67
Food	7,189	3,321	3,868	2,799
Tobacco	226	71	155	52
Textile	3,795	1,942	1,871	307
Wearing Apparel	9,408	1,555	7,853	1,376
Lumber	232	212	20	21
Furniture	1,376	1,082	294	178
Paper Products	2,583	1,543	1,040	151
Printing and Publishing	910	465	445	45
Chemicals	9,391	6,118	3,273	1,137
Petroleum and Leather Products	567	514	53	100
Rubber	1,218	860	358	121
Leather and Leather Products	1,775	573	1,202	190
Clay, Stone and Glass	3,227	2,052	1,175	505
Iron-Steel	6,421	4,465	1,956	504
Transportation and Equipment	19,052	12,401	6,651	384
Non-Ferrous Metals	3,678	2,573	1,105	387
Electrical Machinery	13,021	4,563	8,458	533
Machinery(Except Electrical)	7,573	5,688	1,885	305
Automobile and Equipment	675	482	193	10
Miscellaneous	5,472	2,368	3,104	492
Transportation and Communication	3,510	3,126	384	1,064
Distribution-Wholesale and Retail	13,454	8,145	5,309	3,238
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	1,175	653	522	239
Hotels, Amusements and Other Services	8,774	4,618	4,156	2,932
DOMESTIC SERVICES				
Regular Government Agencies	34,589	2,410	32,179	26,421
Special Government Projects	8,707	5,766	2,941	1,390
Establishments, N.C.C.	6,173	2,982	3,194	1,769
	19	16	3	5
Total Non-Agricultural Placements	181,532	87,096	94,436	48,138
Agricultural Placements	26,336			
TOTAL ALL PLACEMENTS	207,868			

SOURCE:  
U.S. WarManpower Commission

STATISTICAL REPORT ON VOLUME OF CASE WORK HANDLED  
BY THE COMMISSION STAFF AUGUST 1, 1942 TO DECEMBER 31, 1943

CASE RECORDS	NUMBER
Complaints Received-In re. Industrial Relations	412
Complaints Adjusted-In re. Industrial Relations	394
Conferences With Employers-On Complaints	412
Conferences With Employers-On Own Initiative	659
Firms Who Solicited Our Aid-In re. Industrial Relations	283
Conferences With Federal Agencies-Industrial Relations	197
Conferences With Union Officials-Industrial Relations	88
Defense School Contacts	23
Meetings With Officials of Negro Churches, Lodges, Civic Organizations	109
Letters Received From Industrial Plants	573
Interviews With Negro Workers Seeking Employment	4,785
Negro Workers Known To Be Placed In Plants After Our Several Contacts With Management and Labor Union Officials (i.e. Plants Which Commission Investigators Covered)	10,072
Interracial Civic Groups Inviting Our Cooperation	26
Pieces of Literature Distributed on Interracial Cooperation	27,500
Interviews With School Officials	47
Interviews With Health Officials	65
Interviews With Housing Officials	27
Migrant Workers' Camps Visited	6
Social Service Conferences Attended-By Our Staff Investigators	19

## SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This Commission, in summarizing its annual report, respectfully calls to the reader's attention, that we have already made some detailed recommendations in relation to future goals. Beginning with the chapter **WHAT THE COMMUNITY CAN DO** and through the following chapters relating to the cooperation that various segments of the State's population can give, we have endeavored to present practical blue prints for progressive social action.

Therefore, we conclude, it is only necessary to highlight certain suggestions in the form of final recommendations.

### In Industry

1. That management and progressive unions continue their new policy of integrating Negro workers (male and female) in the industrial program of the nation during the present emergency and the post war period.
2. That emphasis be placed on the task of removing all barriers to the up-grading of qualified Negro workers in the war plants, breaking down present prejudiced hang-overs from pre-war days which stratified all Negro workers at the lower levels.
3. That the non-progressive representatives of management and labor unions be penalized for non-conformity with democratic practices through statutory enactments.
4. That liberal labor leaders and unions combine with their new Negro members to work out an equitable solution to the seniority clause contracts which in their present form would work to eliminate the last workers hired. As comparatively few Negroes have pre-war seniority that means that again they "will be the first fired and the last hired."

### In Education

1. That the administrative practices of all public education in New Jersey be brought within the scope of the state school laws.
2. That no new schools be set up on a basis of "white" and "colored" schools. Wherever such a practice does exist, it should be abolished.

3. That Negro teachers and other personnel be afforded equal occupational opportunities for training and employment in the public schools and training institutions of the State.

4. That all text books used in the public schools be re-examined and those found to be promoting fallacies, prejudice and in support of a color caste system in New Jersey should be discarded.

5. That the Commissioners of Education use the full powers granted him under the law in the inspection and evaluation of school systems throughout the state and that the Commissioner take the initiative and use any or all of the corrective measures under the law to penalize recalcitrant school boards when they violate the spirit and letter of the state school laws.

#### Administration of Justice

1. That qualified Negroes be included on every term panel of the various county grand juries.

2. That opportunities for the employment of Negroes on the personnel staff of the New Jersey Department of Police be an established policy of that agency.

3. That Negro attorneys and court officers be integrated in the prosecutors' staff in each county administration in which the Negro population is a significant factor.

4. That the police departments in each city with a heavy minority group population should be schooled in relation to developing a tolerant handling of inter-group tensions, if and when they arise.

5. That qualified Negro attorneys and investigators be utilized in the Attorney General's official family.

#### Health

1. That the work personnel of the Negro Health Program in the State Department of Health, be numerically increased. The compliance with this recommendation would carry health education into the homes of hundreds of persons who need it most and very seldom take advantage of the public educational and cultural programs offered.

2. That the State's position be protected from any prejudice ridden practices in tax supported hospitals or other health institutions, by legislation providing for the withholding of public funds from offending institutions. Specifically the law should provide:

a. For increased opportunities and facilities for Negro nurses to train and serve as staff members in the hospitals of the State, by enforcement amendments to existing laws or the enactment of new measures.

b. The privilege of internship and staff membership in public and semi-private hospitals of the state should be secured and guaranteed for Negro physicians and surgeons.

c. An inflexible state law should be enacted to prohibit any hospital in the state of New Jersey from denying admission and service to patients because of race, color, religion or national origin.

### Housing

The State Housing Authority and the various municipal Housing Authorities should reopen the case of public war housing for the State of New Jersey. The Federal Housing Agency should persistently be petitioned and pressed to grant priorities of materials and man-power needed to build houses for families of the war workers in the State.

The Governor, the State Legislature and every other elected official in New Jersey should make a renewed unified effort in presenting to the national authorities the dire housing needs of our State. New Jersey's geographical position and marvelous network of transportation facilities are ideal for fuller utilization.

That the law setting up the local Housing Authorities be amended to require that in all housing projects erected in the different municipalities, there shall be a provision that tenants shall be selected without discrimination as to race, color, creed or national origin.

### State Agency Administrative Policy

The Negro's right to participate in representative government should be established as a state wide policy by preach-

ment and practice on the part of the state agency heads.

Officials holding appointive power should be especially guided by this policy in making appointments to the Boards, Commissions and staff personnel of agencies which have jurisdiction over programs affecting large numbers of the minority groups in the state. Specifically, we cite a few of the departments in which this Commission believes the start should be made as an example for emulation at local government levels: Adjutant General's Department, Department of Agriculture, Alcoholic Beverage Control Department , Athletic (Boxing) Commission, Banking and Insurance Department, Civil Service Commission, Conservation and Development Department, Crippled Children's Commission, Civilian Defense Commission, State Board of Education, Fish and Game Department, Finance Commission, Good Will Commission, State Bureau of Health, State Highway Department, State Housing Authority, State Labor Department, Local Government Board, Milk Control Board, State Board of Mediation, Motor Vehicle Department, State Racing Commission, Tenement House Supervision Board, State Department of Weights and Measures, Water Supply Commission.

In concluding this report, our Commission wishes to remind the officials and lay citizens of the State that thousands of Negro men and women of this State are now in various branches of the armed services. These dark skinned patriots are now fighting and dying for the ideals of democracy which are being reaffirmed from every public platform in the land. We believe it to be the joint duty of both the majority white population and this Commission, officially representing the colored population, to devise ways to make New Jersey's interracial practices "keep

the faith" with our heroes both dead and alive.



