1958

Diocesan and Jesuit Labor Schools in America: A Comparative Study

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DIOCESEAN AND JESUIT LABOR SCHOOLS IN AMERICA--
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

by
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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Institute of Social
and Industrial Relations of Loyola University in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Social
and Industrial Relations

November
1958
PREFACE

Many priests from both the secular and religious clergy have attempted the difficult task of helping the workers in matters of labor education.

Unfortunately, most of these priests have had to assume this responsibility without specific training for it, and consequently they wasted a lot of time and energy in trials and errors, easily avoidable, if they had known of other people's experiences in similar circumstances.

The purpose of this thesis is precisely to extend a bridge by which the trials and errors, the success and frustrations of the American clergy in the field of labor education may become profitable to their colleagues in other countries.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There are many ways of imparting labor education. Some of them may be extremely informal, like the one that Fr. Carey, S.J., Director of St. Xavier's Institute of New York has described in several talks. It runs like this:

On a certain occasion I asked a group of transportation workers to help me in mailing out several thousand circulars from the Institute. They obligingly came for several evenings, and as they folded the circulars, they discussed their jobs, their worries, and possible solutions to those worries. They would never dare to attend the classroom since most of them could hardly read or write; but now, without realizing it, they were getting an education. In fact, that was my only purpose in calling them, since I had a mailing machine that could have done the job better and faster.

There is almost always some sort of labor education involved when a worker discusses his everyday problems with a priest, since "Labor education is any activity that helps workers to help themselves as a group" (this is the most commonly accepted definition). Therefore, labor education is not concerned with those activities that intend to solve the workers' problems directly (such as wage increases, labor legislation, etc.) or with a kind of education that will enable workers to improve their lot as individuals (such as teaching them a trade or home
economics). By labor education we mean the kind of education that increases the workers' ability to attain their aims as an organized movement.

Since labor education, even as above defined, would still cover a range of activities that surpasses the possibilities of a thesis, we think it necessary to establish these limits for our study:

1. We shall be concerned only with formal labor education, i.e., the labor education provided in lectures or group discussions by a permanently established institution.

Therefore, we have to by-pass many well-known social apostles who used the pulpit, the daily column, the pamphlet, the informal meeting and the occasional lecture as means of educating labor.

2. As the title of this thesis indicates, we are going to study only those labor educators who are Roman Catholic priests, and shall speak for the most part about the diocesan clergy and members of the Society of Jesus.

Therefore, we will not discuss the educational programs of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the Young Christian Workers, the Catholic Labor Alliance, etc.

3. It is not our purpose to make a comprehensive survey of all the formal labor education programs of the American Catholic clergy. Instead, we will make a study of some outstanding examples, adding other more briefly treated examples for a better
understanding of the characteristics and problems involved. We shall discuss the similarities and differences between the two kinds of institutions (diocesan and Jesuit), and draw some conclusions that could be useful for the clergy of other countries.

Method: The material available is not suitable for a strict case-study. On the one hand, there is written material about the Hartford case covering a fifteen-year period in such a way that various phases are clearly discernible. In recent years, however, the former Brooklyn Labor School, now an Adult Education Center, is the diocesan institution that leads the evolution towards new fields of social action. Consequently, we will give this institution the attention that it deserves. Other secondary cases will also be mentioned, in order to provide for a better understanding of the characteristics and evolution of the diocesan labor schools as a group.

On the other hand, the Jesuit Institutes present a very different picture. No Jesuit Institute has undergone an evolution similar to that of the Diocesan Institute of Hartford. Instead, the evolution has taken place in different Jesuit Institutes. Therefore, we have to take a number of them, starting with the oldest, the Xavier Institute of New York, and considering the various approaches adopted by subsequent Jesuit institutions. This way we expect to achieve a better understanding of the characteristics and tendencies of the Jesuit Institutes as a whole.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

**Origin and Aim of the Movement:** Considering that "the first and immediate apostles of the workingmen must themselves be workingmen,"¹ Pope Pius XI solemnly declared that "it is your chief duty, Venerable Brethren, and that of your clergy to seek diligently, to select prudently, and train fittingly these lay apostles, amongst workingmen."

What would be the aim of this training? As the Pope ascertains in another part of the same encyclical,² the aim of this training is "that these (the lay apostles) in turn may impart to the labor unions to which they belong, the upright spirit which should direct their entire conduct." This *upright spirit* will manifest itself in a determination to uphold the "rights and legitimate demands" of the workers and fight for "the saving principles on which Christian society is based."³

These *social principles* and *workers' rights* are treated

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²Ibid., no. 35.

³Ibid., no. 36.
thoroughly in the social encyclicals. With regard to the legitimate demands referred to, it would be impossible for any encyclical to go into definite details, since here also we can apply what Leo XIII wrote about particularizing on the subject of organization:

This must depend on national character, on practice and experience, on the nature and scope of the work to be done, on the magnitude of the various trades and employments, and on other circumstances of fact and of time—all of which must be carefully weighed. . . . As a general and perpetual law . . . what is aimed at . . . is to better his condition to the utmost, in body, mind and property . . . paying special and principal attention to piety and morality.  

Briefly: Pius XI urged the clergy to train leaders who would carry into the unions an upright spirit: i.e., a determination to raise the workers' condition to the highest practicable level not only of material goods (bodily and economic welfare) but also and principally of spiritual goods (the goods of the mind and soul).

As a result of this mandate, labor schools, operated by American priests were opened as early as 1911.  

"Xavier is the largest and the oldest of the schools. It was originally founded in 1911 as the Xavier Institute of Social Studies. One of the first faculty members was the Rev. John A.

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Ryan, who has been called the father of the Church labor program in the United States. The time was not ripe, however, for a labor school. . . ."6

"Most of the schools came into existence between 1936 and 1944, the era of the Wagner Act and industrial organization by the CIO, and each year 7,500 men and women. . . are graduated into the ranks of labor."7

By 1948 there were "one hundred permanent schools, twenty-four directed by the Jesuits, thirty-two by diocesan authorities, and the rest sponsored by Catholic fraternal organizations, colleges, and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists."8


7 Weinberg, ibid.

8 Idem.
CHAPTER III

THE DIOCESAN LABOR SCHOOLS

The history of the Diocesan Institute of Hartford offers a typical example—according to reports received by its director—of the beginning and development of diocesan institutions dedicated to labor education.

The diocese of Hartford was, before the latest division, coextensive with Connecticut, one of the smallest, yet most highly industrialized states of the union. In 1945 it had over 3,800 industrial establishments, some of which employed as many as 10,000 workers during World War II. Taken collectively these plants employed over 479,000 workers, nearly sixty percent of the state's total estimated labor force of 799,600 persons.3

The history of this Institute may be divided into three main periods:

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1 Joseph F. Donnelly, "Working with the Workers," The American Ecclesiastical Review, CXIII (July-December 1945), 5.


First period, 1942-1944: The period of initial development under the guidance of a director, Fr. Donnelly.


Third period, 1947 to the present: The period of decline.

First period (1942-1944): In an interview in 1946 with Rev. Patrick W. Gearty, Rev. Joseph Donnelly, Director of the Diocesan Labor Institute described the founding of the Institute. While in 1942 he was curate at the Church of St. Thomas in Waterbury, he became well acquainted with the workers in that city. Waterbury has a population of approximately 100,000, about seventy percent of whom are Catholics, according to Fr. Donnelly's estimate. He soon realized that not only did the Church have an excellent opportunity for her labor apostolate in the city, but that there was a real need for it. The workers were eager for guidance.

Fr. Donnelly went to his Bishop, the Most Reverend Maurice F. McAuliffe, to request permission to start a Catholic labor school. At this interview the Diocesan Labor Institute of the Diocese of Hartford was born.

Within a few months, local branches of the Institute, called

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"chapters", started functioning in four other cities: Hartford, New Britain, New Haven, and Bridgeport.

During the 1943-44 term the number of chapters rose to seven.

In 1943 the Bishop appointed Fr. Donnelly Director of the Diocesan Institute, and later relieved him of parish work.

"None of our priests," wrote Fr. Donnelly, "have any special training. Two have had the opportunity of a six weeks' summer course at the Catholic University's Institute of Social Studies, but the others have had to jump into a field of which they had little knowledge and had to learn by dint of hard work and their experiences with the members of organized labor... This lack of trained leaders is, without question, a handicap. Today, all dioceses, and more especially those in an industrial area, need a few priests equipped with a thorough training in Catholic social teaching."\(^5\)

The procedure used in opening new chapters was described in detail by Fr. Donnelly.\(^6\)

The first step for the priest acting as director of the chapter was to make contact with the local labor leaders, some of whom he would probably know already. He might begin by soliciting an invitation to a union meeting and giving a talk on the present


\(^6\)Donnelly, ibid.
day problems of organized labor. If he won the good will of the union leaders, the project was well on the way to success.

As a second step he was to call a meeting of the priests in the area shortly before the inauguration of the chapter. A speaker with wide experience in labor problems addressed the group, and whenever possible the Bishop was asked to preside. For most of the parish priests this kind of social action was new, and therefore, some effort would be required to win their good will and cooperation.

A third step in preparing for the opening of the school was an announcement read from all the pulpits of the city, published in the local press and posted on the union bulletin boards.

It was found best to conduct the courses in a non-academic atmosphere, preferably in a small, informally arranged room rather than in a hall.

It was up to the local director of the school to determine what subjects were to be taught. The first year of the cycle emphasized fundamentals: the encyclicals, taught as often as possible in relation to current problems or incidents on the labor scene.

These are the topics that most of the priests have treated in the first year program at the various chapters:


"Should the priest lecture," Fr. Donnelly asks; and he answers: "It is more informal, easier and more effective if he lets the men do much of the talking. Get them to talk. Get them to think their way through the ideas that you suggest. Encourage them to express themselves. And end by sending them home with a few new ideas and a few incorrect ideas corrected." 7

During the first year a course in parliamentary procedure and a course in public speaking are usually given. A high school or college professor or perhaps a lawyer can take care of the public speaking course and is usually found without much seeking. It has been found that the course in parliamentary procedure is more proficiently given by an experienced and educated union man who knows the tricks of the business of running union meetings.

The sessions are held once a week from October to March or April, from 7:30 or 8 to 10 p. m. Each session is divided into two or three forty-five minute periods, depending on the individual chapter, and a ten minute rest between classes.

7 Donnelly, ibid., 7.
"We have no fees or dues in our schools," Fr. Donnelly wrote in 1945. "We do not sell any literature. The chief expense is the literature and the diocese has given us whatever funds we requested. The practice now is to ask each director to try to get along on a hundred dollars for the year, but more is available for extra expenses."

**Difficulties and opposition.** We have seen that the diocesan priests acting as chapter directors had cooperation and a good deal to work with. Most notably, Bishop McAuliffe gave whole-hearted moral and economic support to the project. Priests and some union leaders also cooperated with various degrees of enthusiasm. But we would have a false picture of the undertaking if we thought it met with no difficulties. The basic difficulty was the one that has handicapped the entire organized labor movement: the lack of interest of many of the rank and file. This was true in a special way of those unions that had recently made extensive gains.

Besides indifference, there was also suspicion. Why is the Catholic Church interested in the labor movement and the welfare of the workers? Are they trying to start a Catholic union move-

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8 Donnelly, *ibid.*, 8. In a few instances in later years some of the Chapters, for example the one at Hartford, have charged a nominal fee for enrollment; and the Waterbury Chapter charges for admission to the forums. However, such practices were adopted not so much for the purpose of finance as for the psychological reason that people appreciate more the things they must pay for.
ment like in Canada. Does the priest know anything about labor?

There was also criticism, opposition and even hostility from both left and right.

Among the workers the strongest opposition came, naturally, from the Communists. Wherever there was a strong local Communist influence in the CIO, that influence was used as effectively as possible against the Institute.

The Communists according to Fr. Donnelly\(^9\) had dominated the Connecticut CIO State Council from the time of its organization until 1942. They began to lose their control when the Communist president of the State Council lost the office he had held for some years. They still retained many of the vice-presidencies. But at the 1944 CIO State Convention no Communist was elected to the state executive board. "The Institute," according to Fr. Donnelly, "made a notable contribution to this healthy reform."\(^10\)

As a general practice, the chapters do not engage in direct attack on the Communists. They prefer to adopt the positive attitude of promoting active interest in democracy and participation in union affairs. Liberation from Communist control comes as a natural result of activism and democracy.

"What has been the reaction of industry to the program of the Institute?" asked Fr. Donnelly in 1945.

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As yet we have not sufficient information on which to form a safe judgment... In one city our director reported a rebuff from the local manufacturer's group. However, though we have not made a whole-hearted effort to approach employers generally and bring to them an understanding of our program, this must be done and it is definitely in our planning... "Is the Institute pro-labor?" We prefer to say that the Institute is "pro-justice." Right now, it is true, it is mainly the rights of the workingman that are unguarded and violated in our social order. We must stand with the workingman in any violation of his rights; that, indeed is justice."

"The activities of the priest who started a labor school frequently brought to him 'persecution for the sake of justice,'" wrote Fr. Gearty in the above mentioned thesis about the Institute. But he is not explicit about such persecution. Therefore, it seems convenient to search for more information in other sources.

Fr. Mark Fitzgerald, in an article about the labor schools, points out that "management has sometimes voiced its disapproval." The New Rochelle program was criticized for emphasizing the rights of workers and never mentioning their obligations.

Its director admitted that in order to attract the workers he had in the early classes given most of the available time to a discussion of the workers' rights. But no year had ever ended without a lengthy treatment of union responsibilities, a treatment which, at that stage of the course was readily accepted.12

11 Donnelly, ibid. 12.

Rev. John F. Cronin, well-known for his long experience in Catholic Social Action, gives us some hints about this point. "The social action leader must face a hard struggle. He may find misunderstanding, indifference and even hostility... Perhaps the most insidious enemy is the 'social lobby'... Such persons often do not hesitate to appeal to higher authorities and to threaten discontinuance of substantial contributions to Church work."¹³

Such hostility continued in recent years. At the Catholic Social Action Conference held at Cleveland in 1955, Fr. Cronin said that "in the past three years there has been a rather violent and vocal reaction against the teachings of the Pope. This reaction is organized and centrally directed, and includes some ill-mannered sniping against people working in the social action field."¹⁴

"In the social action field," continues Fr. Cronin a few pages later in the above-mentioned book:

It is sometimes necessary to take calculated risks. Some of them may backfire. But such failures are a lesser evil than the inaction which would result from the requirement that action be postponed until success was a metaphysical certainty. The diocesan director in his turn should understand this position and be prepared to live under it. On matters which are likely

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to cause public repercussions or even strong private protests, he should naturally consult with the authorities. If the answer is follow your own judgment, he must be prepared to take public responsibility for the decision. The alternative policy of seeking official public approval for every controversial step, or official public support when trouble arises after a controversial decision, will in the long run lead to inaction. 15

Let us review the previous statements with regard to some industrialists' reaction to the Institute. Fr. Donnelly avoids passing a judgment on the ground of insufficient information. Fr. Searty rather vaguely speaks of frequent "persecution for the sake of justice." (The Institute, acting "pro-justice," declared itself during several strikes in favor of the workers. It may be assumed that at least some of the "persecutors" were employers.) Fr. Fitzgerald, however, expressly mentions disapproval and criticism by management. And Fr. Cronin even more specifically speaks of "social lobbying," with appeals to higher authorities and threats of discontinuing substantial contributions. None of these activities (especially the discontinuance of substantial contributions) can be assumed to have come from individual workers, or from Communist organizations, or from uninvolved parties. Therefore, it must have been management who approached higher authorities with appeals and threats.

It seems probable that the "social lobbying" was responsible

15 Cronin, ibid., 62-63.
for some changes that we are going to observe in the second phase.

Let us summarize the most noticeable traits of the first period:

1. One man supervises the whole Institute as director, with a local director for each chapter.
2. The Institute is handicapped by most directors' lack of training.
3. The aim is to impart labor education to all workers.
4. The opening of class is widely advertised.
5. The programs are arranged by each local director.
6. The emphasis is on fundamentals and workers' rights.
7. There is a tendency to practical applications and pronouncements on industrial disputes.
8. There is opposition from the Communists and from some industrialists.

Let us finish this period with the transcription of the statement that Fr. George Higgins, of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, wrote in 1945:

The Diocese of Hartford is to be congratulated on the splendid record which its Diocesan Labor Institute has made in the course of a few short years. I have had the opportunity of personal contact with almost all of the Catholic experiments on labor education in the United States. Without indulging in odious comparisons, I would venture to say, on the basis of this personal experience and on the basis of conversations with recognized leaders in the field, that the Hartford group has few equals, and no superiors, in the important work of teaching the social doctrines of the Church.¹⁶

¹⁶ Statement of Rev. George Higgins, Social Action Department of NCWC, quoted in The Catholic Transcript (Hartford, January 18, 1945).
Second period (1944-1947): In April, 1944, with the approval of Bishop McAuliffe, an Executive Committee was established for the Institute. As Fr. Gearty explains, it was deemed prudent to select a policy-governing body to decide problems which called for serious and deliberate discussion, and which involved the welfare of the whole Institute.

The Committee included the Diocesan Director of the Institute and three of the chapter directors. One of the first functions of this Committee was to draft the "Statement of Policy," which has remained as the guiding norm of the Institute:

**STATEMENT OF POLICY**

The Diocesan Labor Institute is organized to further the cause of good unionism and to promote social reform principally through education. Our only program is the program of social action outlined by Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI in their renowned social encyclicals. That Program places emphasis on the rights and duties of labor, management and the government.

We are immediately concerned with the establishing of a spirit of cooperation and good will between labor, management and government. We stand for justice and respect for the rights of all three. We shall strive to promote the general welfare through the propagation of Christian social teaching.

Hence our educational program should be concerned principally with bringing to the attention of all groups of society the social encyclicals and their program of social reform. Strictly union problems are ordinarily the affair of unions. In present circumstances these may have a place in our program but they must not supplant our first obligation of teaching Christian social principles.

The Institute is dedicated to a policy of non-interference in inter-union disputes and union politics.

Exercising proper prudence, the Institute will
take a stand on various phases of the social problem. Such a stand will be taken with prior consultation with the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference when such seems in order and always with the consent and approval of our Most Reverend Bishop.

An Executive Committee, composed of the Diocesan Director and three of our Chapter Directors, is hereby set up as a policy governing body of the Institute.

It will be the policy of the Institute that all problems which come before the Chapter Directors in their locality and which are of extraordinary character and might involve the welfare of the Institute, shall be brought before the Diocesan Director and the Executive Committee for discussion, and, if necessary, for recommendation of our Most Reverend Bishop.17

It is to be noted that this statement asserts what the aim of the Institute is and what should be concerned with: it "is organized to further the cause of good unionism and to promote social reform principally through education." "... should be concerned principally with bringing to the attention of all groups of society the social encyclicals and their program of social reform."

Together with this ideal of expanding the educational aim so as to cover "all groups of society, ... labor, management, and the government," there is some tendency to withdraw from industrial conflicts and a preference for remaining at the level of principles: "strictly union problems are ordinarily the affair of unions. ... These may have a place in our program but they must not supplant our first obligation of teaching Christian

17 The Yearly report of the Director to the Bishop of Hartford, June 30, 1944, p.
social principles."

Of course, the Institute cannot stop making pronouncements with regard to strikes and other controversial issues, but now it is going to be done with proper prudence and prior consultation with the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference when such seems in order and always with the consent and approval of our Most Reverend Bishop."

Was this new policy successful? Let us notice that it was adopted at the end of the second year (June 1944). During the winter of 1944 and the spring of 1945, reports Fr. Gearty in his thesis, "some progress was made toward establishing six new chapters of the Institute, but conditions were not favorable for permanent results in each case."

This comment by Fr. Gearty, ("conditions were not favorable"), seems to put the blame for the lack of success of the term 1944-1945 on some exterior factors. On the other hand, Fr. Donnelly wrote at the beginning of the following term, (1945-1946)18:

The experience of each year has changed the plan for the next year. Gradually we have learned that we must direct our particular efforts to a small and special group and reach the less interested by other means.

and a few pages later he continues:

The schools of our Institute are not intended to bring a knowledge of social teaching to Catholics generally. We believe that such instruction is a crying need of the Church in our day, but labor schools

18 Donnelly, ibid., 5.
are not intended to do it. In our diocese we have tried other means of doing something in this matter for Catholics generally. Priests of the Institute have conducted a radio series to that end, and they accept speaking assignments from practically every group that will give them the opportunity to elaborate on the Church social teaching. We believe that there are other avenues to this goal and we hope to explore some of them in the future.

These quotations seem to be in manifest contradiction with the ideal of the statement of policy: In June 1944, the Executive Committee stated that "our educational program should be concerned principally with bringing to the attention of all groups of society the social encyclicals..." And by the end of 1945 Fr. Donnelly writes that "we have learned that we must direct our particular efforts to a small and special group."

Then Fr. Donnelly proceeds, describing the experience of "a group of special significance": "This year it hit on a new plan. It is conducting its meetings as a discussion group for union leaders only. It began with no public announcement and made no bid for general attendance. With the help of local union leaders it drew up a list of the officers of most of the large local unions in the city. Fifty-three personal invitations were sent to these individuals. ... Already most of the fifty-three have been there at some time or another."

The "special significance" of this group seems to derive from two characteristics:

1. It is formed exclusively of union leaders.
2. It is conducted as a discussion group.
The first characteristic was to be adopted by the Institute, and it would be accounted one of the reasons of the success of the Institute in 1947. The second characteristic was to be ignored later; in fact, the tendency will go in the opposite direction: less adaptability of the programs to the present needs and interests of the workers; more subjection to a long term, "a priori" designed program.

Fr. Gearty reports that

At the meeting of all the Chapter Directors prior to opening the fall term for 1946 it was decided to arrange a cycle course in Catholic social principles which would be used in all Chapters of the Institute. A tentative list of the topics that would be treated in this course was drawn up on the basis of two eight-week sessions a year for two years.

The notes for the course, which are entitled "Labor School Notes" were planned to be divided in four parts, as follows:

Part I The Worker and His Rights.
Part II Moral Problems and Industrial Relations.
Part III The Social Problems and Some Answers.
Part IV Reconstructing Society with Christ.

Part I and III appeared in mimeographed form in 1946 and 1947, respectively. To our knowledge part II and IV were never published.

According to the questionnaire sent to Chapter Directors in 1947, there were seven Chapters that, besides the encyclicals, taught Labor History. Only two of them taught Contract Negotiations and only one Current Labor Problems.19

Finally, the Executive Committee issued a mimeographed set of notes outlining a projected three-year course for the guidance

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19 Gearty, ibid., 32.
of the chapter directors.

During the summer of 1946, the present Bishop, the Most Reverend Henry J. O'Brien, who had been Auxiliary Bishop of Hartford and continued Bishop McAuliffe's policy in regard to the Institute after the latter's death occurred on December 15, 1944, sent five priests to attend the Institute of Catholic Social Studies during the summer session at the Catholic University in order to prepare them to assist in the work of directing various Chapters of the Institute. This made a total of eight priests of the diocese who had taken this course at the Catholic University.

When the fall term opened, Bishop O'Brien had appointed sixteen priests to work with the fourteen different Chapters scheduled to function during the 1946-1947 season. Two of the sixteen priests were to act in the capacity of Assistant Directors in the Chapters to which they were assigned. Three new Chapters were also established at this time in other cities.

During the term 1946-1947, attempts were made to adapt the program of the Institute so as to include representatives of management and bring Catholic social principles more directly to bear on industrial policies.

The Director of the Bridgeport Chapter wrote in April, 1947: "We are beginning our spring session of labor schools next Monday with renewed interest. I have been successful this time in bringing management into the fold, so to speak. Two of the big industries in town have promised to send members of the office
force (important ones) to the meetings." But Fr. Donnelly says that most of the promises of this kind were never fulfilled. It is said that the diocesan Institutes lack sufficient prestige to attract management.

While the direct influence of the Institute on management has not been great, there are indications that the indirect influence has been considerable in some instances. As a result of dealing with organized labor, which has good leadership and which bases its demands on solid principles, some managers have come to see the wisdom of sound unionism as advocated by the encyclicals and as taught by the Diocesan Labor Institute.

Since management could not be persuaded to attend the courses, another device was attempted:

Plans are being considered at present to establish a new adjunct to the organization of the Institute which would be known as an "Advisory Council." This group would be composed of lay representatives from labor, management and the public who would meet periodically with the Executive Committee to discuss ways and means of extending the influence of the Institute. Some consider that the work of the Institute is now sufficiently well established among the working people that it can afford to broaden its scope to include other elements of society.

Monsignor Donnelly, as he is nowadays, in an interview with the author of this thesis in 1958, lamented the fact that this Advisory Council never came into existence.

The Institute reached its summit in 1947, with 15 Chapters at a maximum of attendance.

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20 Gearty, ibid. 42.
21 Statements of Fr. Donnelly to Fr. Gearty, (Feb. 4, 1947).
In some of the Chapters the average weekly attendance runs as high as a hundred or more, while in others is as low as twenty. For the Institute as a whole, an average weekly attendance of approximately forty is considered normal. About ten to fifteen percent of those attending classes are women workers.²²

It has been learned that usually those who persist in coming to the classes are what might be considered the more able unionists, who either are union leaders or those with ability to lead.

Fr. Gearty attributes the success that Hartford's Institute had reached in 1947 to the following factors:

1. The wholly sound foundation of the Institute program, for it is based entirely on the principles of the encyclicals and the injunctions of the Popes.

2. The full support of the Bishop. . . According to a survey made by the Social Action Department of NCWC in 1946, most of the schools put into existence by the scattered efforts of individual priests have soon disappeared; no more than seven have been able to survive; the majority of the eighty schools existing at that time have been made possible through some larger organization such as a Catholic college or a diocesan organization.

3. Special training of priests to work with the Institute: by 1946, eight priests out of the sixteen engaged in the Institute's activities, had taken summer courses on Social Catholic Studies at the Catholic University. And most of the other eight priests were veteran pastors of industrial areas, well acquainted with the problems of the workers.

4. Another feature has been its concentrated work with labor leaders. While it is perhaps easier to work

²²Survey made by Fr. Donnelly; cf. Fr. Gearty's thesis, 47.
with a select few than to try to attract the rank-and-file of the workers, it is also more fruitful for immediate results. The leaders of the Institute realized that the prevailing evils of society demanded that "some remedy be found, and quickly found," as Pope Leo XIII had recommended in "Rerum Novarum."

5. The resourcefulness of its leaders: when they realized that it was currently impracticable to influence the rank-and-file by direct contact in the labor schools, they quickly turned to other available means, such as the radio, press, forums and pulpit. They arranged conferences on social questions for the clergy and published a bulletin for priests and nuns who teach.23

Let us summarize the traits of the second period:

1. Collective government by the Executive Committee.

2. Half of the directors have been trained at the Catholic University.

3. The aim is now to concentrate on labor leaders, and use other media for the masses.

4. No advertising of the program; instead, personal invitation to labor leaders.

5. The emphasis is on perfectionism (long-term, detailed, unified programs).

6. No opposition from the Communists; attempts to win the industrialists.

7. Tendency to withdraw from practical applications and pronouncements.

Third period (1947 up to the present): "The handful of schools in the late 30's," wrote Monsignor Donnelly in another article, developed into about a hundred in the late 40's. . . At a time when the labor movement was in need of leadership we helped develop an informed and responsible

23 Gearty. ibid., 72-75.
leadership. We all know many who hold responsible positions in the labor movement today principally because of opportunities provided by Catholic labor schools. . . We made workers realize that the Church is interested not only in their spiritual welfare but in their material welfare as well. . . But in the late 40's the Catholic labor school movement started downhill. Unionists were less interested in attending our sessions. Those who had come for three or four years thought they knew enough of what the Church taught. The lukewarm attitude of some turned to indifference toward a formal program of education. Unionists still look to us for advice, still want our interest, but the formal educational program--except for college-sponsored institutes--no longer seems to appeal. One by one the smaller schools closed shop.24

Monsignor Donnelly mentions twice the rejection of formal educational programs by the workers. He seems to refer to that three-year program for the teaching of the encyclicals, leaving aside--as the Statement of Policy maintained--strictly union matters for the unions.

It was at that time, and precisely in the New Haven area--where the Institute headquarters are--that a strong competitor took care of providing the union leaders with these courses in strictly union matters. The Yale University's Labor and Management Center started conducting classes for leaders of labor and management in such subjects as "Our National Economy," "Collective Bargaining and Unionism," and "Labor Law and Legislation." This class program, conducted for two hours per week for fifteen weeks, was attended at a ratio of about two-thirds

management and one-third labor. 25

Every year, towards the end of January or the beginning of February, the Institute of Hartford organizes the Social Action Sunday for the whole diocese. On this occasion a leaflet containing excerpts from the Popes, the American Bishops, or the Archbishop of Hartford is distributed free in all the parishes.

At the end of the leaflet there always appears, except in the present year of 1958, the list of the chapters in operation. In 1952 the list contained ten chapters. In 1953 one of these chapters had disappeared, but was replaced by two new ones, thus totaling eleven chapters. In 1956 there were nine, and in 1957 there only remained seven.

In an interview on September 5, 1958, with the author of this thesis, Monsignor Donnelly said that the seven chapters now in existence have an attendance that varies between thirty or forty (this for most of them) and a hundred.

This decline was not peculiar to the Hartford Institute. Out of a hundred labor schools operating in 1949, there remained in 1955, according to Fr. Masse, 26 no more than thirty-five or forty of the labor schools. Fr. Fitzgerald reported in the same year27

that it was estimated that only about six or seven of them were still operating at peak attendance. The thirty-four chapters that Fr. Clement Kern was directing ten years ago in Detroit are no longer in operation, and similar condition is found in St. Louis.

Factors. What are the factors accountable for this decline of the labor schools? One explanation given, for instance, in the case of Detroit is that preoccupation with the anti-Communist approach left the Catholic programs without a driving force after Walter Reuther came to office and routed the Communist elements of the United Auto Workers.

In general, Communism, though by no means a dead issue, is no longer the urgent problem it has been in the early 'forties.'

Throughout the country, in the past five or ten years, competition has come from some of the unions themselves, which have developed regular educational programs with permanent educational directors. During the same period, some universities have made available to union personnel a wide variety of courses to be taken in residence over several months, as at Harvard, or on an extension plan as at Cornell.

The delegates at the First National Catholic Social Action Conference, held at Cleveland in September, 1955, scrutinized the declining situation of the labor schools and, besides admitting the influence of the above mentioned factors, concluded that the nearly fifteen years of almost uninterrupted employment at good

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28 Fitzgerald, *ibid.*, 423.
wages had dulled the interest in social reform. "The thesis was advanced at Cleveland," wrote Fr. Masse, S. J., "that in some cases labor schools died because they did their job too well. They came into existence to satisfy a backlog of demand. After four or five years, the backlog is exhausted and the school closes for lack of demand."  

"What we now need," wrote Monsignor Donnelly in December 1955, is a new approach. The 1950's are far different than those of a decade ago. The evidence of the change is striking. . . The workers have come to appreciate the necessity of unions and to a fair degree they have now become unionized workers. Now they don't have to be taught the need of unionism, the propriety of unionism, the purpose of unions. They welcome the approval of the Church, but by and large they see little need for an education program of these matters conducted by the Church. . . There do we go from here? I do not believe that there is any pat answer. As usual the problem will determine the remedy. Is there a need for labor organization in the area? Are the unions new and fledgling? What competent teaching help can a labor, school director get? Is there a special moral problem involved in the union movement in the area? These are just a few of the circumstances which must determine the answer. . . Our job is to train the worker not in the technique of contract negotiations, but in the proposed answer to social injustice found in the Church's teaching. Even more our job is to make the worker ready and eager to bring this doctrine to the opportunities provided by his environment.  

In the second, third and fourth National Catholic Social Action Conferences, held respectively in New Orleans, Chicago and South Bend (Indiana), the problem of the labor schools'
decline was discussed and the same conclusions were reached: labor schools not attached to a college or university cannot attract a sizable proportion of workers, much less management, to their sessions.

At the Conference held in New Orleans in 1956, Fr. William J. Smith, S. J. read the results of a survey he had conducted of Catholic Industrial Relations Institutes (i.e., those attached to a college or university and generally directed by the Jesuits) and labor schools. The paper unfortunately does not distinguish between diocesan labor schools and those conducted by the Jesuits. However, some of its data may be relevant to our present study:

The returned questionnaires indicated that forty-nine Industrial Relations and Labor School Institutes of one kind or another are still in operation. About sixty units which had at one time or another functioned as labor schools, large or small, are no longer in operation.

The present trend. Monsignor Donnelly, in an interview with the author of this thesis, said that at present his Institute is trying the broad program adopted by Monsignor William Kelly and Fr. Joseph F. Hammond at the former Brooklyn Labor School, now Brooklyn Adult Education Center.

At the last two Catholic Social Action Conferences, Fr. Hammond explained how they are succeeding in class attendance with this new program. The percentage of blue-collar workers is lower, but there are many white-collar workers and some management men.

The program is not a long-term one; at present, the fall
session opened on September 16, 1958, with a program for seven Tuesdays. The session offers three periods of fifty-five minutes. The first period starts at 6 p.m. and offers a series of outstanding guest lectures on "Useful Political Information."

At seven o'clock, ten different courses are offered under such titles as "Theology for Beginners," "Catholic Philosophy of Education," "Useful Legal Information," "How to Conduct Meetings," "How to Speak in Public," etc.

At nine o'clock another nine courses are offered: "Catholic Social Philosophy," "Philosophy of Industrial Relations," "Understanding Current Events," "Financing Family Needs," "How to Have Industrial Peace" (peaceful labor-management relations by collective bargaining), etc.

It can be noted that some of the courses can be useful for union leaders, together with other courses that may be of interest for the general public.

Let us summarize the characteristics of the labor school programs in recent years:

1. Some schools aim at developing better Catholics, and use anti-communism as an incentive to attract students.

2. Some schools become adult education centers.

3. Short-term programs are preferred.

4. The adult education program is a combination of utilitarian ("Useful Legal Information," "Useful Political Information") and abstract courses (Theology, Philosophy).
CHAPTER IV

THE JESUIT LABOR SCHOOLS

As we mentioned in the second chapter of this thesis, Xavier Institute is the oldest of the schools, but it did not reach its present successful development until 1936, when Fr. Philip A. Carey, S. J. was appointed its Director. He noticed that "as the years went on, the (earlier) school tended to upgrade itself. It found that, though its classes were filled, it was not with the workingmen. And so the Xavier Institute tried to break through the sound barrier of the academic milieu and through the label-trading concealed under high flown Greek derivatives..."

The school, little by little, had started being attended by foremen, then lawyers, etc.; the professors became lecturers and as a result the workers, unable to understand such technical language, dropped out. So, the first step Fr. Carey took was to get a new faculty and restrict the student body exclusively to workers.

On Park Avenue at 58th Street, a high-class section of Manhattan, the Academy of Leo XIII was founded later by another Jesuit. It is still in operation and is well attended.

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Thus, we can observe here a trend to diversify or specialize: one institution exclusively for workers on one hand, and the other exclusively for highly educated people.

The main purpose of St. Xavier's Institute is to help the workers in every need that they may have. If, for instance, a group of workers in New York would like to organize a union in their shop, but they are worried about a possible injunction if they strike, or about unfair labor practices, all they have to do is to make a phone call to WAtkins 4-7900 and Fr. Carey will find a professor and a classroom for them immediately. If another group wants to get rid of the union leaders on account of racketeering or communism, they can get courses in "Parliamentary Tactics and Practice," "Public Speaking," "Effective Thinking," or a thorough training in "The Debate Council" or in the union administration program "Inside the Union." There are also courses in "Labor Law," "Contract Negotiations," "Health and Welfare and Pension Planning," "Practical Problems Facing Labor Leaders" and the "Bull Sessions" on selected labor matters. There are more than twenty courses for union leaders in general plus separate series of courses for Telephone workers, Civil Service courses for the City employees, etc.

Besides his job as a Director of the Institute, Fr. Carey

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2 The author of this thesis had the privilege of living for three months at St. Xavier's and observed the everyday activities of Fr. Carey.
acts as a mediator in many conflicts, as a counselor, a friend, a priest... all in an extremely kind person, so human and at the same time so spiritual.

This Institute has remained for twenty-two years in the same spirit of total dedication to workers, without much change. The Xavier Institute may serve as an example of a program exclusively dedicated to workers.

We have to turn to other Jesuit Institutions in order to observe various kinds of specialization.

The labor school of Rockhurst College may illustrate one of the problems: "There was hesitancy upon the part of management to join; in fact, some viewed it with alarm. Therefore, and in conjunction with the overall objectives, management was induced to participate in a series of Employer's Conferences. These Conferences and the Labor School, while distinct and never meeting in common, gave an opportunity over a period of years to have both groups come to an understanding of the same philosophy, objectives and vocabulary of approach." They, finally, "understood that both groups have a common purpose," and found the Contract Making Seminar, formed by six representatives from each group.³

The two preceding cases may be properly called labor schools: their programs are exclusively dedicated to workers.

³"A Catholic College Sets Pace in Industrial Relations," a leaflet reprinted from Industrial Relations, August 1945.
On the other hand, "most Jesuit-directed programs have now abandoned the term labor school for the more accepted designation institute of industrial relations. . . This title keeps the door open to both unions and management. . . Accordingly, in Spokane, Philadelphia and elsewhere, union and management now sit side by side. . . Naturally, some classes are separate, but most are not."  

The most outstanding institution of this kind is the Institute of Industrial Relations at St. Peter's College, New Jersey, founded in 1946 and directed by Fr. William J. Smith, S. J.  

Fr. Smith's principal concern is to help people in need of information and training on labor-management matters. He believes in short-term programs; programs of about eight weeks, in the fall, winter and spring; programs designed in accordance with the immediate needs and interests of the students. In every term about twenty-five or twenty-eight courses are offered. In past years, two different brochures were distributed before each term: one brochure announcing Management Courses and the other Labor Courses, but most of these courses were intended to bring union members and management representatives together; so, for instance, in the winter term of 1955, the course in "Christian Approach to Labor Problems" was announced in the Management Courses brochure under the number 33 in the list; it was to be taught by  

Fitzgerald, Catholic Mind, op. cit.
Fr. McBride, S. J., on Mondays at the first period, 8:00 to 8:55 p.m. In the Labor Courses brochure, it was announced under the number 6 in the list, the same Father, at the same day and hour, teaching the same course.

The same coincidence would be observed with regard to most of the other courses. The only difference was with regard to some courses of interest exclusively to the workers, such as "History of Unionism," "Labor Unions in Principle and Practice," etc.

On the other hand, there are some advanced courses in public speaking (requiring a higher level of education) or some courses especially designed to instruct management about their duties (such as "The Church Talks in Labor Relations") or to help them in their jobs ("How to Lead a Management Group Conference").

In the present fall term program, this dualism has disappeared. As Fr. Smith told the author of this thesis, it was found that management was now ready to accept sitting in the same classroom with labor, discussing together their problems, interchanging ideas, seeking for a mutual understanding.

In each term classes are attended by some three hundred students, about forty percent of whom are management. The classes are held once a week, some of them on Mondays, some others on Wednesdays, in two periods of fifty-five minutes.

Nowadays, this Institute is the most prosperous institution of its kind in the U. S. A. Its success is attributed by
Fr. Smith to the fact that its programs are always based on the express needs of the students. No formal course on the encyclicals is announced. Specific points of the Church's teachings are attractively presented with regard to concrete situations of concern to management or labor. And in general, little bits of natural law ethics are given here and there as the occasion arises. This has been found to be the best way of teaching the encyclicals without burdening the students with unnecessary scholasticism.

According to a survey, made by Fr. Brown in 1945, of seventeen labor Institutes attached to Catholic Colleges (most of them, if not all, Jesuit institutions), there are twenty subjects taught in one or several institutes.

The subjects most popular in these institutions are the following:

- Social Ethics, taught in all seventeen Institutes.
- Public Speaking, taught in fourteen Institutes.
- Labor Law, taught in fourteen Institutes.
- Collective Bargaining, taught in thirteen Institutes.
- Parliamentary Law, taught in twelve Institutes.
- Labor History, taught in ten Institutes.
- Economics, taught in nine Institutes.

"What might be considered a typical program offers courses on Tuesday and Thursday nights for thirteen weeks. Classes are held for forty-five minutes beginning at 7:30 p. m."
"None of the schools with which the writer is acquainted limits its enrollment to Catholics."\(^5\)

Yet, another trend is described by Irvine L. H. Kerrison: \(^6\) "Father Henry Wirtenberger, of the University of Detroit, reports that the death of Father Edmund Horne deprived his institution of the program's mainstay...; the part-time assistance of three faculty members, after Father Horne's death, was not enough to keep the (extension) program alive... "As a result of the programs carried on over a period of five years in our worker's educational program--Fr. Wirtenberger adds--, I have developed a major program in industrial relations in the Evening Commerce School... The success of this development has lead me to believe that we can make our best contribution in this area with the resources at our disposal."

This statement--Mr. Kerrison comments--demonstrates that there is a very real danger of workers' education program's being replaced by labor-management education programs. This has already happened at several institutions."

(Mr. Kerrison seems to stand against such replacement, as harmful to labor education. We rather believe that it is a complementary educational activity that will provide future manage--

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\(^6\) Irvine L. H. Kerrison, \textit{Workers Education at the University Level}, (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1951), 92.
ment with the same good spirit that Catholic labor education is disseminating among workers. By preparing the other side of the bargaining table to admit the same postulates that the workers are looking for, it is contributing to the final success of labor education.)

The special formation of leaders, as distinct from rank-and-file formation, consisted not only in the teaching of the ethics and philosophy contained in the social encyclicals, but it also tried—as Fr. Carey says with reference to the Xavier School—"to give workingmen the information they need to run their own unions and to be effective stewards. They want to know about economics, and how to run a welfare plan, and contract negotiation and labor laws, and the working of compensation. The school tries to give them training in the tools they need: Parliamentary law and tactics, public speaking and the art and practice of debate. . ."7 Briefly, the school tries "to help the workers fit themselves to help themselves."

Such technical training must necessarily go along with "the teaching of morality and religion" in any program exclusively for union leaders, because a Catholic who becomes an official will be in no position to set the tone, no matter how sound his philosophy is, unless he has the technical know-how of unionism.

On the other hand, as a result of a survey on workers'

opinion made in the diocese of Hartford, "one fact appears clearly and starkly: the task of developing a Christian social conscience among workingmen is by no means done nor is the layman fully alive to his responsibilities for moral leadership in his trade."\(^8\)

It was suggested at Cleveland that such a new approach could be modeled on the one used by the Young Christian Workers. The activities of the St. Joseph's Retreat League of Boston also received praise. This League, whose sessions have an attendance of fifteen hundred men a month, has a program which combines meditations of St. Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises with classroom talks on ethical and social problems.

At this point it seems convenient to make a clear distinction: these activities of the YCW and the Retreat League lead to the formation of moral leaders, as Mr. Cort says and they are by no means a substitute for the technical training needed to form union leaders.

Let us summarize the diversification of the Jesuit institutions:

1. With regard to the students:
   a. Schools exclusively for workers, as Xavier.
   b. Institutions, either Academies (as the Leo XIII in New York) or group discussions (as the Employers' Conference in Rockhurst College).

\(^8\) John C. Cort, "Is the Church Reaching the American Workers?" The Sign (September 1955), 26-44.
exclusively for employers.

c. Institutes for both workers and management representatives, as St. Peter's.

2. With regard to academic degrees:

a. No credits for an academic degree, although some sort of certificate is given in some Institutes, such as St. Peter's.

b. Credits given for an academic degree in the School of Commerce, as in Detroit, or an M.S.I.R. as in Loyola University in Chicago.

3. With regard to religion:

a. No special emphasis on the teaching as being that of the Catholic Church: this happens in most of the courses, in which the ethical principles of the natural law are presented in relation with discussed topics. In some Institutes there is no course dealing expressly with Catholic Social Principles.

b. Institutes with programs in which some courses deal openly with Catholic social doctrine.

c. Institutions which specialize in dealing with intense religious training for the social apostolate among the workers (such as St. Joseph's Retreat League of Boston).

Characteristics of the Jesuit institutions:

Diversification and specialization.

Short-term plans, preferably three terms a year.

Tendency to follow the needs and interests of the students.

In most of the Institutes, there is no extensive and methodical explanation of the encyclicals; instead, in each concrete point of the program the appropriate Church doctrine is
presented.

Attractive to management, because of the prestige of the university or college to which the Institute is attached, as well as for other reasons.
CHAPTER V

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Similarities. There are several essential characteristics that are common to both the diocesan and the Jesuit institutions:

1. Both take their origin from the mandate of Pope Pius XI in the encyclical "Reconstructing the Social Order".

2. Both intend to teach the encyclicals, promote a Christian social reform and aim at a better harmony between labor, management and the government for the common good.

3. Both use a combination of lecture and group discussion, though in varying proportions.

4. Both have been criticized by professional pedagogues for not using audio-visual devices and for being too dogmatic in their way of teaching, allowing little room for variety of opinion.

5. It has been noticed that both depend excessively on one man, at the risk of the institution ceasing to function when this man dies or is transferred. "This apparently is more the case in Jesuit institutions than elsewhere."

Differences. Fr. Donnelly expresses one of the main differences between the tendencies of the Diocesan and the Jesuit

\[1\] Kerrison, op. cit., p. 92.
I am of the opinion that this apostolate to the workingman needs concentration of effort, not only on the education of workers in the social teaching of the Church, but also on an intensive effort to make those whom we educate lay apostles burning with the zeal of conviction of truth and love of Christ.

Our job is to train the worker not in the technique of contract negotiations but in the proposed answer to social injustice found in the Church's teaching. Even more, our job is to make the worker ready and eager to bring this doctrine to the opportunities provided by his environment.

Since Fr. Donnelly rejects technical training and emphasizes the formation of "apostles burning with zeal... ready and eager to bring this doctrine to... [their] environment," his tendency could be described, if need be, as idealistic.

On the other hand, Fr. Smith introduces the opposite tendency by asking,

In what area of life do we expect the lay apostle... to carry on his apostolate? The answer is obvious. He is living in a world that demands he know something about the Taft-Hartley Law, Welfare Benefits, Arbitration, Collective Bargaining, Industrial Psychology, Labor Philosophy, Human Relations and related topics. To know something about such subjects is to know something about the context and implication of the papal social encyclicals because they are, in effect, the concrete American implementation of principles enunciated in Catholic social teaching. To know the technique of his own industrial society, to distinguish the proper from the improper use of them is a practical step toward promoting and maintaining right order in industrial society.

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2 Donnelly, *Work*, loc. cit. (italics added)

Three points are remarkable in the preceding quotation:

1. That Fr. Smith takes carefully into account the "content and implication" of the encyclicals in this concrete American implementation.

2. That in Fr. Smith's opinion, it is necessary to prepare for the lay apostles a "practical step" that will enable them to advance towards the aim of labor education.

3. That Fr. Smith's care for the two preceding points (the "practical step" and the "context and implication" of the encyclicals) comes from a basic attitude that could be called "realism." This third point is expressed in the subtitle of the article: "Wanted: More Realistic Appraisers". This article can be considered the "manifesto" of the "realistic" faction.

Fr. Smith dramatizes the point by considering that "no one wants to challenge the fact that St. Benedict knew and lived the liturgy, that St. Francis of Assisi was the soul of charity, that St. Bernard reached the heights of mysticism. I doubt, however, that any average Joe in an American union would prefer to have any of the three as his representative at the negotiations table, pounding out a collective bargaining contract with a hard-fisted employer."4

If we are allowed to be a little bit picturesque, we will suggest the use of this controversial statement of Fr. Smith as

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4 Smith, ibid., 450.
a test: if the reader doubts with Fr. Smith "that any average Joe in an American union would prefer to have any of the three 'saints' as his representative at the negotiations table," then he is a "realist." But if the reader has no doubt that the average unionist would prefer one of these saints as his representative, then the reader is an "idealist."

We could also give a title to another faction; the faction whose tendency was observed at the beginning of the second period of the Institute of Hartford; a tendency to withdraw from conflicts, to remain in abstract principles, to educate all groups in society (even the government), to teach the encyclicals in a three-year program (which is not done even in the Seminaries!): this faction could be called either the metaphysicists or the ultra-idealists. They have their manifesto: the Statement of Policy; and their fruits: empty classrooms, since blue-collar workers cannot suffer so much lecturing in pure theories. Fortunately, Monsignor Donnelly, with his moderate idealism and the assistance of university-trained young priests could still readjust the program and lead the Institute to the peak attendance of 1947.5

There is another description of the two opposite tendencies in the above-mentioned survey by Fr. Smith (italics added):

The need for specialized, formative training

5 Cf. pp. 17-24 of this thesis.
is apparent. To instruct and inspire rather than to hope for intensive spiritual formation, however, seems to be the level at which the Catholic Labor School must be geared. Ten of the Institutes, nevertheless, made their appeal for students on the basis of "developing better Catholics in the Community."

Although Fr. Smith does not identify the followers of these two opposite tendencies, it is evident that he favors the "specialized, formative training." The ten Institutes that aim at developing "better Catholics in the Community" seem to be the ones that "hope for intensive spiritual formation," that formation of apostles burning with zeal that Fr. Donnelly advocates.

The same survey shows another difference:

Over-emphasis upon the negative "anti-Communist approach is usually discouraged by the experienced directors. Ten of the currently operating organizations, however, report either the need or the feasibility of making use of this incentive in attracting their student body.

Are these ten Institutes the same ones that aim at developing "better Catholics?" Are they Diocesan institutions? Fr. Smith is not explicit about it. However, he mentions the disappearance of the Diocesan Institute of Detroit, which had about forty units, and used anti-Communism as a "driving force" in the words of Fr. Fitzgerald. The author of this thesis has not found any Jesuit director using the anti-Communist approach.

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6 Cf. p. 28 of this thesis.
As for the causes of the different attitudes among school directors on this level of "realism" and "idealism," these seem to be the more noticeable:

1. The different roles of the ecclesiastical authority:
   a. The ecclesiastical authority of a diocesan labor school is a bishop, whose role is to supervise and promote the pastoral activities within the diocese. Naturally, his interest will deal with "forming better Catholics in the community" rather than anything else.
   b. The superior of the Jesuit Institute director is well-acquainted with educational problems and the need of technical formation, since he is in charge of one or more colleges and universities. Consequently, he will more readily approve and encourage programs with a large proportion of technical training.

2. The different training and/or environment of the institution's directors:
   a. The special training of the diocesan director, if he had any, would consist of one or two summer courses at Catholic University, mainly on the encyclicals and Catholic social action, with perhaps a little bit of economics and sociology, and nothing about those "disreputable" technical subjects such as collective bargaining. With regard to environment, the diocesan director will not have much contact with college or university professors.
   b. The Jesuit, on the other hand, may have an academic degree and is living with other Jesuits who are teaching at the college
or university to which the institute is attached. He may know many of the alumni, professors or lawyers who will volunteer as teachers at the Institute. In his conversations about everyday topics, his friends and colleagues will talk to him in technical rather than pastoral terms. Consequently, when he designs the Institute program or talks in the classroom, his natural way of approaching the problems and searching for solutions will be the technical one. However, since the Jesuit is also a priest, he will give due credit to spiritual matters in his scale of values. With regard to this point, Fr. Smith mentions "the old problem of priority: 'which comes first, the reformation of morals and the rebuilding of faith or the reconstruction of the social order'?' And he answers this "supposed dilemma" with the reply of Fr. Nell-Breuning, S. J., the famous commentator on the encyclical "Reconstructing the Social Order": "Both. To ask the question is tantamount to asking which is more necessary for human life--food or air?" "Both aspects...must be kept in mind. The proper balance must be struck as far as it is humanly possible."7

Therefore, the differences in training and environment seem to be partially responsible for the differences in criteria with regard to the priority of individual reform vs. social reform, or the simultaneity of the two.

7Smith, art. cit. in Social Order. 450-452.
Perhaps some other causes could be credited for the existence of these two attitudes which we are studying—realism vs. idealism. But it is not the concern of this thesis to begin thorough research in this matter. It is enough for us to remember that the categorization of the diocesans as idealists and the Jesuits as realists seems to be attributable; first, to their respective authorities; second, to their respective backgrounds and environments.

There is another controversial point: should the institution take sides publicly in industrial disputes? The Institute of Hartford did it freely in its first period; then the "Statement of Policy" imposed heavy restrictions that could guarantee "proper prudence." But still the door was open for such public pronouncements.

On the other hand, the Jesuit institutions do not make public pronouncements; if asked by the workers, the director will give his opinion in private; or if a public statement is to be made in writing or in a speech, then the Jesuit director will be careful to avoid involving the Institute in the dispute: he will express his opinion as a private person. The author of this thesis has discussed this point expressly with Fathers Smith and Carey, and also with Father Callaghan, Director of the Holy Cross Institute (Worcester, Massachusetts).

Let us recapitulate the findings of the present section:
1. We have isolated two basic attitudes, idealism and realism.
2. These attitudes are uncompromisingly opposed with regard to a basic criterion that regulates the whole program of labor education, the criterion of whether priority should be accorded to individual reform (as defended by the idealists) or whether there ought to be no priority but simultaneous fostering of both the individual and social reform (as held by the realists).

3. The technical matters become a symbol: the idealists refuse to teach them, while the realists emphasize them.

4. The idealists seem to feel that they have to promote a sort of crusade, with glorious banners displaying such slogans as Justice, Anti-Communism, Better Catholicism.

Meanwhile, the realists are satisfied with modest but concrete aims, such as "to form honest union leaders" and to improve the day-to-day relations between Joe and his employers.

5. The idealist cannot keep quiet when there is a strike in town: he has to make public pronouncements and hold very high the banner of Justice. The realist wants no part in such a glorious role.

6. The idealist strives for perfection; therefore his program will deal purely with the encyclicals, which will be developed as methodically and in as a minute detail as possible.

The realist does not expect that much from the patience and capability of his students.

7. Since the pure encyclicals have to be blended with something in order to be administered to the "patients", the idealist will
embellish the program with subject material of general culture that will elevate the student to higher levels of education.

The realist's ambition is to help the union officer simply to do a better job in his union; therefore the encycicals will be given bit by bit with the technical material.

8. Since the idealists are, on the one hand, so belligerent, and on the other hand, so inclined to teach wide generalizations and abstract principles, no wonder that management refuses to attend their courses. On the contrary, management feels that it pays to spend a few hours at the Jesuit Institute, since it helps one to solve the daily problems at the shop more efficiently.

As a consequence of the preceding points, it appears that the different characteristics of the Diocesan and the Jesuit programs are fruits that come forth naturally from two different trees whose roots are, respectively, idealism and realism; whose stems are priority for individual reform vs. simultaneity of individual and social reform.

Let us finish this section with a comparative summary of the differences between the two kinds of institutions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diocesan Institutions</th>
<th>Jesuit Institutions</th>
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<tr>
<td>Idealistic attitude.</td>
<td>Realistic attitude.</td>
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</table>
Diocesan Institutions (cont.)

Immediate aim: to stop injustices, attack communism, form better Catholics.

Means: teaching the Catholic social principles, together with general culture.

Formerly, long-term programs, up to three years (six semester courses).

Public pronouncements in labor disputes.

No attraction for management, allegedly because of lack of academic prestige.

Jesuit Institutions (cont.)

Immediate aim: to form honest union leaders of all creeds; to improve labor-management relations.

Means: teaching technical matters, together with appropriate points of Catholic social doctrine.

Short-term programs, preferably of eight weeks.

No public pronouncements in labor disputes.

Attractive to management because of their academic prestige and other reasons.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

A glance at the various trends of the Diocesan and Jesuit institutions described in chapters III and IV of this thesis may lead to the conclusion that the original plans have been so revamped as to bear little resemblance to earlier goals and methods. However, such a development must not be thought of as regrettable.

In point of fact, these trends are branches that have sprouted quite naturally from a living plant. As branches of the same tree, they share the common characteristic of the trunk, for all of them are engaged in the teaching of the encyclicals and in fulfillment of the mandate of the Pope. Though the means or the immediate ends may differ in the various Institutes, all of them will ultimately contribute to the same aim assigned by the Pope: to "impart to the labor unions... the upright spirit which should direct their entire conduct."  

To put it briefly, these trends indicate a specialization of approach, a diversity of methods, without, however, implying any disagreement about final ends. The key concept in inter-

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1 Cf. p. 43 of this thesis.
2 Cf. p. 3 of this thesis.
3 Ibid.
preting these trends is, therefore, specialization.

This concept of specialization has tailored the courses in accordance with the positions of the beneficiaries of this kind of education, accordingly as it has been directed exclusively to workers, or to workers and management, whether taken together or separately. There has been a similar specialization in subject matter, accordingly as the emphasis has been placed on ethical and philosophic principles, or on technical formation of union officials, or even on the intensively religious formation of lay apostles.

Finally, there has been specialization in the immediate objectives. All agree that the ultimate end is the introduction of the "upright spirit" into the life of the union. They vary, however, in this, that one attacks the problem in such a way as to affect this from the top (by forming union officials), while another group seeks to work from the bottom by disseminating moral and religious ideas, and by training men who will give concrete exemplification of the good spirit.

Others, yet, may seek to affect the same by working on the other side of the bargaining table, forming management through graduate studies in industrial relations.

These trends, though they may exhibit a certain polarity, are essentially complementary and coordinate. They are, in fact, an answer to the demands of sound pedagogic method, which seeks to attain its ultimate goal by attacking the immediate problems
with the appropriate didactical methods and adapting the subject matter to the needs and capability of the students.

Prerequisites. It can be drawn, as a conclusion from the preceding chapters, that there are some prerequisites for a successful labor education institution. For instance, we may recall that the oldest institution that we studied dates as far back as 1911. However, as Mr. Weinberg remarked, "the time was not ripe for a labor school and it wasn't until 1936... the era of the Wagner Act and industrial organization by the CIO."4

"This was," in the words of Msgr. Donnelly, "the period which saw the phenomenal growth of our industrial unions. In our great industrial centers millions were organized but few were unionized... The labor movement was too busy organizing to give much attention to education."5

Hence we can draw our first generalization:

1. The first prerequisite for the stable existence of a labor education institution is that there must be a need for it.

This need must be an objective need, i.e., there must exist a problem in the field of labor; this problem must be so grave as to require an urgent solution; this solution must require that some workers undergo a training enabling them to help their fellow-workers as a group.

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4 Weinberg, art. cit., p. 52.
5 Donnelly, art. cit. in Work.
This objective need must also become subjective, i.e., it is necessary that some workers, knowing the objective need, feel that they themselves have to undergo such training and provide the urgent solution to the problem.

The objective need may become subjective either spontaneously (a worker, considering the problem and his possibilities, decides that he can contribute to the solution if properly trained; subsequently he determines to undergo the appropriate training), or by suggestion (by his fellow-workers who look up to him as a natural leader, or by the priest who invites him to attend the courses, or by any other suggestion).

Briefly, the first prerequisite is the existence of an objective and subjective need for labor education (and when we say "need" we imply that at the time nobody provides sufficiently for this demand).

The second prerequisite is the labor educator, the priest. In the case of Hartford, it was an assistant curate, Fr. Donnelly, who "soon realized that there was not only an excellent opportunity for the work of the Church with labor, but that there was a real need for it. . . . Fr. Donnelly went to the Bishop. . . . to request permission to start a Catholic labor school."

This is the general pattern in the first step: an eager priest realizes the existence of an objective need for labor

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education, asks permission from his superior (the Bishop if he is a diocesan priest, or the Provincial if he is a Jesuit). This priest has no special training for the job, but he substitutes for this lack of technical knowledge a complex of personal qualities that could be called the "social pioneer spirit."

People having this spirit may seem to be extroverts at first sight, yet they show in their eyes a thoughtful understanding and a vivid sympathy for other people; they speak with affection, enthusiasm and conviction; extremely approachable, they communicate joyful confidence and courageous hope to people burdened with any kind of distress. Monsignors Donnelly and Kelly and Fr. McGowan among the diocesans, and Fathers Carey, Twomey and Gavin among the Jesuits, to mention only a few instances, are typical cases of this "social pioneer spirit."

Then, in the second step of the general pattern, a young priest is appointed as an assistant to the old pioneer. This assistant most probably has some university training in sociology, economics, social ethics and social action techniques. The diocesans would take at least one summer course at the Catholic University in Washington. The Jesuits may have an M. A. or a Ph. D. in Economics, perhaps even from a non-Catholic university. Fr. Corridan, for instance, the one-time assistant to Fr. Carey, has an M. A. in Economics from New York University and Fr. Lachford, the assistant to Fr. Comey (St. Joseph's College Institute of Industrial Relations, Philadelphia) has a Master's Degree in Social and Industrial Relations from the Institute of
Social and Industrial Relations of Loyola University, Chicago.

His university training may make a young priest feel less need of relying on his own personality; he will probably try to approach problems in an impersonal and objective way and to accredited methods and techniques.

Briefly, the university-trained assistant will probably look business-like, while the social pioneer will act a la apostolique, like St. Paul.

Pope Pius XI called the Bishops' attention to the fact that "it is particularly necessary... that they whom you specially select and devote to this work show themselves endowed with a keen sense of justice, ready to oppose with real manly constancy unjust claims and unjust actions; that they avoid every extreme with consummate prudence and discretion; above all, that they be thoroughly imbued with the charity of Christ, which alone has power to incline men's hearts and wills firmly and gently to the laws of equity and justice. This course, already productive of success in the past, we must follow now with alacrity."  

Fr. Cronin has a detailed explanation of the five qualities required for these priests, the "qualities" of justice, fortitude, prudence, charity and zeal; he rejects the introvert type as hardly adaptable to the give and take peculiar to this job; and on the other hand he also rejects the pure extrovert, because he is likely to be impulsive and lacking in prudence.

7 Encyclical, "Reconstructing the Social Order", 142.
If a priest enters this field without the above-mentioned qualifications, he may easily be tempted to play the role of a demagogue and will cause perhaps serious harm to the workers (by leading them into futile class struggles), to the Church, and to his own future. In some unfortunate cases his feeling of frustration (whatever the cause of the failure was) caused a priest to fall into alcoholism and even to suffer the loss of his vocation.

The third prerequisite is the support of the ecclesiastical authority, the Bishop or the Jesuit Provincial as the case may be:

a. Moral support, such as Bishop McAuliffe gave to the Hartford project by attending and even presiding at the meetings of the clergy of the area in which a new school was going to be opened.

This support has to be strong enough to resist the pressure of the "social lobbyists" when they urge the closing of the school. We do not have definite evidence to conclude that the changes introduced at the beginning of the second period of the Hartford Institute were due to the pressure of enraged employers. But even if it were so, they could be considered compromise measures to save the life of the Institute, and a proof of the determined support of the Bishop.

b. Financial support: Monsignor Donnelly was relieved of parish work, but he needed some means of financial support; a great deal of costly literature had to be distributed to the students: Sommer courses for the younger priests at Catholic
University were also needed; all was generously provided for by the Bishop.

In answer to the above-mentioned questionnaire of Fr. Smith, the majority of both diocesan and Jesuit institutions, by far, replied that the major obstacle was finances.

In some instances, according to information received from Fr. Carey, S. J., and Fr. McKeon, S. J. of LeMoyne College, Syracuse, Institutes are offered economic support by wealthy employers, but the Institutes reject such aid in order to preserve their independence and to avoid any suspicion on the part of the workers.

Father Smith's survey shows also that "hesitancy or unwillingness on the part of religious superiors to assign men to the work either as part-time or full-time Directors, is a rather common and bluntly-stated complaint."

There is another element that goes along with this third prerequisite: the control exerted by the ecclesiastical authority. Neither the diocesan priest nor the individual Jesuit is absolutely independent: he is subject, respectively, to the Bishop or the religious superior. Consequently, the ecclesiastical authority is responsible for the activities of these priests and therefore has to have some control of the institution. Moreover, the more fully he supports the institution, the more he will feel he has to control it.

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8 Fitzgerald, op. cit., 422.
However, it is to be noted that the ecclesiastical authority is not a specialist in the field, as the school director is. Therefore, the growth and efficiency of the school will be in inverse proportion to the number and weight of the decisions made by the ecclesiastical authority. "Busy executives," in the words of Fr. Cronin, "who must make decisions in many fields, cannot ordinarily give any one field sufficient study to permit their taking sole responsibility for difficult decisions."\(^9\)

Therefore, the labor school director ought to have—as Fr. Cronin recommends in general for directors of diocesan organizations—freedom of action and limited independence. This independence, we believe, should be somewhat greater than the "Statement of Policy" would allow, if understood in a strict sense.

If any of these prerequisites is missing, we cannot have a successful school, i.e.:

1. Without objective and subjective need, a school cannot hold its attendance, even if it gets started somehow or other.

2. Without a priest having either the "pioneer spirit" or the adequate training plus the other qualities, there will not be much attendance either.

3. Without the support of ecclesiastical authority, the apathy of the clergy, the lack of funds and the hostility of both the Communists and some employers will soon destroy the institution.

Monsignor Donnelly, as well as dozens of other diocesan school directors, deserve our most sincere admiration for the work\(^9\)Cronin, op. cit., 63.
done under such difficult circumstances. Without any feeling of frustration they can look straight to the future, ready to tackle the oncoming demands and problems with a wholehearted dedication as they always have done in the past.

A glance at the future. The immediate future for the Jesuit institutes seemingly is going to be a slow but steady growth. These institutes take care of three needs that keep growing slowly but steadily; the need of training union officials in technical subject matters, of teaching human relations and some technical matters to management, and of promoting mutual understanding between management and labor.

With regard to the diocesan labor schools, there is a different picture. The need that they cared for in the forties no longer exists, and it is not clear enough what other need they could take care of now. In the present trend of transforming themselves into adult education centers, they are attracting to the classroom fewer blue-collar, more white-collar workers. And this could be a forecast of their future.

In effect, the low status of the white-collar workers constitutes a problem that may, in time, demand an adequate solution of its own, a solution that may require the training of leaders in an atmosphere of idealism, such as the one provided by the diocesan schools.

The problem is that the automation era is creating a mass of white-collar workers, paid less than the production workers; these underpaid white-collar workers may become the "proletariat" of the
future.

The typical middle-aged white-collar worker has no longer the ambitious expectations and the spirit of individualistic competition of his early years; he now realizes that his way of improving economically is not going to come through favoritism from the boss, but through solidarity with his companions. Yet, he has a deep repugnance to enrollment in the ranks of unionism and a fear of being marked as one who attends a program dealing openly with unionism.

The diocesan adult education centers could take care of these two difficulties by providing:

a. A program that will not deal openly with unionism, but with general education and the encyclicals;

b. A program that will gradually overcome the emotional resistance to unionism, and even may turn him into an enthusiastic apostle.

The diocesan schools' idealism is endowed with a rich content of emotional values which French sociologists would call "la mystique." This mystique seems to be a must at the beginning of a successful movement. So far the drives of the unions to organize the white-collar workers have failed and we think that the Jesuit institutions would not succeed either; both lack a mystique and they would look as if they were trying to take the white-collar worker out of his environment for indoctrination. On the other hand, the diocesan institutions have a mystique and can educate the white-collar worker in his own environment, his parish.
This would be a sort of a repetition of the cycle started in 1922 by the Traveling School for Social Thought, organized by Loyola University of Chicago.\textsuperscript{10} As the Traveling School started the chain reaction that culminated in the unionization and subsequent improvement of many first-generation Catholic immigrants (Irish, Polish, Slovaks), so this suburban adult education movement could culminate in the unionization and subsequent improvement of many of the second or third generation of the same national groups, now no longer blue-collar workers for the most part, but still on the lower steps of the social ladder.

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The thesis submitted by Maurus Barrenechea, S.J., has been read and approved by three members of the faculty of the Institute of Social and Industrial Relations.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Social and Industrial Relations.

February 4, 1959

Date

Signature of Advisor